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CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD I.

VOLUME II.

EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES,

THE

LETTERS OF THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY.

From A.D. 1187 to A.D. 1199.

EDITED,

FROM A MS. IN THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL LIBRARY AT LAMBETH,

BY

WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A.,

VICAR OF NAVESTOCK; LIBRARIAN TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND KEEPER OF THE MSS. AT LAMBETH; LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
Introduction - - - - - -	vii
Calendar of Letters contained in the Volume	cxxi
List of Letters in their present order	clxviii
Epistolæ Cantuarienses - - - - -	1
Appendix - - - - - - -	541
Index - - - - - - - -	562

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

Five great ecclesiastical causes in the reign of Richard I.

THE history of the Church of England during the reign of Richard I. is a record of five great disputes and appeals. The importance of these to political history arises chiefly from their connexion with the ecclesiastical quarrels of Henry II., and from the light they throw on the relations of Church and State during the troubles of John. They have, however, an independent interest, for they were all on subject matters of great weight, all of them involved principles of great importance, and all were carried on by persons who, if not actually the leading men of the time, were, in character and position, and, irrespectively of their concern in these quarrels, in historical eminence inferior only to the first.

Their historians and subject-matter.

These were, first, the series of disputes between archbishop Geoffrey of York and the clergy of the northern province; secondly, the long litigation of which one side has been preserved for us by Giraldus Cambrensis, between himself, as representative of the Welsh Church, and the Crown and Church of England; thirdly, that between Hugh of Nunant and the monks of Coventry; fourthly, that between the monks of Canterbury and archbishops Baldwin and Hubert; and fifthly, that arising from the claim of Savaric, bishop of Bath and Wells, to the abbey of Glastonbury. Of the first of these, the details are recorded, although not so fully or so syste-

matically as might be wished, in the history of Roger Hoveden; Giraldus treats largely, if not fully, of the second; the last and least important had its own historian in Adam of Domerham. Of the Coventry dispute unfortunately very few particulars are now ascertainable; but this is less to be regretted as the same principles were involved and the same actors employed in it as in the Canterbury appeal, which is the principal subject of the present volume. The history of this great cause occupies, moreover, the chief part of the chronicle of Gervase, which is indispensable for the proper arrangement of the materials before us, and was the subject of a distinct work by abbot Alan of Tewkesbury, the collector of the letters of S. Thomas, which is known only by a short extract preserved in the History of the abbey of Evesham.[1]

Character and value of the materials for history in this volume.

The first view of so large a mass of materials preserved to us on secondary questions, naturally suggests a complaint, that the age which had so much that was of greater importance to chronicle, should have been so sparing of details on matters that had a closer bearing on the national life. Judged by the space which it occupies in the annals of the time, and by the quantity of correspondence remaining upon it, the dispute which forms the subject of the following pages might seem of greater magnitude than those which led to the signing of the Great Charter, or the calling of the first representative parliament. Comparatively insignificant in itself, it seems to acquire significance from the abundance of its records; whilst those, matters of vast importance, and even as affording material for the study of character, of interest far beyond it, are presented to us

[1] *Chronicon Abbatiæ de Evesham*, ed. Macray, p. 103. It furnished likewise the subject matter of some of the lost chapters of Giraldus's *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, where also the Coventry case was discussed. See *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 351.

only in the skeleton form, which political views and party feelings will, as long as parties last, quicken with their own motives and clothe in their own theories of character and detail. And yet the fact, that this and the kindred disputes possessed a greater interest in the eyes of contemporaries than we are inclined to ascribe to them, is not without advantages; in default of the greater boon we may be thankful for the diversity and abundance of detail handed down to us: the field of study is removed far from the region of modern controversies, and the student is saved from the risks that attend the cursory reading of history for a special purpose. For a volume like the present, however rich in interest to the student of character or of history for its own sake, is not inviting to the dilettante reader, and positively repulsive to the investigator who has determined what he will find before he begins to seek. The very thread of events cannot be disentangled without labour, and the variety of views is bewildering rather than instructive to a hasty judge. But the careful perusal of the letters before us will most certainly leave the reader better informed as to the ways of thinking prevalent in the times to which they belong, and as to the development of the principles on which the history of far greater questions depends, than the better proportioned and more (so-called) philosophical estimate of the regular historian. We can see, that is, the principles in their growth, as they grew, without having the process of their development dwarfed and obscured by the overshadowing grandeur of their maturity. And besides this, every action of the men of such times has a double value, that which attaches to the working of the national life, and that which attaches to the character of the chief workers in it; their conscious and unconscious, direct and indirect, share in the making of history.

Advantage of abundant details on subjects of secondary importance.

Illustration of history to be drawn from the circumstances of secondary actors.

Only fifty years passed between the enactment of the constitutions of Clarendon and the surrender of the kingdom by John to pope Innocent III. One life of ordinary length might witness the martyrdom of S. Thomas and the suspension of Stephen Langton. What were the processes by which the changed attitudes of parties and the altered appearances of principles were brought about? Was the difference ascribable only to the inferiority of John to Henry, of Thomas to Stephen, of Alexander to Innocent? What was the direction, the impetus, the initial force of the undercurrent that made it possible for such changes to be wrought by such men? What was the share of Richard, of Urban, Clement, and Celestine, of archbishops Baldwin and Hubert, of Ranulf Glanvill, William Longchamp, or Geoffrey Fitz-Peter? For an answer to such questions the student must look, like the archæologist, below the surface of political history. In 1164 he finds king, bishops, and barons on one side, the archbishop and the inferior clergy on the other, the pope and the people either uninterested observers or half-hearted partizans. In 1215 he finds the king and the pope allied against the church and the people. We welcome any trustworthy details which, however unimportant, help to show how the different estates of the realm stood to one another, to the pope, and to the king at a fixed period in the meanwhile, and to indicate the variations in their combinations, the causes of their mutual attraction and repulsion.

Yet the principles of the disputes are important as well as the incidental light thrown on the actors.

It would not be wise or just to overlook the character of the principles or the processes in which they are traceable, merely because the disputes were on matters long ago decided, and so decided as to have scarcely any political importance left. The monastic system and the influence of the Roman court in England, although their direct bearings have for three

centuries been practically annihilated, have left in their secondary effects marks too broad to be overlooked by superficial criticism, and far too deep to be underestimated by the careful student.

Principal subject of the present volume; and character of the compilation.

The present volume contains a collection of letters on the dispute which arose from the attempts of archbishops Baldwin and Hubert to found a great church and college of secular canons. This project gave much offence to the monks of Canterbury, who thought they saw in it, what was probably the intention, a design to supplant them in their position of metropolitan chapter, and to substitute a body of men, to be provided for out of their revenues, who would be more amenable than themselves to the influence of the king and of the primate, and not, as they were, attached to the court of Rome. This collection includes all the correspondence on both sides on which the compiler was able to lay his hands. It was formed between the year 1201, when the suit was finally decided, and the year 1205, when the new and more famous one as to the election of Stephen Langton began. The compiler, according to the contemporaneous title prefixed to the MS., bore the name of Reginald, and was probably the person who, as subprior, was elected by the younger portion of the monks to supply the place of archbishop Hubert in 1205. The question of his identity is, however, of very small importance, as there are but three pages in the whole volume that can certainly be ascribed to him.

The Lambeth MS. 415.

The MS. in which these letters are contained is in the Lambeth Library, No. 415. It consists of 140 folios of a moderate quarto size, and has originally contained six more. It is written in double columns, the words being very much abbreviated, and in the hand of the earliest part of the thirteenth century, within the limits

Character of the MS.

stated above. It has been defaced in six or seven places with some dark liquid, through which it is extremely difficult to decipher the text. At what period this was done does not appear; and the disfigurement must have been partly, at least, accidental. A transcript which is now in the Harleian collection (No. 788) was made in the seventeenth century, and then the obliterations existed, for the transcriber, unable to read the blotted portions, has left hiatuses where they occur: the colour of the obliterating liquid must, however, have darkened with age, as the edges of the blots do not exactly coincide with the hiatuses in the copy, and some of the passages were certainly more legible then than they are now. By a perfectly innocent process I have succeeded in making out every word, although some of the passages were at first sight an almost impenetrable thick brown. The Harleian transcript does not go beyond the 136th folio. The six lost folios contained the conclusion of the legal argument with which the volume closes, and were probably detached as early as the reign of Edward I., for at folio 133 occurs a note in a hand of that date, that the remaining fourteen folios were to be kept carefully and returned to Canterbury. This part was perhaps lent to some one for transcription, and only eight folios returned. The reverse of the last folio is the worst defaced in the book, and has been fastened down in binding. I have, however, made it out.

History of the MS.

Little can be said of the history of the manuscript. It probably remained with the convent until the dissolution. It must have come into the hands of archbishop Bancroft before the year 1610. The names of Thomas Alley, Thomas Draper, and Beaufey, which are scrawled on the fly-leaves, perhaps belonged to some intermediate owners, and the words "Eaton" and "Ætonæ" point to its temporary home.

The contemporaneous title is "Epistolæ Reginaldi de

" tempore Baldewini." A fuller title has been inserted by archbishop Sancroft in his own hand: "Honorii " prioris et Conventus Cantuariensis epistolarum, sive " per eos, sive ad eos, vel de eis, scriptarum, tempore " litis quindecennis inter ipsos et Baldewinum atque " Hubertum archiepiscopos, de canonicorum sæcularium " collegio vel Hakintoniæ S. Stephani, vel Lambhithæ " erigendo; per monachum ejusdem conventus collec- " tarum et digestarum; libri tres; primus continet " litis exordium et cursum usque ad mortem Urbani " papæ, a folio 1 b.; secundus, causæ conflictus sub " pontificatu Gregorii, Clementis et Cœlestini, a fol. 28; " tertius causæ resuscitationem ab archiepiscopo Hu- " berto, sub Innocentio papa, usque ad demolitionem " capellæ Lambhithanæ, et causæ terminum per compo- " sitionem, a fol. 99." Title of the MS.

The letters are in a rough order; this I have not felt at liberty to alter, but in order to obviate the awkwardness and confusion of their collocation, I have prefixed a careful calendar of the whole. The Appendix contains a few other letters connected with the cause, and some extracts from the Obituary of Canterbury, either generally illustrative of the subject, or assisting the chronology. Arrangement of letters.

The history of monastic and other religious establishments in England differs in very many respects from that of similar institutions amongst those nations which had been civilized and settled subjects of the Roman empire. Whatever remains of such civilization or settlement existed in Britain after the departure of the Romans, were swept away by the Anglo-Saxon invasion, and the work of civilization and Christianity had to be begun from the beginning in the sixth and seventh centuries. The conversion of England was accomplished principally, if not entirely, by monks either of the Roman or of the Irish school; and thus the monastic institution Peculiar prestige of early monachism in England.

Monachism coeval with Christianity in England;

was not, as among the earlier converted nations, an innovation which rested its claims for reverence on the sanctity or asceticism of its professors: it was coeval with Christianity itself: it was the herald of the Gospel to kings and people, and added the right of gratitude to that of religious respect or superstitious awe. Hence the system occupied in England and in the countries converted by English missionaries a position more really honourable and better maintained than elsewhere. Although the monasteries of France and Italy were larger and politically more powerful than those of England, they did not enjoy the same place in the affections of the people, nor were they either so purely national, or nurseries of patriotic spirit in the same way. It may be added that whilst in the Latin speaking countries the history of monachism is one long record of corruptions and reforms, in which constant changes and the institutions of new rules were insufficient to counteract increasing decline, the English monasteries were free from most of the evils that prevailed abroad. The fact that no important new rule of monastic life was indigenous in a country so famous for the number of its monastic houses, seems to prove that no crying necessity for moral reformation was ever made out. The new foreign rules were at times freely adopted; the Cistercian rule in particular was extremely popular almost from its foundation, but the more ancient monasteries continued to call themselves Benedictine without a difference; and although the Cluniac reformation was coeval with the monastic revival under Odo,[1] and pro-

its connexion with national life, and its comparative purity.

[1] Odo sought the tonsure and his monastic education at Fleury in or about the year 942, the last year of the life of Odo of Cluny, who was engaged in reforming that monastery. *Ang. Sac.* ii. 82. Mabillon, *Acta Sanct.* sæc. v. p. 131. Oswald of Worcester was educated at, and Æthelwold of Winchester learned discipline from, the same famous house. Mab., *Act. SS.* sæc. v. pp. 601, 709, &c., and *Hist. Rams.* ap. Gale, pp. 391, 392.

bably exercised some influence upon it, there is no instance of the formal introduction of that rule before the Norman Conquest. The great influx of foreign monachism that then set in was one of the smallest effects of that event on the character of the English convents.

Character of primitive English monasticism, missionary and ascetic.

The apostles of England, Augustine and Mellitus, Aidan, Finnan and Fursey, Chad and Cedd, Wilfrid and Egwin, although the fashion of their tonsures differed, all professed the threefold obligation of humility, chastity, and poverty. In the best of these and of their immediate followers, the ascetic and the missionary characters were happily blended. Their devout retirement was a means of gaining rest and strength of body, mind, and spirit for new work. Every good missionary must be an ascetic; so for the first century of the conversion every monastery was a mission station, and every mission station a monastery. As the country became more thickly peopled, and the people more generally Christianized, a settled clergy took the place of the missionaries. The settled clergy were not bound by monastic rule, but were allowed to hold property, and probably to marry, although the marriage of the Anglo-Saxon clergy at so early a period is not so well ascertained as it is later on, and in the ages immediately before and after the Conquest. The characters and status of clerk and monk were not so sharply separated as they afterwards became; the Benedictine was but a lax follower of the rule of S. Benedict, the priest had not yet arrived at the comforts and luxuries of an independent life and definite position.

The missionary stage ends, and the learned begins.

As, however, the needs of mission work became less exigent, and the established clergy farther removed from monachism, a change necessarily took place in the character of the monasteries. Some became the cells of anchorites, as Lindisfarne, Crowland, and Glastonbury: some became schools of learning, as Canter-

The learned period of English monachism.

bury and Malmsbury. The spirit brought by Theodore and Adrian into the south, and by Benedict Biscop into the north of England, combined a stricter rule of life with the love of learning, cultivation of manners, and tact in association with the world. Theodore was the great administrative founder of the Church, and his introduction of learning into the country fell most fortunately at a moment, when the zeal of missionary adventure began to look abroad for fresh fields of work, and but for this the monasteries would have sunk, one and all, into the follies of a stupid and mischievous asceticism. This learned period may be considered to have extended from the year 669 to the middle of the following century, in the south of England; and about fifty years longer in the north, where the example of Bede, and the munificence of archbishop Egbert and his successors, had an influence on the cultivation of letters which at once culminated and expired in the glories of Alcuin.

Diversion of missionary zeal.

The better portion of the monastic spirit, which was neither devoted to learned pursuits, nor lost in the asceticism of the marshlands, found abundance of missionary work in Germany and Friesland. Boniface and his companions, although personally and in principle far more self-denying than the monks they left at home, and in theory quite as much devoted to the monastic ideal, were practically guided by earnest Christian zeal, and showed unwearied industry in their great work. No man saw more clearly than Boniface, or spoke more plainly of the evils inherent in the monastic system where it depends on asceticism alone: the utter worthlessness of the prayers of men whose hands do not work for the things they pray for.

The middle of the eighth century witnessed a rapid degeneration in monastic discipline; and at the same time we begin to see more clearly the demarcation between the character of the monastic and that of

the secular priest: the monastery becomes distinguished from the college of clerks and the cathedral minster. The Council of Clovesho, of 747,[1] marks both the increase of selfishness and exclusiveness in the monks, and the release of the clergy generally from the monastic bond. An attempt seems to have been made, probably originating in the remonstrances of Bede and Boniface, to reduce the true monasteries to the Benedictine model, and to put an end to the fraudulent perversions of religious foundations to serve the ends of secular avarice. Almost at the same time the institution of a new rule for priests living in community, a measure the credit of which is due to Chrodegang, archbishop of Metz, gave to the clergy who were not under monastic vows a dignified and creditable status which they had not before possessed. This system, although never introduced in detail into England,[2] served as a model on which colleges of clerks or canons were incorporated, and quickly commended itself to those who wished the clergy to do a good work in the world, and to retain the advantage of monastic superintendence and corporate feeling, without the trammels of a rule which hindered their practical efficiency. The monks and priests, who had until now lived together, separated. Their rival churches began to rise side by side in the larger cities: disputes arose as to ancient gifts of property, whether they belonged to the clergy as clergy, or to the monks, the successors of those who had been both monks and clergymen; and whether the original foundations of particular houses were or were not monastic. The popularity of monachism began to decline, and the charms of the secular life to draw away many from the stricter rule. In 787 the legatine Council ordered by special canon[3] that monks should

Wider separation between secular clergy and monks.

Institution of canons.

[1] Spelman, *Conc.* i. 242, &c.

[2] W. Malmsb., *Gesta Pontificum*, lib. ii. p. 1548 (ed. Migne).

[3] Spelman, *Conc.* i. 294.

Decay of monachism, followed up by the destruction of monasteries.

live monastically and canons canonically. The dark age of monastic history had already set in, and the veil drawn forcibly by the cruel ravages of the Northmen and Danes from 790 to 870 closed on a state of things so obscure as to be unable to reveal its own condition.

The ninth century in England, until the reign of Alfred, is a blank as to learning, sanctity, or practical activity. Swithun, the one saint of the period, is vastly more mythical than the most obscure of the heroes of the two preceding centuries. Learning had reached the point at which, south of Humber, it was hard to find a man who could read Latin.[1] Devout men spent their active energies in pilgrimages to Rome rather than in doing their duty; and when the Danes came in force, they fell on an enervated and almost defenceless people. Monachism, for good or for evil, had become (so far as the scanty notices of the chronicle teach us) extinct before the reign of Alfred.[2]

Period at which monachism became extinct.

Very few of the religious houses which perished during the Danish wars ever rose again from their ashes. The cathedrals and city monasteries were almost the only exceptions. Alfred's foundation at Athelney bore the name of a monastery, and some pains were taken by him to introduce into England learned monks from France, Flanders, and Germany. The attempt, however, to restore monachism against the sense of the nation was premature, and its issue was so discouraging that his son Edward gave the New Minster of Winchester to clerks instead of monks. It is certain that in 942 there were no real Benedictines in England;[3] Odo, Oswald, and probably Dunstan, sought the knowledge of true discipline at Fleury, which had been just re-

[1] King Alfred, in Camden's *Scriptores*, p. 27.

[2] Asser; Camden's *Scr.* p. 18. There were many monasteries standing empty in Asser's time; either owing to the ravages of war, or the contempt into which the regular life had fallen. Alfred's attempts to revive it were failures; ib. 19.

[3] *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 91, 194, &c.

formed under the spirit, if not under the name, of the Cluniac revival.

Revival of monachism under different circumstances and character in the tenth century.

Monachism, as introduced by Dunstan and worked by his disciples, was a very different thing from what it had been before the invasion. It was aggressive, and self-asserting in an extreme degree. It claimed the rights and territories of the ancient houses, and introduced a spirit of persecution and tyranny altogether foreign to the ancient character. Although it had no real pretension to represent the system under which the country had been converted, it took to itself at once the prerogative right to national gratitude. Not content with claiming the property of the old monasteries which had fallen out of cultivation, or got into the hands of the secular clergy, it insisted on the removal of the latter from foundations to which they had at least an equal claim. It spared neither spiritual terrors nor the commanding temporal influence which it had obtained rather from the superstition of the kings than from the ambition of the prelates. And yet it had its bright side; for it helped to cure great defects of moral discipline; it prevented the Church property from becoming the inheritance of a distinct priestly caste; it produced a revival of national learning; and it still maintained, notwithstanding an occasional influx of foreign zealots, a thoroughly national spirit. The bishops were the agents of the change, and they acted on their own inherent authority, not at the dictation of the court of Rome. This new movement lasted as long as the supremacy of the family of Edgar. Cnut and Harold as practical men founded colleges. Edward the Confessor revived the monastic spirit with which he was himself pervaded; and the system which was extended and consolidated by Lanfranc was inaugurated in his reign by the new foundation of Westminster.

It still retained its national spirit.

The effect of the Norman Conquest in this matter was peculiar and important. It owed its character

The policy of Lanfranc and the Conqueror with regard to monasteries.

indirectly to the two powerful minds that were at the head of Church and State. Lanfranc saw in the monasteries, societies of degenerate Benedictines; William, nests of anti-Norman feeling. Lanfranc tried to reform the abuses by drawing closer the rules of discipline; William sought to stifle the patriotic spirit by setting over them the tools of his strong policy. But turbulent and worldly foreign abbots were not more likely to improve the tone of religious society, than rigorous reformers to soften the asperities of national antipathy. The two forces did not exactly neutralize one another, because they were neither equal nor opposed in direction; but the combination produced a result that neither William nor Lanfranc could have calculated on.

Results of that policy.

For a long time the English spirit in the monasteries maintained itself against both tyranny and reform. They hated the Norman invaders, but they had no inclination towards Rome, under whose auspices the Norman invasion had succeeded. At the time, however, that the Normans were taking deep root in England and becoming amalgamated with the natives of the soil; as their interests became insular, and their policy influenced by their insular interests; at this very time also, the royal and the papal politics were diverging; during the whole period of the amalgamation the influence of the court of Rome was declining, partly from the failure of good will in England, partly from its own weakness.

As the Normans became Anglicized, and the royal policy, internally at least, English, the monasteries, still in opposition, lost their distinctive characteristic of patriotism. As the State ceased to be influenced by the court of Rome, the monks looked to the court of Rome for sympathy and assistance. As the bishops and secular clergy opposed themselves to Roman centralization, the monasteries became colonies of Roman

partizans. Their sympathies and antipathies were all in common with Rome, and their national spirit evaporated altogether to find a fitter and more permanent abode in the necessary organism of the church. So long as the pope and the king were on the same side, the monks and the nation were opposed to both alike; when the pope and the king quarrelled, the nation sided with the king, the monks with the pope; hence the monasteries became more papal as the State became more national, and the same series of events made them less English without becoming more Norman, and more papal without becoming more loyal. Matters had reached this point in the latter years of Henry II.

Alienation of the monastic system from the national life.

The monastic cathedral was an institution almost peculiar to England.[1] The missionary bishop, himself a monk, accompanied by a staff of priests who were also monks, settled in the chief city of a kingdom or province. He built his church, his staff of missionary monks became the clergy of that church; the church itself was called a monastery. As the mission work prospered the populations of the larger towns were converted, and settled clergy who were not monks undertook the spiritual charge of them. In time the overgrown dioceses were divided. The principal church of the district became the seat of a bishop, who might or might not be a monk, but who found his episcopal chair placed for him in a church which was of older foundation than itself, and which possessed a character that he ought not and perhaps had not power to infringe. The longer the subdivision of the original diocese was delayed, the more certain was the new bishop to find himself surrounded by a staff of secular

Origin of the two classes of cathedrals.

[1] There were, I believe, a few abroad: when the abbey of Montreal in Sicily was made an archiepiscopal see, Lucius III. ordered that the monastic order should be preserved.

The newer cathedrals secular.

city clergy. His cathedral continued to be an establishment of secular clerks, and when the name and usage of canonical life came into fashion, they took, as a matter of course, the name of canons. In this way it happened that, whilst the newly-founded sees of Anglo-Saxon bishops were placed in secular churches, the original settlements of the first missionary bishops retained a monastic character. Canterbury was thus monastic, although Rochester and London, founded as episcopal sees within seven years, were secular cathedrals. Lindisfarne continued monastic, but York was a minster of clerks. The mother church of Mercia was the monastery of Diuma, but Lichfield and Hereford, and, as far as we know, Leicester, Dorchester, and Worcester, were from the beginning in the hands of clerks.[1]

Cathedrals in the early period of monachism.

During the early stages of monasticism, briefly characterized above, this distinction was practically of little importance; monks and clerks lived together comfortably enough. Later on the secular bishop in a monastic cathedral kept his clerks in his palace; the monks served the church; the monastic bishop in a secular cathedral lived as abbot in his own house and presided as bishop in the church.[2] In the further stage of the decline of monachism the churches came almost entirely into the possession of the bishops' clerks.

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[1] According to Rudburne, *Ang. Sac.* i. 190, Birinus was a Benedictine monk, and the church of Winchester originally monastic; but there is no proof of either statement. The monastic order became extinct there, according to the same author, in 870.

[2] I believe that this is still the case with the Greek, or at least the Russian bishops. They are necessarily monks or celibates, and their staff is composed of monks or celibates: but the cathedrals are served by secular clergy under an archpriest. The Scoto-Irish system, in which the bishop was an officer of the monastery governed by an abbot, in whom, and not in the bishop, the jurisdiction was vested, is, of course, completely different. But it is possible that the monastic system, as it existed at Lindisfarne, was influenced by the Irish connexion quite as much as by the pattern of Canterbury.

As restored monachism developed its more aggressive character, the monastic bishops in some cases edged out the secular clergy from the cathedrals. At Worcester the bishop's chair and the cathedral property were transferred from the college of S. Peter to the monastery of S. Mary; at Sherborn and Winchester the clerks were compelled to embrace the monastic life or to retire from the churches. At the time of the Conquest York, London, Hereford, Selsey, Wells, Exeter, Rochester, Lichfield, Dorchester, and Thetford were secular; Winchester, Worcester, and Sherborn were monastic; the mother churches of the north and south had retained from the beginning the monastic profession. The chair of Augustine had never been removed from Canterbury, and Durham had inherited the original character of Lindisfarne.[1] In the former, as early as the time of Bede,[2] the monastic character of the church was based on the authority of S. Gregory, and before the Conquest this was understood to have been confirmed by a rescript of pope Boniface IV.[3] Durham, according to its own historian Simeon, had been continuously tenanted by a society of mixed character.

Relation of later monachism to the cathedrals.

The cathedral church of Canterbury was not, however, a monastery in the same sense as that of S. Augustine's in the same city; the latter was founded for monastic purposes; the other was the mother church of the whole kingdom, its monastic character being almost accidental. Hence, even in the strictest days of regular discipline, it had contained many clergy who were not monks, and many monks who were so only in name. As at the first the essential character of its inmates was priestly, not monastic, so as time went

Monastic character of Christ Church, Canterbury.

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[1] Simeon of Durham; (Twysden), c. 49, 50.

[2] *H. E.* iv. 27.

[3] W. Malmesb., *G. P.* i. c. 1464 (ed. Migne).

Sketch of monachism there.

on, their successors included both priests and monks. It continued a monastery in name, but of its clergy some were and some were not under monastic vows. Although the later monkish historians contended that all the archbishops up to the Conquest were monks, it is certain from Bede and from the Chronicle that they were not uniformly so. Under variations in the characters of the rulers of the church, the double character of the archiepiscopal familia may well have been maintained, so long as no jealousies sprang up between the two constituents, and there was work enough for both. It is not easy to say at what period the monastic discipline at Christ Church became extinct. Early, however, in the ninth century we find archbishop Wulfred allowing his familia to possess houses of their own within the monastery,[1] and to dispose of them by will among their brethren, a state of things quite incompatible with the rigour of Benedictine rule. The pontificate of Ceolnoth (833 to 870) is the date fixed by the monastic historians for the so-called usurpation of the cathedral by secular clerks. According to this story, the number of the monks having been reduced by sickness to five, the archbishop ordered his chaplains and the priests of the city to assist in divine service until he could properly supply the vacancies.[2] This the continuance of war prevented him from doing, and Æthelred his successor was defeated in a like purpose. After nearly two centuries of secular occupation archbishop Ælfric succeeded in restoring the monks, but of these all but four are said to have shared the martyrdom of S. Ælphege.[3] From 1012 to 1070 a

[1] Kemble, *Codex Dipl.* 200. This privilege was granted on the understanding that the brethren were still to frequent the refectory and the dormitory: so that they were not yet quite secularized.

[2] Chron. Sax. ad ann. 870, 995. Gervase, c. 1643.

[3] Gerv. 1650, 1654.

curious compromise between theory and fact seems to have prevailed. The church was a monastery, and the inmates bore the name of monks, but they did not keep the monastic rule, and moreover assumed the titles of a secular chapter; their president was called a dean, the monks were also cathedral canons.[1] The exact truth of these details it is of course impossible to test, but they contain nothing that is either improbable or inconsistent with ascertained facts. The subject has been rendered obscure both by the partizans and by the enemies of monachism. The former have never allowed the most positive evidence where it clashed with their claims of superiority and antiquity; the latter have been almost as unscrupulous. But it would seem, on a careful consideration of what is said and what is left unsaid in trustworthy records, that the body which Lanfranc undertook to reform was in name monastic, whether it became distinctively so under Ælfric or had borne the title through various fluctuations of discipline from the earliest times.

Cathedral system at Canterbury in the 11th century a compromise between secular and regular professions.

It was unfortunately the policy of the monks and their advocates to claim an original right to all monastic churches, and to aggrandize themselves whenever they could with the occupation of those to which they had not the original claim, on the ground of their sanctity. In this way no prescription against them was allowed to defeat their existing claims, and the shortest prescription in their favour was pressed against the most just claim of the seculars. To turn a church of clerks into a monastery was a merit of great efficiency for the remission of sins, but to turn a monastery into a secular church was an unheard-of impiety. On this principle Worcester and Winchester changed their discipline under Oswald and Æthelwold; and although

Aggressive policy of monachism.

[1] "Æthelnoth munuc ⁊ decanus æt Christes cyrcan." Chr. S. 1020. Gervase, 1650.

there were probably other reasons for the changes introduced shortly before and after the Conquest, the rule that a claim to superior ascetic sanctity entirely superseded all the rights of property and prescription, was acted upon, if not by those Norman and Lotharingian bishops,[1] who attempted to force the use of a common dormitory and refectory on their reluctant canons, certainly by Gundulf in his reforms at Rochester and William of S. Carileph at Durham.

Lanfranc's reformation of his cathedral instigated by Alexander II.

It may be, however, that the measures of Lanfranc and his followers in the reform of the cathedrals were not altogether spontaneous. It is even possible that the original design was not to turn the secular ones into monasteries, but to reduce the monastic cathedrals into the form common throughout the Western Church.[2] At Winchester bishop Walkelin made a vigorous effort to expel the monks, which was only defeated by a papal letter forbidding him to molest them.[3] A similar letter[4] is extant, addressed to Lanfranc in reference to changes reported to be in contemplation at Canterbury. It was probably in consequence of this admonition that he organized the cathedral establishment on the footing which it maintained down to the dissolution. The alteration was quietly effected, the dean becoming the prior and the rest of the unmarried canons accepting the profession and position of monks.

Origin of exemptions of monasteries.

Notwithstanding the great prestige of the monastic order in the early Anglo-Saxon Church, and in spite of the fact that the episcopal superintendence was exercised

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[1] Giso at Wells, Leofric at Exeter, Thomas at York. W. Malmesb., *G. P.* ii. c. 1548. Stubbs, in Twysden, 1708, 1709. Hunter's *Ecclesiastical Documents*, pp. 17, 22. *Foundation of Waltham Abbey*, pref. p. xi. It is curious that in the only places in the Anglo-Saxon laws in which canons are mentioned, it is in connexion with the dormitory and refectory. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws, &c.*, pp. 130, 134.

[2] Eadmer, p. 10.

[3] *Anglia Sacra*, i. 321.

[4] Eadmer (ed. Selden), pp. 10, 11.

by men who were in many cases monks, and in all imbued with extreme respect for the sanctity of the institution, the real inherent antipathy between the two ideas developed very early. It is certain that in the Council of Hertford, which was held by archbishop Theodore in 673, to reduce to order the religious organization of the southern kingdoms, this was a matter of consideration. The third canon of that assembly[1] provided, "that as all monasteries are consecrated to God, it shall be lawful for no bishop to "disquiet them in anything, or to abstract any of "their property by violence." It would seem from this that difficulties had already arisen. It is a question whether any of the papal exemptions which claim so early a date as the eighth century are genuine. Bede, however, records a privilege of pope Agatho to Benedict Biscop,[2] by which the monastery which he had built was rendered safe and free for ever from any interference from without. The monks of Peterborough alleged that they had a still earlier one, in which pope Vitalian exempted them from all subjection except to the pope of Rome and the archbishop of Canterbury.[3] Evesham possessed two letters of pope Constantine conferring liberties of the same character in language more grandiloquent than precise.[4] The famous exemptions of S. Augustine's at Canterbury bear the names of popes Adeodatus and Agatho,[5] but their authenticity was a matter of question in the twelfth century. In all these cases except the first there is great room for doubt. The chartulary of Chertsey[6] contains a bull of pope

Inherent antipathy between the episcopal and monastic systems.

Character of early exemptions.

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[1] Bede, *H. E.*, iv. 5.

[2] Historia Abbatum, c. 6, p. 320 (ed. Hussey).

[3] Chron. S. 657. Cf. 675.

[4] Hist. Evesham (ed. Macray), pp. 171, 172.

[5] Elmham (ed. Hardwicke), pp. 244–247.

[6] MS. Cotton. Vitellius A. xiii. fol. 24.

Moderate character of early genuine exemptions.

Agatho to S. Erkenwald, which, although not free from suspicious characteristics, has greater claim to be received as genuine. There is also a similar grant of pope Constantine to the monasteries of Bermondsey and Woking, which is found in the Black book of Peterborough,[1] and which, as no monasteries are known from other sources to have existed at those places before the Conquest, is exposed to very slight presumption of forgery. The two last-mentioned privileges are in strong contrast with the lavish bestowals of independence that appear in the later and forged charters of exemption. The convents are to elect their own abbots, but the canonical power of the bishop of the diocese is not to be infringed: the episcopal examination must be passed before the abbot can receive benediction. The bishop is carefully excluded from interfering with the administration of the monastic property. The exemption was supposed to make the monastery independent of the diocesan, but did not make it dependent on the court of Rome. It is probable that to this extent, and no further, the independence of the monasteries reached before the Conquest. After that event the foreign system of exemptions was occasionally introduced, the greater abbeys by either forged or genuine privileges actually acquired independence, and the smaller ones by affiliating themselves to one of the new orders, such as those of Cluny or Cîteaux, which were dependent on a chief abbot or on a general chapter, and through them on the pope alone, placed themselves and were frequently strong enough to maintain themselves in a similar position. These houses neither were in obedience to the bishops nor contributed to their revenues in synodals and procurations, nor could the bishop celebrate mass or hold synod in them without permission.

Later exemptions.

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[1] MS. Soc. Antiq. No. 60, folio 50.

Attempts of the cathedral monasteries to acquire independence.

The cathedral monasteries looked with a jealous eye upon their privileged sisters. In them the bishop claimed the place of abbot, the right of presiding in the election of the officers, or of actually nominating them, and the abbot's share in the management of the estates. He was the *persona* of his cathedral, and through him as tenant in chief of the Crown the tenure of the monastic property was defined. Such at least was the episcopal claim, confirmed by the language of Lanfranc and Anselm.[1] The monks, unable to emancipate themselves by papal privilege, could only gain an equality with the exempt monasteries either by occasionally influencing a pious bishop to defeat the rights of his successors, or by procuring from the Crown charters of confirmation to the prior and convent instead of, as they had hitherto run, to the bishop and his monks, the bishop and his family, or the bishop and his flock. The vigilance of the prelates generally prevented the latter expedient from succeeding, but advantage was frequently taken of the piety or weakness of those who had been monks before their consecration, to effect the former. Hence the eagerness of the cathedral monasteries to elect none but monks as their bishops. The see of Canterbury was filled by monks for one hundred and twenty years, from Lanfranc to Baldwin, with only two exceptions, William of Corbeuil, who was a canon regular, and S. Thomas, whose monastic profession was assumed long after his consecration. During this time the power of the prior and monks, to the exclusion of the archbishop, increased with more or less rapidity. Lanfranc had either actually separated the estates of the archbishop from those of the monks, or had confirmed the separation. They appear under different heads in the Domesday survey. Anselm bestowed on the prior and convent the power of administering

[1] Lanfranc, *Decreta*, pref. Anselm, ep. 78, p. 396 (ed. Migne).

The convent of Canterbury made almost independent by Anselm.

these separate estates and of dispatching in common council all the business of the house; in this was included the right of holding the manorial courts on their estates.[1] To him also the convent owed, besides liberal gifts in money, furniture, and land, the settlement of the whole oblations of the high altar,[2] of which Lanfranc had retained half, and of the xenia, or Easter and Christmas offerings from their manors, which were settled on the cellarer for the use of the sick and strangers.[3] By these sacrifices he left himself little more than a nominal supremacy in the chapter, and renounced all interest in the revenues of the house of which he was theoretically abbot. His object, however, was not to exempt the monks from the authority of the archbishops, but, as is expressly stated by Eadmer, to prevent the estates from falling into the king's hands during the vacancies of the see.[4] This policy was easily interpreted by the monks as freeing them from subjection to either king or primate.

Privileges granted by archbishop Richard.

The example of Anselm was followed by S. Thomas,[5] and archbishop Richard, who had been prior of Dover, a monastery in the gift and under the dominion of the cathedral. Both of these had surrendered the oblations of the church, which during the time of Richard included the immense treasures offered at the tomb of his predecessor. Richard had further appropriated four churches, with their dependent chapels,[6] to the uses of the almonry. One privilege, however, seems to have been retained by the archbishops, the

[1] Eadmer, p. 108.

[2] Battely's *Canterbury*, p. 103. MS. Lambeth, 1212. Battely, App. p. 49. Eadmer, 108.

[3] Gervase, 1478. Anselm appropriated these Easter pence to the work of the church. Eadmer, 108.

[4] Eadmer, 109.

[5] Battely, pp. 18, 19.

[6] He also restored the xenia, which must have been kept back by the archbishop since Theobald's time. Gerv. 1675. The churches were Eynesford, Eastry, Monkton, and Mepeham. Somner, 112. Battely, 97. The three first had been appropriated before, and were really restored by Richard.

right of presenting to the churches on the estates of the convent. This was supposed by the monks to be a usurpation of archbishop Theobald; but it is by no means certain that the right had ever been exercised by the convent without the nomination of the archbishop. S. Thomas retained the presentations in his own hands,[1] and although Richard, in the first year of his consecration, professed to restore them, Gervase the chronicler admits that the restoration was defeated by the intrigues of the archbishop's clerks, and that the convent did not enjoy its rights.

The archbishop retained the right of presenting to livings on the conventual estates.

It is no wonder that under these circumstances, and owing to the frequent long absences of the archbishops, the obedience formerly due to them came to be looked upon as a voluntary thing. The claim of the convent to elect their head was put forward on every occasion, and yet when the archbishop was elected, he was hardly recognized as a member of his own church. Although he was the rector and *persona* of the cathedral, the prior and monks claimed to be the church of Canterbury. To the convent, according to their absurd interpretation of the oath of profession, every newly-consecrated bishop swore fidelity; the archbishop was little more than their minister and mouthpiece, and when his voice was not in accord with theirs, he was directly disowned. The martyrdom of S. Thomas, which, if it was an offering at all, was certainly an offering for the immunities of the whole of the clergy, was looked on as the redemption of the church of Canterbury; the church of Canterbury was the mother church of England, a declaration which, however true in one sense, was pressed now into a meaning that was false both in law and in fact.

Exaggerated claims of the convent.

[1] W. Fitz-Stephen, ed. Giles, p. 208. Gerv. 1667, 1675. See also p. 532, below.

Extravagance of the monks.

The influx of wealth produced a corresponding lavish and luxurious outlay. The hospitality of the convent became famous in all the Western Church, from the crowds of pilgrims who returned from the shrine of the martyr. The internal expenditure was also immense. The refectory was the scene of the most abundant and tasteful feasting. Seventeen dishes were served up at the prior's table.[1] The servants and equipages of a hundred and forty brethren[2] were numerous and splendid. The monastery had become a little town, in which the prior was supreme both temporally and spiritually. The example of Canterbury was followed by some of the other cathedral monasteries, and the struggle recorded in the following pages was the result of an attempt of the archbishop and bishops to remedy the evils and discomforts of such a relation.

Struggle between archbishop Theobald and the convent.

The first tokens of the strife may be discovered in the history of the pontificate of Theobald, in 1150.[3] At that time the revenues of the convent were so much diminished by the demands of hospitality and by the

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[1] Giraldus, *Ang. Sacr.* ii. 480.

[2] Gervase, 1654. The number of monks expelled in 1207 was sixty-four (John of Oxenedes ad annum), thirteen more were sick; there were therefore not more than seventy-seven at that time; at the dissolution there were fifty-three. Of the number of servants it is difficult to form an idea. The cellarer in 1322 had thirty-eight servants under him; and the chamberlain and sacrist had large numbers of people employed as tailors, furriers, launderers, &c., and in the service of the church. See Somner, pp. 108, 109; and Appendix 35.

[3] Gervase, 1367–1369. Gervase records two other quarrels between the archbishop and the convent, one in the time of William of Corbeuil, about the church of Dover; and a second, between Theobald and prior Jeremiah, whom he compelled to resign. Both, no doubt, helped to embitter the feeling between the parties, but they have no particular bearing on the present controversy. Peter of Blois (ep. 216) states that there had been a continual hostility of the monks to the archbishop since Anselm's time: the days of Thomas not excepted: one of the brethren refers to the ill will shown by the convent to the martyr in No. cclxviii.

ravages of war, that the prior restored to the archbishop the administration of the conventual property, which had been granted by Anselm, begging him to manage it, and to maintain the brethren until better times came. Theobald began by exercising severe economy; he closed the convent against all but the poorest guests, and fed the monks, to their great disgust, on coarse bread and vegetables, sometimes allowing only one loaf to two. The monastic temperament would endure none but voluntary fasting; speedy repentance followed the exercise of stricter discipline, and the archbishop was roundly charged with nursing his own estates at the expense of his flock. Theobald, who had undertaken the stewardship with great reluctance, was justly provoked at this absurd accusation, and refused to listen to the complaint of the prior; the convent appealed to Rome; the archbishop closed the monastery and restrained the monks from egress, stopped divine service, seized the prior's horses, carried off the charters of the church, and arrested and imprisoned the brethren who had been chosen to prosecute the appeal. Adding insult to injury, he compared the monks to dogs. The mediation of the prelates was shortly afterwards successful in inducing the convent to renounce the appeal and the archbishop to restore the estates. He insisted, however, on the resignation of the prior, which he effected after three years' litigation, the contest being a drawn game, except so far as his personal enmity to the prior was gratified by the result.

Struggle between archbishop Theobald and the convent.

Archbishop Baldwin, whose misfortune it was to renew the struggle after the position of the monks had been strengthened and their resources increased during the pontificates of Thomas and Richard, was a man of singular sanctity, courage, and honesty. He was one of the most distinguished scholars of his time, and has left behind him works which attest his pro-

Character of archbishop Baldwin.

Character of archbishop Baldwin.

ficiency in the studies of the day.[1] According to Giraldus Cambrensis,[2] who knew him well, although it is not easy to say how far he speaks the truth, he was an austere, melancholy man, slow to anger and temperate in the show of it, wanting in severity and firmness. Alexander Llewelyn, the cross-bearer of the martyr, used to say of the three archbishops whom he had known, that when they came to town, the first place S. Thomas visited was the court, Richard, the grange, Baldwin, the church. He was, in fact, a Cistercian of the best sort, a man who lived but little for the world, and that to make it better. A certain infirmity of purpose may be traced in his career, for which the rapid changes which attended his promotion may account, if they cannot excuse it. He adapted himself perhaps too easily to the quickly changing circumstances of his life, and so failed to carry out in his higher position the hopes and promise which had led to his attaining it. According to Giraldus, his friend, as well as to Urban III., his bitter enemy, he was more zealous as a monk than as an abbot, as an abbot than as bishop, as bishop than as archbishop. In the mouth of Urban this was almost praise. We, judging him by a better standard, may admire the honesty and clear-sightedness in which, as an abbot, he chose to perform the duty of an abbot rather than to humour the prejudices of his monks; and, when he became archbishop, tried to do his duty as an archbishop, instead of playing into the hands of the monastic party, a course which would have ensured him a much more quiet life, and, considering the circumstances of his death, might have entitled him to canonization. The errors of temper,

[1] Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. Wright, p. 20. His works are published in the fifth volume of the Bibliotheca Patr. Cisterciensium, A.D. 1662. There are a penitential and a volume of sermons by Baldwin in the library at Lambeth.

[2] Gir. Camb., *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 429, 523. Ger. 1478.

harshness, arbitrary severity, and want of tact, of which he cannot be acquitted on the evidence of the following letters, are not perhaps really inconsistent with the character drawn of him by Giraldus. They seem to be exactly the faults into which an unworldly man would be hurried by the influence of unscrupulous and interested advisers. His errors of temper.

To Baldwin, as a Cistercian, as a scholar, and as an archbishop, the state of his cathedral monastery was extremely offensive. The luxury and independence of the monks were opposed to all his notions of monastic sanctity: his own claims as abbot, so highly estimated under the Cistercian rule, were practically repudiated. The once famous learning of the school of Canterbury was now represented only by Nigel Wireker the poet and Gervase the chronicler. The archbishop felt himself to be an unwelcome stranger in his own house; the sense of personal dislike was added to determine his feelings towards the monks; he knew that he had been forced upon them when they would rather have chosen Theobald of Cluny [1] or Odo of Battle.[2] The state of Christ Church offensive to Baldwin.

Still, it may be doubted whether he would have attempted any measure for their humiliation if it had not been for the suggestions of the clerks, scholars, and statesmen who surrounded him in his new position. The former complained that in a monastic cathedral the archbishop had no means of rewarding his faithful servants with places of dignity and profit. All he could do for them was to enrich them with church livings, diverting the means appropriated to the cure of souls, and placing them in positions which they had neither tastes nor time to fill as the laws of the church required. The scholars,[3] such as Peter of Blois and Joseph The instigations of his dependents.

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[1] Benedict. Peterb. ad 1184.

[2] Gervase, 1466.

[3] Cf. No. clxx., p. 146 below; and Gervase, 1478.

The influence of the scholars and statesmen.

of Exeter, Baldwin's kinsman,[1] could find ample room for regret that the great revenues should be spent on idle and luxurious monks, which might maintain a university of able and useful students; with such a plea Baldwin himself had much sympathy, and the poverty of the infant universities presented a disagreeable contrast to the riches of the monasteries. But the statesmen, the court bishops, and clerical lawyers were the bitterest enemies of the monks, whom they regarded as the avowed maintainers of an alien jurisdiction in the country, as the greatest supporters of dangerous and disreputable immunities, and as insurmountable obstacles to an equal and uniform administration of justice. Both king and church were from time to time exasperated by the claim of the monks to elect the primate, a claim which they looked upon as a dangerous innovation, and which, if granted, might lead to a repetition of the miseries of the struggle between Henry and Thomas. Urged by these, the archbishop began his attack upon the convent, and, advised by these, he conducted his approaches by those crooked ways in which a man cannot walk at once honestly and successfully.[2]

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[1] The author of the lost Antiocheis and of the extant History of the Trojan war. Baldwin intended him to be the poet of the third Crusade. Gir. Camb. *Ang. Sacra*, ii. 492. He is mentioned once in No. ccxlviii. p. 230, as in correspondence with the dean of Rheims.

[2] It may be as well to give here in a note, before entering upon the chronological sketch of the struggle, a list of the monks who were engaged in the dispute with Baldwin, 1187–1189:—

Honorius, prior, 1186–1188.
Geoffrey, subprior, 1186–1191.
Alan, third prior.
Robert, sacrist, Hervey, cellarer, Simon, chamberlain, } Obedientiaries in 1187.
Ralph, almoner, d. 1188.
Roger Norreys, John of Boching, Ralph of Orpington, } Treasurers, 1187, p. 60.
Symon, treasurer, 1187, p. 55.
Felix, cellarer, 1189, p. 299; deposed, 1191; sacrist, before 1197; prior of Dover, 1197.
Osbert de Bristo, prior, 1190.
John de Bremble, probably third prior until 1188. See No. ccxxxii. p. 298, 308.

If we are to accept the account given by Baldwin and his adherents, his intention was only to build a large collegiate church, such as had been projected by S. Anselm and S. Thomas, in honour of S. Stephen and S. Thomas, to be tenanted by men of learning, usefulness, and distinction. For the maintenance of this establishment sufficient could be easily spared from the archiepiscopal property if it were freed from the claims by which the liberality or piety of the series of monks who had filled the see had impoverished it for the enrichment of the convent. The monks, on the other hand, declare that this foundation was intended to supplant their own church, as the mother church of England. It was to be built and endowed out of their estates; its canons were to be the bishops, who already claimed a voice in the election of the primate; that voice would be heard in exclusion of the convent. The archbishop, backed by the king, would have supreme jurisdiction; he would be pope and the suffragans his cardinals; beyond him no appeal would be suffered to

Opposite accounts of Baldwin's design.

Edmund, Humfrey, Haymo de Thanet, Symon, } Died at Rome in 1188.

Gervase, sacrist in 1193, p. 315.
Nigel "Wireker," pp. 315, 317.
William, precentor in 1198, pp. 258, 311.
Hervey, precentor in 1189.

Alexander of Dover, pp. 94, 308,
Henry, pp. 226, 230,
Jonas, p. 271,
Elias, p. 278,
R., p. 226, &c. } Employed abroad.

Willelmus Ascelinus, p. 311,
Robertus Medicus, p. 312,
Walter de Ba, p. 169. } Partizans of Roger Norreys.

R., chaplain to S. Thomas.
—, chaplain to S. Thomas.
R. de Tumba, p. 308.
O. de Tumba, p. 314.
R. de Cripta, p. 298.
Helyas Magnus, p. 315.
Aaron, pp. 67, 315, 317.
Isaac, pp. 311, 317.
James, p. 315.
Walter de Stura, p. 311.
R. de Eastry, p. 313.
Zacharias, p. 312.
Benjamin, p. 312.
Lodovicus, p. 312.
Badewinus, p. 311.
Ralph de Harundel, p. 311.
Symon of Dover, p. 67.
John of Dover, p. 430. Abbot of Battle, 1200–1213.

Fears of the monks.

go; not only would the monasteries lose their money, but their stay and support, their connexion with Rome would be cut off, recourse to the holy see would be forbidden, and a schism in the Western Church would follow. It is curious to note how nearly their instincts led them to the results which four centuries later did follow the abolition of the monastic order in England.

Baldwin obtains a papal licence to reclaim the alienated property of the see.

The first measure taken by the archbishop was to procure a letter from the pope, Lucius III.,[1] empowering him to reclaim the possessions alienated from the see by his predecessor. This licence was necessary, because the alienations in question had been confirmed by Alexander III., and by Lucius himself.[2] It was uncertain how far such a permission would be allowed to be valid in opposition to the papal privileges which might be adduced by the convent; but there could be no doubt that if the archbishop had proceeded without it, he would have put himself out of court at once. Of these alienated possessions the principal ones were the oblations of the church, which canonically belonged to the archbishop,[3] and the four churches appropriated to the almonry, Monkton, Eastry, Mepeham, and Eynesford, and these had been confirmed to the convent by the holy see. The alienations which had not been so confirmed the archbishop could reclaim with no risk of coming in direct conflict with the court of Rome. His measures would probably be appealed against, but when the appeal was once admitted, the price of justice at Rome was notorious, and the longest purse, the weightiest influence, or the most determined pertinacity might reckon on victory.

Armed with this permission, Baldwin, on the 15th of December 1185, the first anniversary of his enthrone-

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[1] No. i.

[2] Battely's *Canterbury*, p. 97, and below, p. 5.

[3] Can. Apost. xl.

ment, came to Canterbury and confiscated the xenia.[1] It is probable that the news of the death of the pope, which occurred at Verona on the 24th of November, reached England about this time, and that for that reason the archbishop did not proceed at once to seize the churches of the almonry. His agents at Verona, however, lost no time in obtaining the renewal of the licence from Urban III.[2] This was issued on the 19th of December, and on the 25th of January 1186, the archbishop's clerks, by virtue of his presentations, took possession of the churches of Monkton and Eastry. They borrowed the keys, says Gervase,[3] pretending that they wished to hear the gospel, and fraudulently inducted the new incumbents. At the same time certain of the vills of the convent were seized and committed to lay stewards under the archbishop's authority.

He seizes the xenia,

and the churches of the almonry.

The monks immediately on the receipt of this news appealed to Rome against the archbishop, who in consequence proceeded to take possession of all the estates of the church. As in Theobald's time, a mediation was proposed and accepted. The archbishop restored the estates, and the convent renounced the appeal. Baldwin retained, however, both the xenia and the disputed churches, as he had a right to do, on the renunciation of the appeal, and proceeded to bestow the latter on some of those influential ecclesiastics whose interest he was anxious to secure either at home or abroad. Eynesford he gave to John of Poictiers, now archbishop of Lyons.[4] The convent were not unanimous in their submission; one monk, Haymo of Thanet, refused to join in the compromise, and carried the appeal (contrary to the good faith of the convent), first by letter, and then in person to pope Urban.

The monks appeal, and afterwards withdraw the appeal.

Haymo carries the appeal to the pope.

[1] Gerv. 1478.
[2] No. ii.
[3] Gervase, 1478.
[4] John of Poictiers was a native of Canterbury. Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, p. 70.

Prior Honorius succeeds Alan.

The next step the archbishop took was, pursuant to the policy of Theobald, to get rid of the prior and substitute a creature of his own. Alan was made abbot of Tewkesbury,[1] and to maintain the balance of justice, Robert of Hastings, Baldwin's chief supporter among the monks, was rewarded with the abbacy of Chester. Honorius, the cellarer of Christ Church, who had been chaplain to the archbishop, was elected to succeed Alan.[2] This appointment is said to have been made at the petition of the convent, who perhaps knew Honorius better than the archbishop did, the latter accepting him as a man who would easily be amenable to his influence. This was done on the 13th of July.

Baldwin proposes to found a college of secular clergy

Matters being now ripe for further progress, a letter was issued to the clergy and people of England, instituting a brotherhood for collecting contributions towards the building of a new collegiate church, to be dedicated to the martyrs Stephen and Thomas.[3] In confirmation of this design letters were produced from the pope, which had been granted to the earnest petitions of the bishops and archbishop.[4] One of these, which was published in November, confirmed the foundation of the college; another readjusted the oblations of Christ Church, giving one quarter to the monks, another to the poor, another to the fabric of the cathedral, and the remainder to the archbishop, to be used at his pleasure.

at Hakington, near Canterbury.

During the last week of November, Baldwin and his clerks came down to Canterbury, intending to install his new foundation for a time in the parish church of S. Stephen at Hakington, the northern suburb of Canterbury, about three furlongs from the cathedral. If we are to credit Gervase,[5] the college was already in-

[1] Received benediction June 15. Gerv. 1480.

[2] Alan of Tewkesbury; ep. xiv. Gervase, 1480.

[3] No. viii. This expedient for raising funds was not unusual. See Ann. Winton. (ed. Luard), p. 78, and Du Cange, *Confratria*.

[4] Nos. vi., dlx., dlxi.

[5] Gerv. 1481.

corporated. It was to consist of sixty or seventy prebendaries: one stall was assigned to the king, and one to each of the confederate bishops, who were each to endow and appoint his prebendary and vicar. Every incumbent of a church in the gift of the archbishop was to be a canon, and this included also all the churches properly in the gift of the convent. By a singular coincidence it happened that on the night of the feast of S. Catherine, a young monk, named Andrew John, saw a wonderful vision. The venerated form of S. Thomas appeared to him, bade him rise from his pallet and follow him from the dormitory into the choir, and through the choir into an adjacent tower. There the saint showed him a huge Catherine wheel, shooting out blue flames. Having withdrawn a little way, he saw the archbishop approach. He took three swords, and having leaned upon each to try whether it would bend, chose one of them, and summoned the prior Honorius. "I wish," said Baldwin, "to destroy this new work " (the unfinished cathedral), and for this purpose I have " made this wheel, but without you I cannot move it." The prior reluctantly complied, and other monks were called to help. Andrew John was now terribly frightened, and implored the saint to interfere. S. Thomas drew his sword, a blade of inconceivable brightness, inscribed with letters of gold, at the first sight of which the archbishop and his satellites vanished. He then delivered the sword to Andrew, showing him the inscription, "Gladius beati Petri apostoli," and bade him give it to the prior, who should smite with it and destroy the Catherine wheel. The monk now awoke, but the dream was thrice repeated before he ventured to tell it to the prior, who immediately saw in the wheel the archbishop's new college, and in the sword of S. Peter, the ready weapon of appeal to Rome. About the same time another of the brethren saw in

His plan for the college.

Vision of Andrew John.

a vision the archbishop trying to cut off S. Thomas's head, and losing his mitre in the attempt.

Second appeal of the convent.

This strange vision, whether true or fictitious, was believed by the brethren, and had the effect of settling prior Honorius in his fidelity.[1] On the 8th of December the convent united in a second appeal, which was announced to Baldwin on the 14th at Gillingham, by Gervase the historian, who fixed the date of appeal for the following Mid-Lent Sunday.[2] The archbishop received Gervase with calmness, and allowed the appeal. On the 16th, however, he came to Canterbury, and on the next day proceeded to Hakington, where he said mass, and instituted his canons in spite of the opposition of the convent. Returning to Christ Church the same day, he suspended the prior and the appellant brethren, closed the monastery, and ordered the monks on their obedience to remain within.[3] Then, as a mark of his profound displeasure, he went to keep Christmas at Otford, thereby laying his cathedral open to an unheard-of insult, for on Christmas eve two papal legates, Hugh of Nunant and cardinal Octavian, neither of them a bishop, were suffered to enter the church with their mitres on and their crosses erect. The prior, regardless of the prohibition, fled from Canterbury immediately after Baldwin's departure, and crossing the straits, landed on the 22nd in Flanders,[4] whence he pursued his way to Verona.

The prior goes to Italy.

The two parties and their allies.

The contest was now to begin in earnest, and each party looked round for supporters, both at home and abroad. The state of Europe was such that neither had any difficulty in finding patrons. Baldwin was strong in the assistance of Henry, who was believed to have

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[1] There are numerous references to this vision in the following letters; especially Nos. lxix., ccxciv.

[2] Gerv. 1484. No. ix.

[3] Gerv. 1485.

[4] No. xix.

suggested the tactics of the archbishop, and the convent consequently betook themselves to solicit the friendship of those who openly or secretly wished to embarrass the king. All who had shown sympathy with S. Thomas during his life, or reverence for him after his death, were claimed as friends by the convent. Philip of France and Philip of Flanders were drawn to this side either by dislike to the king or by duty to the martyr. The emperor Frederick was appealed to by the convent;[1] Henry the Lion, as the king's son-in-law, was favourable to the archbishop, and his example was followed by the king and queen of Sicily.[2] The whole Cistercian order, at home and abroad, espoused the party of Baldwin from principle and inclination; and the whole order of Cluny, at home and abroad, undertook the defence of the convent, to which they were attached by their earliest traditions. Thus the monastic party in England was itself divided, and whilst the convents of Faversham, Reading, and Lewes were found among the willing agents of the monks, those of Boxley and Robertsbridge were always ready to defeat any step injurious to the archbishop. Of the greater monasteries, those of Peterborough, Battle, and Tewkesbury were ruled by abbots who had been priors of Canterbury, and Evesham by a Cluniac monk. S. Augustine's, hating impartially both the archbishop and the convent, stood aloof from the strife. In France the abbeys of S. Bertin and Cluny afforded a home to the exiles and provisions to the messengers of the convent. One Cistercian monk, Peter, who had been abbot of Cîteaux, and was now bishop of Arras, offered a lukewarm support to the monks, but actually played into the hands of Baldwin. Ralph de Serra (Sarr in Thanet), dean of Rheims, who had been a friend of S. Thomas,

State of parties.

The Cistercians support Baldwin, the Cluniacs the convent.

[1] No. xi.

[2] No. clxxxiii.

and was personally attached to the convent, was their most zealous supporter among the secular clergy in France.

Parties in the college of cardinals.

In the college of cardinals the same differences prevailed. Of the cardinal bishops, Henry of Albano, who had been abbot of Clairvaux when Baldwin was abbot of Ford, undertook the defence of his friend; he was supported by cardinal Albert, the chancellor, who is also claimed by the Cistercians,[1] and who had known the king of England in former years, and by the cardinal deacon Octavian. On the other hand, Theobald, bishop of Ostia and dean of the Sacred college, had been abbot of Cluny, and also a candidate for the see of Canterbury when Baldwin was elected;[2] both good reasons for supporting the monks. Among the less eminent cardinals who were glad to pursue the ordinary policy of the papacy by weakening the authority of the bishops and supporting the demand of the monks, the latter found great favour. Of these were William of Champagne, archbishop of Rheims, who, though not resident, had influential agents at Verona; Gratian, the cardinal of SS. Cosmas and Damian, the friend of S. Thomas, who called him the Son of Grace, and the mortal enemy of Henry, who had contemned his mediation in 1169; cardinal Hyacinth, who afterwards became Celestine III.; the French cardinals, Melior and Ralph Nigel; Gerard Allucingoli, nephew of Lucius III.; Peter of Piacenza, Soffred of S. Mary in via lata; and John of Anagni, cardinal priest of S. Mark, to whose family was attached a young ecclesiastic, his kinsman, whose friendship gained at this time was fraught with great issues both to the convent and to their country; Lothario[3] dei Conti di Segni, afterwards pope Inno-

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[1] Ciaconius.

[2] Benedict. Peterb. ad ann. 1184.

[3] P. 68.

cent III. Last, if not least, Urban III., or pope Turban as the imperialists called him, once archdeacon of Bourges, and an ally of S. Thomas,[1] threw himself with his characteristic violence into the party opposed to Baldwin.

Position of the bishops at home.

The archbishop took up his position with the best advice. He found himself backed by the majority of the bishops at home. Geoffrey of Ely,[2] the archidiabolus of S. Thomas, was ready to depose that in that loving intercourse which they had enjoyed, the departed saint had often spoken of his design of building a church in honour of S. Stephen. Hugh of Nunant, the elect of Coventry, nephew of Arnulf of Lisieux,[3] the inheritor of the diplomatic abilities, and courtly habits of a long race of astute Norman prelates, and the inveterate enemy of monachism, was prepared to go any lengths of violence in the same direction. John the Chantor, bishop of Exeter, was bound, both as an Exeter man and as a newly consecrated bishop, to take the side of his townsman and primate. The bishop of Norwich, John of Oxford, needed no persuasion to take up arms against his old enemies. Gilbert of Rochester was the near kinsman of the king's justiciar, and at constant war with the monks of his own

[1] Conrad of Ursperg, p. cccxi. (ed. 1540.) Herb. Bosham, vii. 1.

[2] No. xxiii. It is not improbable that there may be some traces of a design of this sort on the part of S. Anselm and S. Thomas in their different lives; I have not, however, been able to discover them. There is so great an *à priori* probability that S. Thomas, who had a great veneration for S. Stephen, had some such plan, that Geoffrey might safely assert it, whether true or not. Peter of Blois tells an even more circumstantial story of S. Anselm's wish to do the same. Ep. 216. (Appendix, No. dlxxi.)

[3] Hugh was nephew to Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, and John Fitz-Hardouin, bishop of Seez, and administrator of Rochester: grand-nephew of John, bishop of Lisieux. See Epist. Arnulfi, pp. 97, 121, 137, &c. (ed. Migne); and Ord. Vital., xi. 31, xii. 35. Hugh was legate of the apostolic see for Ireland in 1186.

church. Seffrid of Chichester and Reginald of Bath, with a view probably to future elections, took the opposite side. Hugh of Lincoln stood aloof, and according to his biographer, faithfully remonstrated with Baldwin, explaining the difficulties and dangers of the course he was beginning, so clearly and sensibly that the result almost entitled him to the reputation of a prophet.[1]

Opinion of S. Hugh.

Of the king's ministers, Ranulf Glanvill professed attachment to the convent, but Hubert Walter, his nephew, was designated for one of the new prebends, as were also Richard Fitz Neal, the king's treasurer, and several others who rose to eminence in the following reigns, among whom were William of S. Mere l'Eglise, afterwards bishop of London; Henry of Northampton, canon of S. Paul's; and Ralph of S. Martin, the persecutor of the convent under John.[2]

The king's ministers.

Before sending his representatives to Rome to answer the prior, the archbishop took a step towards recovering the administration of the conventual estates. He forbade the tenants to pay rent to the monks, and, having summoned three of the brethren, presented them with a commission to manage the affairs of the house during the absence of the prior.[3] The convent refused to recognize the authority, and Baldwin, having pleaded the precedent of Theobald, not feeling very sure of his ground, waived his claim.[4] The king, who had spent Christmas at Guildford and was now going abroad, about this time sent, at the archbishop's request, the bishops of Norwich and Worcester with Hugh of Nunant,[5] to propose an arbitration; but this was rejected by the subprior Geoffrey, a man of great firmness and

The archbishop tries to usurp the management of the estates of the convent.

[1] Magna Vita S. Hugonis (ed. Dimock, pp. 133–136).

[2] Fœdera, i. 99. Foss's *Judges*, i. 418.

[3] Nos. lxxxiv., lxxxv.

[4] Gerv. 1486.

[5] No. xcix.

much practical ability, who two days afterwards had an interview with the king at Chilham, and left him favourably impressed with his eloquence and moderation. On the 11th of February 1187, Henry came in person to Christchurch, and prayed the monks to renounce the appeal and accept an arbitration. This failing, he addressed himself to Baldwin, with whom he was acting in concert. "Let the archbishop remove the "suspension of the offending monks; the king was in "despair at losing so many valuable intercessors." The archbishop insisted on a confession to be made in the presence of witnesses; the convent pleaded the privilege by which strangers were forbidden to be present on such an occasion. The archbishop, however, granted a general absolution before he left.

Henry II. visits Canterbury.

He now despatched his agents to Verona: Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, and William of S. Faith (*sans* faith, according to the convent), precentor of Wells. He also changed the site of his new church, from the churchyard of Hakington to the vacant space in front of S. Dunstan's church, now known as S. Thomas's hill.[1] The foundations were begun on the 18th of February, a day marked by the heaviest hail-storm ever known in Kent.

Baldwin sends agents to Verona, and changes the site of his college.

The prior and his companions, well furnished with letters of introduction, had now reached Verona, and found the pope already active in their behalf. He had listened favourably to the first appeal, and before the arrival of the prior, on the 19th of January, had issued a mandate for the restoration of Eastry and Monkton, the execution of which was committed to the bishop of Lincoln and the abbots of Boxley and

Honorius at Verona.

[1] Gerv. 1491; Somner, p. 47; and No. dlv. below. Although the new site was in the parish of St. Dunstan, the college continued to be called that of Hakington.

Honorius at Verona, obtains a mandate for his restoration.

S. Augustine's.[1] As however this appeal had been formally renounced, these letters were not brought forward in the controversy. Notwithstanding the absence of Theobald of Ostia,[2] Honorius obtained an audience of the pope, and on the 1st of March, a week before the term of the appeal, was able to send papal letters to England ordering the archbishop to remove his suspension, and the abbots of Battle, Faversham and S. Augustine's to enforce compliance.[3] As the archbishop's agents had not arrived on Midlent Sunday, Urban adjourned the hearing of the cause to the 10th of April, in the meanwhile granting several privileges to the prior, and especially vesting the whole of the oblations of the church in the hands of the convent.

Baldwin's contempt of the papal mandate.

Baldwin received the letters ordering the removal of the prior's suspension on the 25th of March, at Otford; he took no further notice of them, but, by way of showing his contempt for the convent, consecrated, at S. Paul's in London on the following day, the chrism for the diocese of Canterbury.[4] The abbot of Battle executed his commission on the 11th of April,[5] declaring the sentence against the prior and monks to be invalid; the other points of the mandate, which proceeded to enjoin the restoration of the *status quo ante appellationem*, he was afraid to proceed with,

[1] Nos. iii., v. The churches of Eynesford and Mepeham are not mentioned in this letter. Mepeham was in fact held by Master Virgil, to whom archbishop Richard had given it at the request of Alexander III., and whose rights he had reserved in the act of appropriation. Eynesford had been long in litigation between the convent and the heirs of William Fitz Ralph, the original donor. This ended in archbishop Richard's time. He gave it to Gentilis, a nephew of Alexander III., to revert on his death to the almonry. Gentilis died shortly before Richard, who then confirmed the appropriation.—Fragment of a chartulary of the almonry, Lambeth charters, vol. xiii., p. 1, No. 15, and Bodl. MS. Tanner, xviii.

[2] No. xxxiv.

[3] Nos. xxvi., xxvii.

[4] No. xxxiii. Gerv. 1493.

[5] No. xxviii. Gerv. 1494.

and referred them back to the pope. On the 14th[1] the archbishop's clerks appealed to the pope against the commissioners, and Baldwin replied to the attack by confining to the monastery Ralph of Orpington and John of Boching, the managers of the estates, and by building a chapel of wood, eighty feet in length, on the chosen site.

He builds a wooden chapel.

This was duly reported to the pope, who, on the 9th of May, the representatives of Baldwin having not yet appeared, addressed two peremptory letters[2] to the archbishop, in the first of which he forbade him to proceed with his buildings, and in the second ordered him to restore the property of the convent. He also wrote to the prelates of England abolishing the new brotherhood, and to the abbots of Battle, Faversham and S. Augustine's, to compel Baldwin to restitution.[3] Honorius and his party having succeeded so well, prepared to return home, leaving the cause in the hands of Master Pillius, an eminent advocate, with injunctions to watch the arrival and the machinations of the archbishop's agents. The letters were sent forward by Haymo of Thanet, the original appellant.[4] Brothers Humfrey and Edmund prepared to accompany the prior.[5]

The pope issues two new mandates.

The apostolic mandates were served on the archbishop as he was going on a legatine visit to Wales,[6] the first at Bredon, on June 10th, and the second at Shrewsbury, on the 23rd, by brothers Symon and Aaron. To both he returned answer in writing, "We "have seen the pope's mandates, and what we have "to do thereupon we will do." His practical reply was to press on the building; the papal letter had miraculous power to turn the wooden edifice to stone;[7]

Baldwin again contemns the mandates.

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[1] Gerv. 1494.
[2] Nos. xl., xlii.
[3] Nos. xli., xliii.
[4] Gerv. 1497. Nos. lxx., lxxix.
[5] Nos. liii., liv.
[6] Not to be confounded with his expedition to Wales in the following year on the business of the Crusade.
[7] No. lxvi.

the canons began to build their houses, and took upon themselves the responsibility of proceeding with the church. John of Boching and Ralph of Orpington were now excommunicated, and immediately carried their complaint to the pope.[1] The royal interference was also invoked. Ranulf Glanvill forbade the execution of the second mandate, and summoned the subprior to Westminster on the 25th of July.[2] Geoffrey declined to obey the summons, but sent two aged brethren in his place; whom the justiciar charged to recall the prior, and to send the subprior with five or six of the monks to exhibit their privileges and charters before the king in Normandy.[3]

Ranulf Glanvill forbids the execution of the mandate.

The convent were thrown into the greatest dismay by these proceedings. That the prior should have left Verona under the circumstances seemed little better than treason. Brother Haymo, who had foolishly ventured home without a protection,[4] had been instantly sent back. Other messengers were sent off to the brethren at Verona, and to Cluny, Tours and Rheims, to meet Honorius.[5] Haymo met him at Vercelli,[6] but not being in possession of the latest news, could not induce him to return to the court. He proceeded homewards, and reached Soissons, where he took up his residence with the dean of Rheims,[7] until he received peremptory directions to return to Verona.[8] These he obeyed, and arrived there on the 11th of September.[9] In the meantime important events had occurred both there and nearer home.

Honorius leaves Verona, and is ordered back.

We have seen how the archbishop had been foiled

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[1] Nos. lxxiii., lxxxiii., lxxxix., xc. They were absolved on the day of their arrival at Verona, and immediately returned home.

[2] No. lx.

[3] Nos. lxi., lxv. Gerv. 1504.

[4] No. lxxx.

[5] Nos. lxxvii., lxxx.

[6] Gervase, 1497.

[7] Whether the dean of Rheims, Ralph of Sarr, was also archdeacon of Soissons, I cannot make out. It was at his house that Honorius stayed at Soissons, and he seems to be addressed as archdeacon in No. xv. Gerv. 1497. No. lxxix.

[8] No. lxxxii.

[9] No. cxxvii.

in his attempt to get the management of the conventual estates entrusted to his nominees during the absence of the prior. On his return from Wales he made another effort to secure it, which led to further difficulties. He began by again seizing the whole estates of the convent. Then, on his way to Dover, where he was going to embark for the continent, he sent for the officers of the convent, and made them a new proposition. The property of the convent was apportioned partly to the cellarership for the victualling of the house, partly to the chamberlainship for the furniture of the cells and clothing of the monks, and partly to the sacrist for the use of the church.[1] The manors appropriated to these purposes were not, however, managed by the obedientiaries themselves, but by three stewards, bursars or treasurers, who received the whole revenue, and divided it in proper proportions. The three treasurers were John of Boching[2] and Ralph of Orpington,[3] whom the archbishop had excommunicated, and Roger Norreys,[4] who, with the aged sacrist Robert, had been sent on private business to the king in France. The remaining two obedientiaries, Hervey the cellarer and Symon the chamberlain, obeyed the archbishop's summons. His proposal to them was that they should consent to hold their offices under him, instead of the convent, and of course should render their accounts to him only.[4] This they refused to do, declaring that they would hold their places on the same terms on which their predecessors had done. The archbishop refused to restore the estates on any other conditions, and forbade the cellarer to meddle any more with the affairs of the house. He then, having appealed to the pope against the abbots of Faversham and Battle, sailed to Normandy,

Baldwin determines to usurp the management of the estates.

[1] No. cxix.
[2] No. cxix.
[3] No. cvii.
[4] Gerv. 1504. No. xcvi.

The envoys of the convent at the king's court.

on the 11th of August.[1] The king was at Alençon, where a great court was to be held on the 28th. To Alençon accordingly the archbishop betook himself, and to his alarm found that the messengers of the convent had had an interview with the king. These were Alexander of Dover and an old monk named Robert or Richard, who had been chaplain to S. Thomas.[2] Henry had expressed himself in friendly terms, and so far imposed upon the envoys, that Alexander returned home. The archbishop proceeded to lay his statement before Henry, insisting on resigning his see if the monks were not compelled to obedience.[3]

Baldwin invests the sacrist and cellarer at Alençon.

At the court on the 28th the messengers of the convent who were sent in obedience to the command of the justiciar presented themselves, Robert, who had been sacrist for forty years,[4] and Roger Norreys. Robert was very old and stupid, Roger was a traitor. By the king's persuasion these were induced to accept the archbishop's terms: Roger he appointed cellarer, and Robert he re-appointed as sacrist. They allowed themselves to be invested by him, acknowledging him as their feudal lord, and as the source of their jurisdiction over the manors appropriated to their obediences. They returned home with letters to the convent announcing their appointment, and to the bishop of Rochester, requiring him to institute them, and also to re-invest Symon the chamberlain as the archbishop's servant.[5] The king either supposed or pretended to do so, that these messengers had full powers to treat on behalf of the convent, and that by yielding in this point they had satisfied the archbishop, which was all

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[1] Gerv. 1505.
[2] No. cxxi.
[3] Gerv. 1505.
[4] Nos. cxxi., cxviii.
[5] Nos. cxi., cxii. The king also commissioned Ranulf Glanvill and the bishop to invest the new obedientiaries, which, of course, increased the fear of the convent, of being subjected to secular power.

that was wanted. He wrote, therefore, to the pope, and to prior Honorius, claiming the credit of having restored peace to the church.[1]

The reception of the sacrist and cellarer at Canterbury.

Roger and Robert were received at Canterbury with well deserved indignation. Symon refused to accept institution from the bishop, and the aged sacrist was ordered to repudiate his act at Alençon, as forced on him by the king. Roger Norreys was arrested and confined in the infirmary.[2] The sacrist with three other brethren was sent back to the king, to declare that from him only, and not from the archbishop, would the convent accept restitution, and that such restitution must be made to the prior and convent, not to the obedientiaries.[3] These messengers were not allowed to have access to the king; the archbishop was still more exasperated, and attempted to close the courts of justice held by the convent in their own name.[4] He also directed his servants to take possession of the estates of the convent, and displace their officials. A fresh complaint was accordingly carried to Rome: not only had the archbishop violated the ancient customs of the convent, but, by investing the obedientiaries in the king's court, he had recognized a secular jurisdiction in matters ecclesiastical. This was the news from home which reached the prior soon after his return to the papal court.

Peter of Blois at Verona.

There Baldwin's envoys had been working zealously during Honorius's absence. Peter of Blois and William of S. Faith had arrived at Verona, a week after the prior had left, early in June.[5] They seem to have held back, as if uncertain of their reception. They had delayed their arrival until his departure; now they refused to open their budget in the presence of Master

[1] Nos. cxiv., cxv.
[2] Gerv. 1506. Nos. cxvii., cxviii., cxxi.
[3] Gerv. 1506. No. cxxiii.
[4] Gerv. 1507.
[5] Gerv. 1497–8–9.

The pope hears both sides.

Pillius. When he had been got out of the way, they produced on behalf of the king and primate their answers to the charges of the monks: on these pope Urban reserved his decision. They then delivered petitions in favour of the new church, and for the revocation of the privileges which the prior had obtained in March. Master Pillius was recalled to state the arguments of the convent against this. He declared that the royal letters on behalf of the new church were a mere matter of form, and such as would necessarily be granted to any influential person. To the claims of Baldwin he replied by stating the rights of the convent, and denying those of the archbishop, who had moreover put himself in the wrong by proceeding with the prohibited building. The pope then questioned Peter of Blois as to the use and necessity of the new college. "The church of Canterbury," said Peter, "is very high "exalted and glorious, and therefore needs much help "against princes and powers, especially such help as "would be supplied by wise clerks, who are much more "prudent and experienced in affairs than are monks." "But are not," asked the pope, "the monks the ministers of the cathedral?" Peter admitted it. "If so, "then why does not the archbishop use them as his "councillors?" Here Master Pillius broke in: "My "Lord, the archbishop is bishop of the church of Canterbury, and also, as our opponents say, abbot of "these same monks. If, then, he is abbot, he ought "to change or alienate nothing without consent of his "monks, neither in his character of bishop can he "build a church on the estates of his chapter without "their consent." The pope next inquired what was the archbishop's purpose in building, "was the see, or "the body of the martyr to be translated?" Peter answered that no such proceeding was contemplated, the archbishop was merely carrying out the purpose of S. Anselm and S. Thomas. "Stop," said the pope, "did

"S. Thomas wish to build a church in his own name?" Peter, so said the monks, was silenced by this august quibble. The arguments lasted several days, but this is all that is preserved to us of the actual discussion.[1] The pope silences Peter of Blois.

The result of the hearing was to embitter Urban more than before against the archbishop. After Honorius's return the cause was pressed still more urgently on him by both parties. The pope's mind was at this time unsettled and soured by his quarrel with the emperor, whom he threatened to excommunicate. The people of Verona begged him not to issue his sentence whilst he was their guest; and during the last week of September he left the city, intending, according to some authorities, to go to Venice to equip a fleet of crusaders. He took, however, the way to Ferrara. Peter of Blois rode with him the first day. They had been fellow students in former days; now the envoy began to sing the praises of Baldwin. The pope, who was in bad health, and never had much command of temper, was bored by the importunity of the archdeacon. "May it please God," he cried out, "that I "may never dismount from this horse or mount steed "again, if I do not shortly dismount him from his arch-"bishoprick." Scarcely were the words spoken, when the cross of gold, carried before him by the subdeacon, fell broken at his feet. That day he reached a place which Peter calls Sutoro or Futuro. There he was seized with dysentery, and was obliged to proceed by water to Ferrara. At Ferrara he issued a mandate to the archbishop on the 3rd of October, directing him to demo- Urban III. leaves Verona. Illness of the pope.

[1] Gerv. 1497–9.

[2] This account is given by Peter of Blois in a fragment of a letter which so far as I am aware occurs in only one MS. New College, 127. I have ventured to give it in the Appendix, (No. dlxxi.) as it is a necessary adjunct to the present series of letters; but the text is corrupt and shows that the transcriber could not read his copy.

Urban's last mandate.

lish his new buildings and desecrate the site, to dissolve the collegiate foundation, and replace the convent *in statu quo*. Thirty days were allowed for compliance, after that term the bishops of Bath and Chichester were to enforce it. At the same time he wrote to the king, insisting on the execution of the mandate, and to the convent, annulling all sentences of excommunication, suspension, or interdict that Baldwin might launch against them.[1]

Death of Urban III.

On the day these letters were issued Jerusalem was taken by Saladin, and sixteen days after the pope died. The news of both these events reached England nearly at the same time.[2] It is scarcely possible that Urban should have heard of the capture of the holy city, but he may have known that the sultan had begun the siege, and that defence was hopeless. His death was ascribed to the bitterness of his grief. It is observable, however, that the letters in this volume make no mention of the surrender as a cause of his death. No such blow indeed was necessary to despatch an old man worn out with heavy anxiety and stormy passions; the dysentery caught on his journey doubtless caused his end. In him the convent lost a very zealous, if not a discreet patron, and the archbishop a furious enemy. The event was announced to both parties by their agents, Peter of Blois exhibiting a most unbecoming and heartless joy.[3] Two days after the death of Urban, the new pope was chosen. The bishop of Albano, Baldwin's friend, took a leading part in the election. The cardinals nominated three candidates, the bishops of Albano and Palestrina, and Albert, the chancellor. The bishop of Palestrina was persuaded to retire on

[1] Nos. cxxviii., cxxix., cxxx., cxxxi.

[2] William of Newburgh says that it was the news of the battle of July 6 that killed the pope. Lib. iii. 21. Benedict of Peterborough and Hoveden confirm the statement; as also Gervase.

[3] Nos. cxxxiv., cxxxv.

the plea of infirmity, Henry of Albano refused to undertake the responsibility, and the chancellor succeeded, as Gregory VIII.[1] His first measure was to confirm all the acts of his predecessor done within three months of his death;[2] his second, to make an exception in favour of the archbishop of Canterbury, thus annulling the mandates which had been gained with so much perseverance and at so great a price. This was done on the 29th of October.

Election of Gregory VIII.

He annuls the mandates of Urban III.

The mandate arrived in England at the end of the same month, and the privilege exempting the convent from Baldwin's sentence was read in the synod of the diocese at Canterbury on the 1st of November.[3] The archbishop received his letter at Caen, from brother Haymo,[4] and declared himself willing to do justice. The king also professed to be friendly. Matters seemed a little more favourable, when the news of Urban's death spoiled all. King and primate alike threw off the mask. Henry ordered the justiciar to take the new college under royal protection, which was done on the 18th of November;[5] and Baldwin issued injunctions for thanksgiving at Hakington for the annulling of the papal mandate.[6] On the 17th of December he forbade the holding of the courts of the convent.[7] Ralph of S. Martin, one of their bitterest enemies, visited them with advice to throw themselves on the archbishop's mercy; and the venerable Herbert of Bosham, with more regret, gave them the same counsel.[8]

The proceedings of Baldwin after the death of Urban.

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[1] No. cxxxv.

[2] Nos. cxxxviii., cxxxix. Diceto, 636. Hoveden, 365.

[3] No. clxxvi.

[4] Gerv. 1511.

[5] No. cxxxiii.

[6] No. cxl.

[7] No. cxxiv. Gerv. 1513.

[8] Gerv. 1513. The appearance of Herbert in this place ought to have refuted at once the notion that appears in some of our early bibliographers, and in the lists of cardinals, that Herbert of Bosham became, after S. Thomas's death, a cardinal and archbishop of Benevento. The story is compounded

But the spirited subprior was proof against all such recommendations, and Herbert left him convinced, according to Gervase, of the duty of resistance.

Honorius follows the new pope to Pisa.

Prior Honorius was now pleading his cause over again with the cardinals, and trying to get an interview with the new pope. He was assured privately that justice would be done ultimately, but that for the time it was necessary to move cautiously. He followed the court from Ferrara, by Bologna and Modena, to Parma, and thence to Pisa, where he arrived on the 10th of December.[1] The pope professed that he had no time to listen to him; he was engrossed with receiving embassies and preparing for the crusade; the bishop of Albano was still hostile. But just as he was congratulating himself on the dismissal of his most dreaded opponent,[2] who was sent to conduct the matter of the crusade in Germany, the pope sickened and died after a reign of less than two months. No time was wasted in filling up the vacant throne. The Cistercian bishop of Albano was absent, and the succession was offered to the Cluniac Theobald of Ostia, the friend and patron of the monks of Canterbury. Theobald declined the dangerous honour, and Paul Scolari, bishop of Palestrina, who two months before had been shouldered out of it by the bishop of Albano, ascended the papal throne under the name of Clement III., on the 19th of De-

Death of Gregory VIII.

Clement III. succeeds.

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from the following ingredients :— 1. Lombard of Piacenza, a friend of S. Thomas, was cardinal and archbishop of Benevento from 1171–1179. He probably gave Alan of Tewkesbury his prebend at Benevento. 2. Herbert, archbishop of Compsa, 1138–1180. He was a native of Middlesex, and Ralph de Diceto makes him archbishop of Cosenza, and swallowed up by an earthquake, in 1185. 3. A different person, named Ruffus, who was archbishop of Cosenza, and perished in that way in 1185. See Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, viii. 192, &c.; Ciaconius, i. 1094.

[1] No. cxlviii., cliv.

[2] No. clxi. Henry proceeded into Germany, where he gave the cross to Frederick Barbarossa, and proceeding thence through the Low Countries, died at Arras, July 14, 1188.

cember.[1] The bishop of Ostia announced the result to the convent, advising them to authorize the continued stay of the prior at the papal court.[2]

Baldwin sends the bishop of Rochester to Canterbury.

In England the death of Urban was regarded as ensuring the triumph of the archbishop. Hitherto he had managed to render nugatory the whole procedure of the convent. He now prepared to return, and, in concert with the king, sent the bishop of Rochester with a proposal to the convent on the 9th of January 1188.[3] The bishop, attended by a few knights and by the canons of Hakington, harangued the monks in the chapter house, extolling the virtues of Baldwin, and counselling submission. He did not, however, offer any relaxation of the harshness which had been hitherto exercised by the archbishop, and ended by confessing that he was sent to inspect and place under seal the treasure of the church. The subprior took a day for consideration, and on the morrow replied, refusing to let the bishop inspect the treasure, and declining to

[1] No. clxii.

[2] No. cl.

[3] Gervase, 1514. Nos. cxlvii., clxvii. It is necessary, in order to understand the proceedings, to remember the position of the conventual buildings. The archbishop's palace and court stood to the north-west of the church. East of them was the cloister, adjoining the nave; east of that was the convent garden, and east of that, round the east end, and down the south side of the church as far as the gate of the close, extended the cemetery, which was divided into an outer and inner portion by the *porta cœmeterii*; this is called the court of the cemetery. Immediately adjoining the cloister on the north and east were the dormitory and refectory; beyond which on the north was the court of the convent, surrounded by the offices, brewhouse, storehouses, &c., which joined nearly the city wall. It will thus be seen how the court of the monks being seized by the soldiers, their provisions were cut off, and they were confined to the dormitory, refectory, cloister and church buildings. The seizure of the gates of the close and of the cemetery stopped all access from without, to the church, and put the monks to great straits for provisions. There is a good map in Somner's *Canterbury*, and two beautiful plans, one copied from a twelfth century MS., in a memoir on the conventual buildings read by Mr. Mackenzie Walcott before the Institute of British Architects, Dec. 15, 1862.

Violent proceedings against the convent.

surrender the seal or to receive restitution of the estates on the archbishop's terms. Having said thus much, he solemnly appealed to the pope, and asked the bishop for licence to proceed to Rome with his appeal. The bishop, unable to answer, retired in dismay, and the knights who accompanied him attempted to seize the court of the monks.[1] The next day, Monday, January 11,[2] Ranulf Glanvill arrived in person, and had a peaceable interview with the subprior. The same day Baldwin landed at Dover. On the Wednesday Geoffrey sent two monks on horseback to Wingham, to offer him the customary procession. He replied by excommunicating the messengers and seizing their horses. They returned in great tribulation on foot, and were followed by William Fitz Neal,[3] the faithless steward who had deserted S. Thomas in the hour of his last peril. William found the court of the convent closed against him, broke through the wall, and occupied the gate and the outer offices;[4] whereupon the subprior suspended divine service, and stripped the altars as in the time of interdict.[5] The next day the servants of the convent were compelled to swear that they would prevent the monks from going outside the walls; the inner wall of the court was scaled, and the monks shut up within the line of the cloister, their provisions now falling into the enemies' hands. After an ineffectual attempt at reconciliation, made by the bishop of Rochester and Hugh of Nunant, Baldwin on the following Sunday excommunicated the subprior and his advisers.[6] The very next day he received the news of pope Gregory's death, and, thinking that he

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[1] Nos. cli., cliii.

[2] Gervase, 1516. Nos. clviii., clix., clxvi.

[3] Gerv. 1516; Foss's *Judges*, i. 241; Fitz-Stephen, 297, 298; Roger of Pontigny, 160–161.

[4] Nos. clvi., clvii.

[5] Gerv. 1517. No. clxvii.

[6] Gerv. 1518. No. clxvii.

had gone too far for his own safety, left Wingham, and, having preached an apologetic sermon at Hakington, hurried to London. He also made another offer of restitution, by the prior of S. Gregory's and the sheriff of Kent, and entreated the convent to resume divine service. The subprior answered the proposal as usual, and refused the request. The messengers, however, opened the little door in the gate of the cemetery for the admission of pilgrims, and a few days later the gate itself was opened by the sheriff, but it was still strictly guarded. In this way the monks were kept in a state of imprisonment for eighty-four weeks, during which time they were dependent for food on the gifts of the pilgrims; even Jews were found among their benefactors. They were so well supplied, it seems, that two hundred strangers were daily fed with the superfluous contributions; nor were these confined to absolute necessaries, for fish, vegetables, and pepper cake were among the constant offerings; even poultry was presented for the use of the sick.[1] About the end of January Roger Norreys, the intruded cellarer, escaped from durance by making his way through the cloaca of the monks,[2] and betook himself to Baldwin at Otford.[3]

The monks confined to the monastery.

Escape of Roger Norreys.

[1] Gerv. 1520, to the 12th of August 1189.

[2] This building occupies a conspicuous place in the ancient plan of the convent; extending from the infirmary across the court of the monks almost as far as the dormitory. If Roger was still confined in the infirmary he could have easily escaped into the cemetery, or if not, through the cloaca into the court of the convent, which, as well as the cemetery, was in the hands of the enemy. It may be well just to point out here that Roger Cloacarius, who is mentioned once or twice, is, of course, Roger Norreys. The play on the name of Norreys occurs several times, as Rogerus ab Aquilone; and the brother who has set his throne in the sides of the north. Similar are the references to William de Sancta Fide, W. Malæ Fidei and W. Sine Fide: to the unhappy pretensions of brother Felix; and to the *unnecessary* service of Roger Norreys after his escape. Who the little priest was who "crebrius ostrea capiat" No. lxxi., I do not know, unless it was the abbot of Faversham.

[3] Gerv. 1519. No. ccviii.

Cause of the convent at the council of Gaitington.

The king landed at Winchelsea on the 30th of January,[1] and was prevented from visiting Canterbury by the news of the suspension of divine service. He sent on the 4th of February[2] to the subprior orders to resume it, and summoned him with six of the brethren to the council which was to be held at Gaitington on the 11th. Geoffrey refused either to appear or to send representatives. The council assembled, and the archbishop stated his complaint against the convent in very bitter language; he also demanded the arrest of the subprior as excommunicate. The convent were defended by Reginald, bishop of Bath, who prevented the request of Baldwin from being granted. The king proposed an arbitration, and sent two bishops to Canterbury to persuade the convent to send representatives to court.

Interview of the monks with Henry at Clarendon,

Four monks were accordingly sent on the 24th of February,[3] and presented themselves before Henry at Clarendon on the 1st of March, with copies of the charters and privileges on which the convent relied. To the horror and disgust of the monks, the king declared with a magnificent oath that the royal charters were not genuine, all his councillors, except Roger the almoner and William of S. Mere l'Eglise, confirming the statement. Before he dismissed them he bade them meet the archbishop and himself at Winchester, and they were afterwards summoned on to Cirencester, where they met the archbishop going into Wales to preach

and with Baldwin at Cirencester.

the crusade. When they came into his presence, they saluted him. Baldwin returned no answer, his clerks received the attention with mockery and insult. Henry now renewed the proposal of an arbitration, to which Baldwin consented. The envoys replying that they could not get a fair arbitration in England, where the

[1] Gerv. 1520.
[2] Gerv. 1520. Nos. clxxxvi., cclxxvi.
[3] Gerv. 1523. Nos. clxxxvi., ccxl.

archbishop was supreme, Henry administered a reproof for the uncharitable suspicion, and proposed the recall of the prior. "If we consent to recall the prior, who," the brethren asked, "will engage to provide for the "sustenance of the convent until his return?" Henry would not promise; the monks were sent back to consult their brethren, and the three oldest members of the convent were summoned to appear before the king. Geoffrey replied to the summons that it was impossible to send them; one was ruptured, another afflicted with hæmorrhoids, the third was a paralytic: he sent two others, who were immediately sent back by the king as unfit for his purpose. Henry was now called away by serious business, and Baldwin spent the spring in Wales.[1]

The monks at Cirencester.

The suit was in the meantime being vigorously pressed at Rome. Immediately after the bishop of Rochester's visit on the 9th of January, four brethren were sent to the pope,[2] one of whom, brother John de Bremble, was from this time the life and soul of the cause. His letters are all worth reading, perhaps they are the best in the volume. He crossed the Great S. Bernard in February,[3] and reached Rome on the 27th of the month.[4] Prior Honorius had not been idle. As early as the 26th of January he had procured a mandate, dated at Sienna,[5] reaffirming the last letters of Urban, but not accompanied by a commission to enforce execution. The news brought by brother John of the outrages committed in January, was delivered to the pope on the 1st of March,[6] and on the 17th Clement commissioned the prior of Faversham and Master Farreman, warden of the hospital of S. James at Canterbury, to

John de Bremble goes to Rome.

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[1] Gervase, 1528.
[2] No. clxv.
[3] No. cxcvii., a very amusing letter.
[4] No. ccv.
[5] No. cxciii.
[6] No. ccv.

New mandates issued and a legate promised.

excommunicate the persons who had violently entered the monastery.[1] By the same messenger the prior ordered the subprior to resume divine service.[2] On the 11th of April the pope promised to send a legate with full powers to settle the whole cause, and hopes were held out that the bishop of Ostia would be chosen.[3]

The archbishop contemns the mandates of Clement.

The mandate of January 26th was served on Baldwin on the 22nd of March, in the presence of two bishops, probably at or near Llandaff. To the bearers he returned no answer, but wrote to Hakington directing his servants to intrench the new buildings, and put them in a state of defence.[4]

Reception of the mandates at Canterbury.

On the 15th of April, being Good Friday,[5] the letter of March 17th was received at Canterbury, with the prior's command to resume the service. The monks reluctantly obeyed this direction, and the prior of Faversham on the 23rd executed the mandate. This produced a riot, in which a nephew of S. Thomas took a conspicuous part, and was committed, with several

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[1] No. ccxiii.

[2] No. ccxvi.

[3] No. ccxxviii.

[4] Gerv. 1529. No. ccxxiii. The two bishops were Peter of St. David's who accompanied Baldwin on his tour, and the bishop of Llandaff, in whose diocese he was at the time. The data for fixing the chronology of Giraldus, who gives the history of the tour in his *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, are very scanty. He makes the expedition start from Radnor about Ash Wednesday, March 2; Ranulf Glanvill having just returned from thence to England. But it is clear from No. ccxl., that Ranulf Glanvill was on the 1st of March at Clarendon, whilst the archbishop did not reach Cirencester, or indeed Winchester, until some days later. At least a week must have elapsed after the 2nd of March before they left Radnor: in about ten days they reached Llandaff, where they spent two nights, the bishop of Llandaff having met them two days before at Caerleon: about a fortnight later they reached Llanbadarn, and on April 10 were at Nevyn. The place where the mandate was delivered was thus between Caerleon and Abergavenny, where the bishop of Llandaff left them. Master Silvester, who treated the pope's mandates so contumeliously in No. cci., was not Giraldus, but the steward of the archbishop's household, who is mentioned in Benedict of Peterborough, and elsewhere.

[5] Gerv. 1530.

other partizans of the convent, to prison, greatly to the scandal of the faithful.[1] Master Farreman, who had gone to London to avoid acting in the matter, came in nevertheless for a share of the indignation of the archbishop's party. Robert de Bechetune, one of the canons of Hakington,[2] led a detachment of rioters against the hospital, and the warden was obliged to appeal to the pope on behalf of his leprous old women. The parish priests of Canterbury took part with the canons, and publicly announced that the papal excommunication against the aggressors was invalid.[3] Riot at Canterbury.

Through the early part of the summer the convent were cheered with reports from Rome of the speedy mission of the legate; they were also relieved from the presence of Baldwin, who sailed for France on the 16th of June.[4] War had broken out, and the king's foreign dominions were in imminent danger. Henry followed in person on the 10th of July;[5] and about the same time the communications from the brethren at Rome stopped suddenly for a very melancholy reason. Baldwin and Henry leave England.

As soon as the pope had give his promise to send a legate *a latere*, John de Bremble started for home. Honorius, who seems to have looked on his energetic assistant with a little jealousy, remained behind with five other monks, Haymo of Thanet, Edmund, Humfrey, Symon, and Ralph the almoner. The letters of Edmund and Humfrey are preserved. They are the compositions of puzzle-headed men, whose studies had lain in mystic interpretation of Scripture and in unfulfilled prophecy. Haymo was, as we have seen, a very active and determined man, but imprudent. John, on the other hand, John de Bremble returns homewards.

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[1] Nos. ccxviii., ccxix., ccxxvii. Ralph, probably a brother of the person called in the great roll of the pipe, 1 Ric. 1, "Johannes filius Rohesiæ sororis Sancti Tom̃." Cf. Robertson's *Becket*, p. 353.

[2] Gerv. 1532.

[3] No. ccxxiv.

[4] Gerv. 1535.

[5] Gerv. 1535.

John de Bremble engages the advocacy of the bishop of Arras.

was a shrewd observer, plain spoken and witty; a man of business, with a considerable command of money, and a fixed and efficacious conviction that at Rome money was all-powerful. Honorius seems to have felt it hard to keep up with the energy of John, and John evidently kicked against the devout simplicity and leisurely management of the prior. He accordingly went northward, and reached Arras on his way home.[1] The bishop of Arras was the one Cistercian friend of the convent, and brother John persuaded him to offer his mediation with the archbishop. He therefore visited Canterbury in July or August, with proposals from the archbishop, which received the usual answer.[2] The bishop offered then to represent the cause of the convent at the general chapter of the Cistercians in September. The offer was accepted, and a deputation of the brethren attended with him. The matter was brought before the chapter, but the abbot of Cîteaux undertook Baldwin's defence, and nothing further resulted from the proceeding.[3]

Death of the brethren at Rome.

It was perhaps at Cîteaux that the terrible news was received by the brethren that a plague had broken out in Rome, and that five of the monks left with Honorius were dead. Haymo, the promoter of the first appeal, went first on the 7th of July. Edmund and Humfrey followed on the 11th and 13th, Symon on the 15th, Ralph the almoner on the 18th. The prior wrote the sad story to the convent,[4] but the letter does not seem to have reached them until the middle of September. The subprior did immediately the best possible thing: directed John de Bremble to return to the papal court at once.[5] He took with him brother Elias and a second Symon. John borrowed a mark at

[1] No. ccxliv.
[2] No. ccxlvii.
[3] No. cclxxiv.
[4] No. cclxxii.
[5] No. cclxxv.

Rheims from a friendly canon, and set out in faith. Before he reached Sienna he met a servant of the archbishop of Lyons, who told him that the prior was dead. Between Sienna and Rome he heard of the death of the bishop of Ostia. When he reached Rome, but one of the brethren, William, was alive, and he was in great danger. The mortality had extended to the servants; John's first act was to attend the cook's funeral.[1] He lost no time in besieging the pope, and on the 10th of December succeeded in getting a mandate reiterating the injunctions of pope Urban, and committed for execution to Ralph Nigel, cardinal of S. Praxedes.[2]

John de Bremble returns to Rome.

With cardinal Ralph brother John set off forthwith for England. By way of making a favourable impression on the legate he offered him a magnificent reliquary. Ralph, however, was a conscientious man, and refused the implied bribe, but he borrowed the prior's packhorse, and further commended John to the care of one of his retinue, whose expenses he was expected to pay. When the cavalcade reached Parma, his friend's horse fell lame, and John had to buy him a substitute. The new horse, which had cost a mark, turned out to be useless, and a second was bought, also at John's expense.[3] Having thus propitiated both the legate and his kinsman, he was in hopes that at last the cause was prospering, when, sad to say, the cardinal himself fell ill at Pavia, and having got on with difficulty to Mortara, died there on the 30th of December.[4]

He starts with the legate Ralph Nigel.

Death of the legate.

Brothers John, William, and Symon turned back to

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[1] No. ccxcii. Brother John must have fallen behind his companions, as he heard of the death of the bishop between Sienna and Rome; whereas the other brethren arrived at Rome four days before the bishop's death. No. cclxxxviii.

[2] No. ccxci.

[3] No. ccxc.

[4] Nos. ccxcii., ccxciii., ccxciv.

John's third visit to Rome.

Rome in despair. Their second journey was hardly more cheerful than the first. At Bardi, in the country of Parma, the prior's packhorse, from which so much had been hoped, was lost.[1] At Sienna they found one of their servants dead. At Rome the king's agents were in full force, Simon of Apulia and four companions urging that cardinal Octavian might be sent to England as legate, that Baldwin might be permitted to proceed with his church, and that the disposition of the oblations might be restored to him. The pope refused to listen to their arguments, and doubted their credentials. They quitted Rome in chagrin, leaving their business in the hands of Robert of Rouen and Richard of Norwich, "an enemy with a very fat face and a hoarse "voice." In January or February, 1189, the monks had their audience; the pope was very gracious, and asked their advice in the choice of a legate.[2] The brethren proposed their three friends, Gratian, Sofred, and Peter of Piacenza, the last of whom was anxious to undertake the expedition.[3] Clement, however, explained that it would be imprudent to send one whose very name was hateful to the king, as was Gratian's; the other two were employed elsewhere: he suggested John of Anagni, cardinal of S. Mark. The mandate[4] was renewed with the insertion of John's name instead of Ralph's, and John and Elias set out in his company. They reached Paris in April, and went from thence to Le Mans,[5] where they had an interview with the king on S. Dunstan's day.[6]

The pope refuses to hear the king's agents.

John of Anagni appointed legate.

During the winter of 1188 little had happened at home to cheer the imprisoned convent. Gervase notes only a grand aurora borealis on the 20th of December. The letters from Rome were few and sad. The king

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[1] No. ccxcii.
[2] No. ccxcvi.
[3] No. ccxcv.
[4] No. cccviii.
[5] No. cccv.
[6] No. cccvii.

and his counsellors in Normandy were supposed to be meditating further oppressions; Baldwin also was abroad; the correspondence that seems to fall in with this period consists of letters of condolence from other monasteries, and of complaints and petitions for help from that of Canterbury.

The convent ask aid of other monasteries.

After Christmas they sent two envoys, H. and R., to the king in France. They took Rheims on their way, and there fell in with the messenger from Rome,[1] who had been sent on with a copy of the mandate entrusted to cardinal Ralph. In company with him they went on to Chaumont in the Vexin, where brother H. left the other two, being afraid to meet the king. From Chaumont they proceeded to Gisors, and thence to the king at Le Mans, where they found the archbishop as well. It happened that the papal letters were delivered to Baldwin the very day that he heard of the death of cardinal Ralph. The bearer, brother Jonas, having discharged his commission, quitted the city, and left brother R. to face the king alone. He had his audience on the 1st of February, 1189. The king, who was under the influence of Roger the Almoner, a friend of the convent, listened to the monk with unusual calmness, and ended the conference by swearing that the convent should have their rights. Roger the Almoner and Hubert Walter were directed to draw up a letter to them in the king's name. The letter was written and sealed, when the archbishop, according to brother R., came down in a passion, and ordered Hubert and Peter of Blois to break the seal and read the contents.[2] He then added three clauses. This letter, when it arrived at Canterbury, contained an assurance of the king's good will; an account of the attempt that he had made to bring about a reconciliation, to which he found the archbishop not

They send envoys to Henry in France.

Interview with Henry and Baldwin at Le Mans.

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[1] No. ccxcvii.

[2] Gerv. 1539.

Baldwin interpolates the royal letter.

indisposed, and a proposal to send the bishops of Ely and Rochester, with Ranulf Glanvill and the deans of York and Lincoln, to negotiate. With them on their return he charged the convent to send representatives with full power to treat of peace. The letter concludes with a strong recommendation to submit, and a threat in case of obstinacy, which were probably the clauses added by the archbishop.[1]

Royal commissioners visit Canterbury.

These commissioners visited Canterbury on the 24th of March.[2] They put the question, would the convent send plenipotentiaries to the king? The subprior politely refused, "None of the brethren dared to undertake such "a responsibility, nor would the convent venture on "such a measure whilst the cause was before the pope." The justiciar suggested that if they dared not send an envoy with full powers, they might at least send a deputation to propitiate Henry. The subprior hinted that after the events at Alençon in 1187, the king was not to be trusted. Ranulf could hardly gainsay this, so the bishop of Rochester replied with a prayer that they would confide in the king, and not refuse his good offices. The subprior would refuse no man's good offices, but "rumor de veteri faciet ventura timeri." At this juncture arrived the courier from Rome with the news of the appointment of John of Anagni as legate. This broke up the debate; the messengers returned to the king pricked at the heart. Two days after Osbert de Bristo, an unworthy monk, escaped from the convent into the court of the archbishop's palace, and took the oath of fidelity to Baldwin.[3] Gervase says that he expected to be rewarded with a bishopric. The subprior now thinking himself safe under the protection of the legate, condescended to send four brethren to the king; they were stopped, however, at the gate of

Osbert de Bristo flies from the convent.

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[1] No. dlxii.
[2] Gerv. 1540.
[3] No. cccii. Gerv. 1540.

the cemetery on the Saturday in Easter week, and not allowed to proceed.

John of Anagni reached Le Mans in May, and was present when, on the 19th, John de Bremble presented the mandate to the archbishop.[1] Baldwin received it with reverence, but in silence; his clerks heaped abuse on brother John, who had formerly been a member of the archbishop's household. This he bore patiently; the archbishop took no more notice of him. The next day John called on the legate, who told him that Baldwin denied the charges made against him, and professed himself ready to restore all the property of the convent on the ancient terms. As they were conversing, Baldwin himself arrived and argued his case; John tried to provoke him into a passion, and soon succeeded. The conference broke up in confusion, and more important events interfered to prevent its being resumed.

The legate reaches the court at Le Mans.

A colloquy was held between the kings of England and France at Le Mans on the 9th of June,[2] which resulted in an outbreak of war. Ranulf Glanvill was sent to England to levy forces, and on his way paid his devotions at Canterbury. He had an interview with the subprior, who hinted to him in a gentle way that the king, being in great straits, might, if prudently approached, see at last the use of mercy. Ranulf answered that the monks had yet to learn what mercy was, if they would, for the love of Rome, do nothing to please the king, the archbishop, or any one else. On the subprior's repeating that experience had shown that neither Henry nor his advisers were to be trusted, Ranulf quitted him in indignation: "Rome is all you "seek, Rome alone will be your ruin." Geoffrey did, however, send a small deputation to the king, hoping to find him softened by his misfortunes. These pene-

Outbreak of war.

Ranulf Glanvill visits Canterbury.

[1] No. cccvii.

[2] Gerv. 1543.

Last interview of the monks with Henry II.

trated to the seat of war, and found Henry at Azai, just after he had been compelled to accept terms of peace.[1] They approached with a salutation: "The con- "vent of Canterbury salute you as their Lord." The king replied, "I was once their Lord, and am still, "and will be yet;" adding between his teeth, "small "thanks to you, wicked traitors." He then listened to their petition, and dismissed them with a promise of letters.[2] They went from Azai to Rouen, where the legate was, the king having forbidden him to go to England. With the advice of the legate, the monks offered to accept restitution from the archbishop. Baldwin tried to temporize, and ended by declaring that he would do nothing without the king. That week the king died at Chinon.

The king's death.

Baldwin returns home, and visits the convent.

Baldwin returned to England, after more than a year's absence, on the 31st of July.[3] He seems to have determined to make some sort of an arrangement with the monks before the coronation, and on the day after his landing summoned the officers of the convent to Wingham.[4] Alan, the third prior, appeared, with a few of the brethren. The archbishop began by demanding the deposition of the subprior and John de Bremble. Alan answered that he came only as a messenger, and had no power to treat of such matters. The archbishop lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried three times, "God avenge me on the subprior." Alan replied, "If the subprior were now where he will be before a "hundred years are over, it would make no difference; "we will never yield." "Well," said Baldwin, "I tell "you judgment is passed on him, and his punishment "is at the door." On the 5th of August, the archbishop came to the cathedral, and gave the benediction after the Gospel. He also invited some of the elder monks to

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[1] No. cccxi. Gerv. 1544.
[2] No. cccxii.
[3] Gerv. 1546.
[4] No. cccxiv.

dine with him, which they refused to do under the circumstances. On the morrow he sent to offer them restitution of their possessions, saving their rights and his own and the pope's mandate. This was accepted, and Alan received seisin by the gift of a book. But no sooner was this done than Baldwin broke out against the subprior, declaring he would take him wherever he could catch him; he also deposed Hervey the cellarer, and nominated a monk named Felix in his place. This immediately caused a tumult; the monks insisted upon being put in bodily possession of the restored estates, and Baldwin attempted to force upon them the compact of Alençon. The convent replied with a prayer that the archbishop would fulfil the pope's mandate. He offered to do it, on condition that he should appoint the obedientiaries, the convent managing the estates as before. This they were disposed to accept, but Baldwin repented of his offer, and demanded the nomination of the treasurers as well. He did not, however, wait for an answer, but went off to Tenham. The subprior feeling himself no longer safe, fled from Canterbury on the 9th, and crossing the straits proceeded first to Arras and then in search of the legate. The queen regent Eleanor and Ranulf Glanvill were not less anxious than the archbishop to settle the quarrel before the arrival of Richard in England, and after the subprior's departure sent the abbot of Hyde and the prior of Bermondsey to Canterbury, who by threats tried to induce the convent to accept the cellarer appointed by Baldwin, and to receive restitution from them in the archbishop's name. After another angry discussion this was done, on the 12th of August, the rights and privileges on both sides being reserved.[1] The gates, which had been shut since the 13th of

Baldwin tries to compel the convent to submit.

The queen and the justiciar prevail on the convent to accept restitution.

[1] Gerv. 1549.

The blockade of the convent raised.

January 1188, were opened, and the convent gained possession of their house; the questions in dispute being, however, as far off as ever from settlement.

Richard's treatment of the legate.

It is possible that Baldwin was content to make this concession in ignorance of what the new sovereign's sentiments might be on the case. But Richard soon showed himself even more determined than his father that his rights and dignity should not be infringed. He ordered the legate into Poictou to collect the Saladin tithe, and bade him leave the monks of Canterbury for himself to deal with.[1] The legate remonstrated with the ministers, Walter of Coutances and Hugh of Nunant, but in vain. Brother John began to mistrust the legate, and wrote in haste to Canterbury for a present to secure his wavering friendship, a handsome grey great coat, or a robe of marten's skins. It was indeed necessary to strike whilst the iron was hot. For at Rome the archbishop's friends were rising: Octavian was promoted to the see of Ostia; Albinus, "a convertible man," to Albano; Bobo, an open supporter of Baldwin, to Portus; the Tuscan party, Gratian and Sofred, the only friends left to the convent, had deserted the court.[2]

The coronation and council at Gaitington.

The coronation of Richard was celebrated on the 3rd of September. Eight monks represented the convent on the occasion,[3] and the bishops of Durham and Bath were prepared to resist the petition that Baldwin was expected to make for his new church. Baldwin, however, kept a discreet silence. From London the court moved to Gaitington, where a parliament was held on the 17th, at which the king confirmed the charters of the convent. The legate was still forbidden to enter England, and the archbishop was allowed to have his own way. He resolved to proceed to extremities,

[1] No. cccxv.
[2] No. cccxv.
[3] No. ccccxxiv.

came down to Canterbury on the 6th of October,[1] and, to the horror of the monks, appointed as the new prior, Roger Norreys; he then seized the cemetery gate, that messengers might not be sent to the legate. Roger immediately took Osbert de Bristo into his counsels, and committed to him the management of the estates.

Baldwin makes Roger Norreys prior.

It is hardly conceivable that Baldwin ever intended to maintain Roger Norreys in the position of prior, he was certainly and notoriously a most unfit person for any spiritual office, a man with neither character, temper, nor tact.[2] The archbishop probably thought that such an appointment would compel the monks to submit, and that done, the obnoxious prior might be provided for elsewhere. The measure did in fact reduce the monks to despair. They sent to the king, who had recommended them strongly to compromise, first to treat of terms, next to offer a bribe; that failing, they threw themselves on his mercy. On November 8th their messengers were received at Westminster. Amongst them were nearly all the brethren who had taken active part in the struggle; the old sacrist Robert, Symon the treasurer, John of Boching, Ralph of Orpington, Gervase the historian, Nigel the poet, Master William, and Roger Norreys.[3] Baldwin attempted to get the first word; Master William had been excommunicated, he must leave the court. The whole convent he accused of embezzling the treasure

Despair of the convent.

They send to the court at Westminster.

[1] No. cccxxvi. Gerv. 1551.

[2] Of the bad character of Roger Norreys there can be no doubt. See the account given of him by Giraldus, in his *Speculum Ecclesiæ* (*Ang. Sac.* i. 139); by the historian of Evesham (ed. Macray, pp. 104–107); and by Gervase himself, c. 1506. It may perhaps be supposed in Baldwin's favour, that Roger had not yet exhibited his bad propensities, certainly nothing is said about them in the correspondence; and Gervase wrote his book ten or eleven years later. His conduct as prior was evidently such that Baldwin would not support him, and he was deposed within two months.

[3] No. cccxxix. Gervase, 1553–1562.

Failure of the king's first attempt at a compromise.

of the church. The brethren on their part demanded the removal of Roger Norreys, refusing him the title of prior. Reginald of Bath as usual supported the convent. Hugh of Durham tried to act as mediator; their other friends advised them to accept the king's arbitration; and on the following day they yielded so far as to produce their powers, and accept the proposal of a compromise. The king nominated the committee, the monks challenging only two Cistercian abbots whom he proposed. At last a jury was empanneled, eight bishops, five abbots, and the prior of Merton. The monks were now asked to declare that they would accept the decision of the committee, when Master William insisted that it could be done only on the understanding that the judgment should be guided by the charters and privileges of the church. A division followed; the monks withdrew their consent to the arbitration; the object of the meeting was defeated, and nothing remained but an appeal to force. Baldwin threatened to seize the monastery, and to disperse the brethren; the king insisted on the proposed arbitration; the legate was still forbidden to cross the straits; and the last hope from Rome was extinguished.

The king comes in state to Canterbury.

Richard and his whole court arrived at Canterbury on the 27th of November. He was received with great pomp by the convent in the presence of all the bishops: in his train were the king of Scotland, and Geoffrey Plantagenet, the elect of York. The day after the reception the archbishop of Rouen came from the king, to ask the convent whether they were still in the same mind. They replied that whilst Roger Norreys was called prior, and the church of Hakington still in being, there could be no peace. "Will you," he asked, "consent to an arbitration, if the archbishop will yield "on these two points?" They agreed, on condition that their charters should receive a fair consideration. The king hearing this, sent word that on this under-

standing he would himself depose the prior and demolish the buildings, if the archbishop could not be prevailed upon to do it. Baldwin justly complained of this; it was not fair that he should yield two of the chief points of the quarrel, and after all have to submit to arbitration on the rest. Seeing that the king and bishops thought him unreasonable, he called for a copy of the rule of S. Benedict, and insisted on his rightful position as abbot on the first principles of regular order.

He tries to make peace.

Richard now struck out a new plan. It was clear that the archbishop would not yield on these points, and yet submit to an arbitration on the rest. It was not to be expected; but if the archbishop would yield those two, would the convent consent to throw themselves on his mercy for the rest? If so an agreement might be secured. Baldwin would surrender the college and the prior, the monks would allow him to decide the other points by his own sense of justice. The brethren, persuaded by their friends, at last consented on condition that for form's sake a few of their charters should be read. The king whispered to the archbishop some words that were not heard, and then turning to the monks, bade them not to be afraid if in the terms of the agreement language were introduced to spare the feelings of the archbishop. Both parties were then called to the chapter-house.

Baldwin yields the two chief points, and the convent accept his mercy on the rest.

It was growing dark, being late in the afternoon; and a fog, which Gervase considered supernatural, added to the gloom; even the king in his glittering robes could scarcely be distinguished. The archbishop of Rouen rose and said, "Blessed be the God and Father "of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and "God of all consolation: the Day-spring from on high "hath visited us." The words stuck in his throat; he stopped for a moment and added, "A certain discord "between the lord archbishop and the monks of this

The final compromise effected.

The compromise effected by the king's contrivance.

" convent has been long protracted; but by the advice " of the king and of the bishops who are present, our- " self among them, a way of peace has been found. " We have adjudged that the archbishop had power to " build himself a church wherever he pleased, and to " institute his own prior. Let the convent beg the " mercy of the archbishop, and he will remit his anger " against them." The monks were thrown into consternation at this: the two points that the archbishop was to yield were decided in his favour; they themselves were at his mercy: this had come of the king's whispering. When they were called up before Richard, one of them attempted to speak, but the king beckoned to him to be silent, and ordered them all to kneel. They obeyed, and one of the oldest in the company faltered out, "If, reverend father, we have in any part " of this dispute offended your grace, we beg that you " will remit your anger against us and consent to pre- " serve the rights of the church." Baldwin answered, " I remit my indignation against you, and all yours, " except the subprior, who by his own authority sus- " pended my church from divine service." The monks remained on their knees entreating pardon for the subprior. At last the archbishop said, "Let him come " then as you have done and ask pardon, and he " may have it with the rest of you;" he added, "As " you ask that my anger may be remitted against you " and yours, so I ask you to forgive, from your heart, " me and mine, whatever we have offended in word or " deed." The bishop of Rochester then rose and announced that the prior should be deposed and the college demolished; when thanks had been given and *Te Deum* sung, the archbishop would give his reconciled children the kiss of peace. This was done, and Baldwin on the following day, in the chapter-house, restored the estates of the convent which remained in his hands, and relieved the prior from his office. A

deed was drawn up and attested by the king and arbitrating prelates, recording the termination, by compromise, of the whole cause.[1] Richard then left Canterbury, and the legate, who had been waiting at Dover for ten days, was allowed to visit the church. Even this, however, was not suffered without deliberation. Some few of the bishops proposed that he should be honourably received; others urged that he should be compelled to depart at once. The archbishop voted for admitting him, but sending him back as quickly as could be done. He came therefore and lodged in the palace at the archbishop's charges, being closely watched that he might not be tampered with by the convent. The monks succeeded in getting a private interview with him, at which Baldwin, who saw that nothing was to be feared from him, probably connived. He informed the monks that the king had told him of the compromise, by which the collegiate buildings at Hakington were to be demolished, and the chapel to be served by a few priests, who should pray for the soul of king Henry. The monks declared that they had accepted no such condition. The legate could do nothing but groan over the wickedness of the persecutors; not daring to advise the convent to resist, and anxious to get away without committing himself, he recommended them to temporize. He was conducted with great reverence to Dover by the archbishop's clerks; but before he went, he executed a secret deed, declaring that the compromise had been extorted from the convent by fear, and was null and void of effect prejudicial to their rights. This was kept a profound secret, and reserved for future use.[2]

The visit and act of the legate.

The king left England for the crusade on the 14th of December.[3] The archbishop remained in the country

[1] No. cccxxxv.
[2] Gerv. 1563, 1678.
[3] Diceto, 650.

Baldwin goes on the Crusade.

till March, arranging his affairs before his pilgrimage. Roger Norreys having been made abbot of Evesham, Baldwin instituted Osbert de Bristo as prior; and on the 19th of February 1190, at Westminster, appealed to the holy see against all who should attempt to alter the state of his church during his absence.[1] He also directed the destruction of the collegiate buildings at Hakington, and the removal of the materials to Lambeth, where he proposed to build his church according to the compromise. For this purpose he exchanged with the convent of Rochester a piece of land in the Isle of Grain for twenty-four acres at Lambeth for a site. The exchange was confirmed by the king, as was the foundation of the church in honour of S. Thomas and S. Stephen, on the 20th of March at Rouen.[2] The archbishop had left England for ever on the 6th. He wrote but one letter afterwards to the convent, announcing his arrival at Acre on the 12th of October.[3] He died there about the 20th of November, but the news did not reach England before March 1191. The only matter of interest mentioned by Gervase or referred to in these letters, during this interval, was a dispute as to the consecration of William elect of Worcester and Geoffrey of York. The details differ little from those of the hundreds of similar squabbles in which the convent engaged on the question. In the former case they were successful; in the latter they were defeated.[4]

Richard's new bishops.

The men whom Richard placed at the helm of ecclesiastical affairs were, with one exception, those who as lawyers or ministers had been the faithful servants of his father, but whom Henry, recollecting his sad experience with S. Thomas, had refused to reward with the

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[1] Gerv. 1564. Nos. cccxliii., cccxliv.

[2] No. cccxxxvii. Fœdera, i. 51.

[3] No. cccxlv.

[4] Nos. cccxxxviii.-cccxliv.

episcopal dignity.[1] It may be said of them all, that however they came by their promotion, their use of it was wise and pure.[2] Hubert Walter, the new bishop of Salisbury, was a man who set himself to do what his hand found to do with all his might. As a bishop, a soldier, a lawyer, or a statesman, he came up fully to the standard of his time. Of the others, Richard of London was a famous organizer in the business of the treasurership; and he, as well as Godfrey de Lucy of Winchester, was a good average bishop. Of the older prelates, Hugh of Puiset was as ambitious and bustling as he had been forty years before; Hugh of Lincoln kept as much as possible out of the affairs of State; Reginald of Bath was quietly laying his plans for the primacy. Richard's ministers.

That Richard began his reign by imprisoning two of his father's ministers, Ranulf Glanvill and Stephen de Marzai,[2] is alleged by one or two trustworthy his- His treatment of Glanvill.

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[1] In 1186, Godfrey de Lucy, Richard Fitz-Neal, and Herbert le Poor had been nominated by the canons of Lincoln for the vacant see in 1186, but Henry refused his consent for the reason given in the text. The same year Hubert Walter had been elected archbishop of York, but was set aside by the king. Godfrey de Lucy had refused Exeter. Benedict. Peterb. ad annum.

[2] For the character of Richard Fitz-Neal, see Ann. Winton., *Ang. Sac.* i. 304.

[3] Richard of Devizes, pp. 6, 7. If the statement depended only on the testimony of this ill-natured historian, it might be considered doubtful; for he never misses an opportunity of speaking ill of any one, and here he has a hit at all the three parties. Benedict of Peterborough mentions the deposition of Glanvill from the justiciarship, after the coronation, and the manner in which Richard made all the officials in the kingdom repurchase their places: the fine levied on Stephen was 30,000 pounds Angevin down, and a promise of 15,000 more. The Angevin "pound" was a quarter of the English. Ranulf's fine was 15,000 pounds of silver (R. Devizes, 7). These were both very heavy fines if we consider that the price of the chancellorship was 3,000 pounds when William of Longchamp bought it; possibly, however, Richard let him have it cheap, as we know he refused an offer of 4,000 from Reginaldus Italus. Of the fact of the exaction I have no doubt, but of the imprisonment there is less certainty. It can have

Richard's treatment of Ranulf Glanvill.

torians. We are left in ignorance of the real cause of this harsh treatment of these men, unless we follow the belief of the chroniclers that it was for the purpose of extortion. It is possible that Ranulf Glanvill was suspected of too great attachment to John, whose guardian he had been, and in whose favour Henry was said to meditate the disinheriting of his elder son. Whatever the cause, the imprisonment was short, and both the obnoxious ministers were promoted to important commands in the crusade. The king showed no further mistrust of his father's servants.

William Longchamp.

The one exception to the rule, the one new man who came on the stage of politics at Richard's accession, was William of Longchamp, bishop of Ely.[1] Of this prelate such contradictory characters have been drawn, that it is impossible to say whether he was a hero or a mere unprincipled adventurer. In the latter light he was regarded by Hugh of Puiset, by the followers of Geoffrey and John, and probably by the majority of the Norman nobles. By the monks and their friends he is spoken of as a pious and conscientious man. Of his public policy it may be fairly said that no legal charge was ever brought against him; that his enemies were in all cases the enemies of his master; that his designs were actually followed up by his rivals when they attained to power. He was doubtless an upstart; probably a clever and not very scrupulous politician; possibly a person of haughty, super-

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continued, if real, only a very short time; and when we next meet with Ranulf and Stephen, it is in places of honour. Stephen de Turnham, who fought in the crusade with Richard, seems to be the same person with Stephen de Marzai. William of Newburgh tells a wonderful fortune-telling story about him. Lib. v. c. 6.

[1] A good character is given to Longchamp by the monks of Winchester, *Ang. Sac.* i. 302; and by those of Canterbury, p. 538, below; Nigel Wireker; Peter of Blois; *Ang. Sac.* i. 632. A bad one by Giraldus Cambrensis, Hugh of Nunant, William of Newburgh, Richard of Devizes.

cilious demeanour. But the greatness of his position was enough to draw upon him a great deal of odium. Few men have ever wielded the power that was placed in his hands by the king and primate when they left England; the combined burden of the legatine office[1] and the chancellorship proved a few years later too great for Hubert Walter, who was a comparatively popular minister; and the position of William Longchamp was made still more invidious by the absence of the king. It was by the manœuvres of John[2] and Geoffrey that he was overthrown: he must be credited at least with the merit of faithful service.

William Longchamp's difficulties.

[1] He was appointed legate by Clement III., June 5, 1190. On Clement's death, his legation seems to have expired, and he applied for renewal to Celestine III., shortly before his downfall; Ben. Peterb. ii. 693, ed. Hearne. He ceases after the news of the death of Clement, who died March 27, 1191, to call himself legate. It does not appear when Celestine renewed the legation, but it was evidently before Dec. 2, on which day Celestine names him legate in a letter to the prelates. Hoveden, 402. Cf. W. Newburgh, iv. 18. He could hardly have been treated as he was by the archbishop of Rouen if he had been recognized as legate at the time of his deposition. The letter of July 30, given by Giraldus (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 390), seems to be opposed to this, but it may not be an exact copy; and in the letter of Aug. 25 the title is omitted. His consecration of the bishop of Worcester on the 5th of May must have been about his last legatine act. Pope Clement IV. decreed that the legation did not expire at the death of the pope. VI. Decr. i. tit. xv. c. 2.

[2] The immediate cause of William's overthrow was the imprisonment of archbishop Geoffrey of York at Dover, by his creatures. Gerv. 1576. There can be little doubt that the act was one of indiscreet zeal on their part; but it is a curious question where the chancellor was at the time. The writ for the apprehension of Geoffrey is dated "apud Preston, xxx. die "Julii." Gir. Cam., *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 390. The prohibition to Walter of Rouen to visit Canterbury is dated "apud Releiam, xxv. die "Augusti," ib. p. 395. The letter of excuse for the arrest (No. ccclxxi.) is dated Sept. 29th, "apud Bromd̃." It was at Norwich that the bishops of London and Norwich upbraided him with his conduct in the matter; Gir. Camb., *A. S.* ii. 392. He then went to London (p. 394), and thence to Windsor; from which place he went to the colloquy at Lodbridge on the 5th of October. "Bromd̃," in No. ccclxxi. must, therefore, be somewhere between Norwich and London. The struggle closed on Oct. 10.

Deposition of prior Osbert.

When in March 1191 the rumour of the death of Baldwin reached the convent, they immediately petitioned the king for a free election.[1] If they had any expectation that their prayer would be granted, they were speedily undeceived, for on the 6th of May was delivered the king's letter from Messina ordering them to postulate William, archbishop of Montreal.[2] Their first thought, however, was not whom to elect as archbishop, but how to get rid of prior Osbert, who, although a man of very different character from Roger Norreys, was hardly less a creature of the late archbishop, and equally obnoxious to the extreme party. The certainty of Baldwin's death inspired the monks with courage; in a vacancy of the see they possessed the undoubted right of electing their own prior. It is uncertain when or how the subprior Geoffrey had returned from exile. We find him at Canterbury on the 10th of May.[3] On that day, four days after the receipt of the royal letter, the brethren under Geoffrey's guidance demanded the dismissal of Felix the cellarer, Robert the doctor, and Zacharias, an unfaithful monk. Prior Osbert was unable to make any resistance. Having assented to the act, he imprudently asked, "Are "there more?" "You yourself," was the ready answer, "must resign the priorate." Osbert behaved with some little dignity. He rose and said, "Hear me, sirs, as "you would have God hear you. You know how well "and firmly I stood by you in your troubles, for which "I was excommunicated by the archbishop and suffered "much hardship. When by the counsel of certain great "persons and of some of the brethren I quitted you "for the archbishop, I always exercised my influence "for your good, never for your harm. When I was made

[1] No. cccli. Gerv. 1567.
[2] Nos. cccxlviii., ccccliv. Gerv. 1568.
[3] No. ccccliv. Gerv. 1570.

" prior, at the archbishop's command and with the royal " assent, no voice from the convent was raised against " me. I thought until to-day that I had your assent " as well. God knows that if I had not thought so, " I would never have taken either the priorate or any " other office upon me. As it is I will not hold it " against your good pleasure." The seniors accepted this as a resignation, and the subprior was dragged into the prior's chair. Little notice was taken by the legate chancellor, for the best of reasons. The convent would certainly have a voice in the election of the archbishop, and William Longchamp intended the choice to fall upon himself.[1]

Geoffery made prior.

There can be little doubt, if the few letters that passed between the convent and the legate may be depended upon, that had the election been free, the monks would have elected him. There were many points in his favour. He was already at the head of a chapter of monks and on friendly terms with them. His enemies were the old enemies of the convent, the worldly clerks, and unprincipled ministers of Henry. He himself was or seemed to be high in the favour of both king and pope. Nigel the poet was an intimate friend and admirer of William, and he was one of the most able men in the convent.[2]

William Longchamp a candidate for the primacy.

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[1] See No. ccclxxiv. Jocelin of Brakelond says of Longchamp (p. 38), " Dicebatur olfacere archiepiscopatum;" see also W. Newburgh, iv. 18.

[2] Nigel Wireker, as he is generally called, was one of the best mediæval poets: see Leyser, *Hist. Poematum Medii Ævi*, p. 751; Wright, *Biographia Brit. Lit.*, pp. 351, &c. In a copy of some of his poems in the Cotton MS. Vesp. D. xix., he is styled, in a hand of the fourteenth century, "Nigellus de " Longo Campo." It is uncertain whether this a simple mistake arising from his connexion with William, to whom he dedicates his *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, or *De abusu ecclesiastico*, and some of his poems; perhaps also the *Speculum Stultorum*; more probably they were either relations or fellow townsmen. There is one letter in this series which may have been written by him, No. cccxxii. The *vir quidam magnus* in this letter may have been the future chancellor: the second of the four

Walter of Coutances brings the king's commands.

Other heads, however, were at work to prevent this. Foremost there was the archbishop of Rouen, who had been sent over by the king with the commission of justiciar,[1] with especial directions as to the election of the primate. Walter of Coutances was an ambitious man, and would gladly have accepted the translation for himself. William Longchamp prevented him from visiting Canterbury as long as he remained in power,[2] and until he could do so the king's pleasure could not be known or the election proceeded with. It can never be certainly known why Richard nominated William of Montreal; the influence of his sister, queen Joanna, whose husband, William of Sicily, had greatly trusted and promoted him, may have been used in his favour; possibly Richard thought that by appointing him he might prevent the primacy from becoming a bone of contention among the greedy courtiers at home. Possibly the recommendation was bought and paid for, but never intended to be carried out. No effort was made to effect the promotion of the archbishop of Montreal, who was probably dead before the day of election.

The bishop of Bath,

Reginald Fitz Jocelin,[3] bishop of Bath, had stood by the convent in their troubles more faithfully than any

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lines with which the letter ends, "Maxima pars nostri, dimidium-"que mei," bears a strong likeness to the fourth line of the dedication of the *Speculum Stultorum*, "Maxi-"ma pars animæ, dimidiumque "meæ;" it is possible, however, that this may be a quotation in both cases from some other poet. The French words that precede it, "Cinc cenz deehez ait il, ki pur "archeveske u pur celerier a cose "revan;" mean "Five hundred "plagues have he, who for arch-"bishop, or for cellarer has husked "bran:" but it is not clear in what signification they were spoken.

[1] On this see Sir F. Palgrave, preface to "Rotuli Curiæ Regis," vol. i. pp. lx., &c.

[2] No. dlxvi.

[3] Reginald Fitz Jocelin was the son of Jocelin de Bohun, bishop of Salisbury; he was brought up in Lombardy (Herb. Bosham, vii. 1.), and hence bore the name of Reginald Lumbardus; he is probably also the Reginaldus Italus who, according to Richard of Devizes, (p. 9) offered Richard 4,000 pounds for the chancellorship.

other prelate, although he had never gone so far as to imperil his own position. He had powerful friends and an unwearied agent in his kinsman Savaric, archdeacon of Northampton, who called himself cousin of the Roman emperor.[1] He forwarded letters to Can- Reginald Fitz Jocelin.

[1] Savaric is a person whose career, if it could be explored, must have been very interesting. His first appearance is in the 18th of Henry II., when he was fined 26*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* for trying to take a bow from the king's servants in a forest in Surrey (Madox, *Hist. Exch.* p. 390). He was probably made treasurer of Salisbury by his cousin Jocelin de Bohun before 1184, and held also the archdeaconry of Northampton, the revenues of which were sequestered in 1186 for the payment of his debts. On Richard's accession he followed him to Sicily, where he obtained a letter to the justiciars, giving the royal assent for his admission to any bishopric to which he might be elected; and this he got confirmed by the pope. Having taken a prominent part in securing the election of Reginald Fitz Jocelin, he succeeded him as bishop of Bath and Wells, and was consecrated at Rome in 1192. During Richard's captivity he visited him and got two letters from him, recommending him for the see of Canterbury. In 1196 he was chancellor of Burgundy under Henry VI. (Hoveden, 420). After Henry's death he seems to have returned to England, and spent the rest of his life in his contest with the monks of Glastonbury. He died in 1205, and was described in his epitaph, "Hospes eras mundo, "per mundum semper eundo, sic "suprema dies fit tibi prima quies." Godwin, *De Præsulibus*, 370. The following account of his lineage may afford some clue to the nature of his relationship to the emperor, the fact of which is certain, although the exact degree is not yet known. On his father's side the pedigree is as follows. In the early part of the eleventh century one Savaric was viscount of Le Mans. He was succeeded by his brother Ralph, lord of Beaumont and S. Suzanne, who was twice married: 1, to Emma, niece of Hubert, bishop of Angers, who bore him Hubert, his successor. Hubert married Ermengard, daughter of William, count of Nevers, by whom he had two sons, Ralph and Hubert, and a daughter, Godechildis; from the eldest son the viscounts of Beaumont were descended. 2. Ralph's second wife was Chana, daughter of Geldewin, lord of Saumur, by his wife Aanordis. Chana had been married before to Frangalus, lord of Fougeres, by whom she had children. By Hubert she had Savaric Fitz Chane, who succeeded to the estates in England conferred by the Conqueror, or William Rufus, on his uncle Goffred, lord of Chaumont. Savaric Fitz Chane had three sons, Ralph, Savaric, and Geldewin. Ralph and Savaric died childless. Geldewin married a lady named Estrangia, by whom he had Savaric, bishop of Bath and Wells, and Franco de Bohun, who died in 1192. (Ann. Waverley, p. 164.) Estrangia may have been a Ger-

Reginald's testimonials.

terbury from both Philip of France and Henry VI., recommending them to take the advice of Savaric and elect a faithful friend whom he would recommend to them, and whom they could easily recognize by that description. These letters were not without effect.[1]

Proceedings in the election of archbishop.

As soon as Walter of Coutances and earl John had expelled the chancellor from the country, they hurried on the election of archbishop. The monks were summoned to London for the 22nd of October.[2] They attended accordingly. The prior was asked whether he would accept the nomination of William of Montreal. Geoffrey declared that it was unworthy of the English Church to go begging for a foreigner when the realm

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man lady; the name of Franco, or Francus, may point to a Franconian origin. The relation between Savaric and Reginald Fitz Jocelin is also obscure. Humfrey I., de Bohun had three sons: Robert, who died s. p.; Humfrey, who was the ancestor of the Bohuns of Hereford; and Richard de Meri. Richard de Meri made his heir Engelger, a noble of the Côtentin, who was almost certainly his son-in-law. This Engelger had a son, Engelger II., who married Adeliza, daughter of count Stephen of Aumale, and was living to nearly 1180. He is called by William Fitz Stephen, p. 290, the "*patruus*" of Jocelin, bishop of Salisbury, who with his brother Richard de Bohun, bishop of Coutances, may have been sons of Alexander, son of Engelger I.; but were more probably brothers than nephews of Engelger II. The heir of Engelger II. was Savaric Fitz Savaric, and after him Franco, the son of Geldewin, who thus became Franco de Bohun. Engelger II. must have been too young to be grandfather to Savaric Fitz Savaric, and could not have been father-in-law, or the inheritance would not have descended to Franco. It would seem, therefore, most probable that Savaric Fitz Chane married another daughter of Richard de Meri, and that on the default of issue to the Engelgers, his great-grandchildren came in as heirs to the Bohuns of Midhurst. The estates of the Bohuns were in Sussex, where lay also those of Albini and Percy, who were connected with the dukes of Louvain. It was probably on the side of his Burgundian mother that Henry VI. was connected with his Burgundian chancellor. The authorities for the foregoing statements are Stapleton's preface to the Rolls of the Norman Exchequer, ii. p. 31., &c., and the Chronicles in Mart. et Dur., *Amplissima Collectio*, i. 439; Dachery, *Spicilegium*, iii. 277; and Ordericus Vitalis.

[1] Nos. ccclxxxi., ccclxxxii.

[2] The summons to the monks was issued on the 10th of October, the very day of the chancellor's deposition, No. ccclxxvii.

was so full of able clerks, but declined giving a decided answer until he had had time for consideration and prayer. Having been thanked by the justiciars, who never intended to elect the archbishop of Montreal, he returned home.[1] A second letter was now issued in the king's name; the justiciars would attend at Canterbury on the 3rd of December to complete the election. Nearly a week before the day appointed the justiciars and some of the bishops arrived, and by so doing roused the suspicions of the prior, who remembered that the suffragans had succeeded in forcing archbishop Baldwin upon the convent. He tried, therefore, to sound the chief justiciar as to who would be accepted by the king. Walter, as Gervase hints,[2] intended the monks to choose himself; he must, if so, have failed either to express himself intelligibly or to convince the prior of his merits. "Would the bishop of Bath be admissible?" The archbishop did not say yes, but the monks interpreted his looks as favourable. "We elect," cried the prior, "the bishop of Bath." The monks re-echoed the nomination, and laying violent hands on Reginald, thrust him into the archiepiscopal chair.[3] The archbishop of Rouen retired in alarm to London, and having called together the nobles, in their presence demanded of the bishop whether he was prepared to abide by the election. Reginald declared that he would, and defended the legality of the proceeding. The prior was also present and refused to retract a step. Further proceedings were threatened by the ministers, and for the first time the deposition of prior Osbert was brought forward. The death of Reginald, within a month of the election, settled speedily the more important question. Queen Eleanor's protection was invoked by the convent,

Proceedings in the election.

The bishop of Bath elected to the primacy.

[1] Gerv. 1578. No. ccclxxxvi. "Spe fraudatus." Gerv. 1580.

[3] Gerv. 1580.

Death of Reginald.

and the matter of Osbert was soon forgotten in more pressing troubles. Reginald was seized with paralysis or apoplexy on Christmas eve at Dogmersfield, and died on S. Stephen's day.[1] The monastic habit for which he had sent to Canterbury did not arrive until he had breathed his last. The convent lamented a faithful and powerful friend. He was buried on the feast of S. Thomas.

A new election during Richard's imprisonment.

The year 1192 is almost a blank in the history of the convent. The state of the country was not such as to suffer them to attempt an election; the news from the Holy Land was scanty and uncertain. Richard was taken prisoner at Vienna on the 12th of December. After three months' captivity he wrote to the convent, directing them to take the advice of William of S. Mere l'Eglise in their choice of a new archbishop; at the same time he wrote to his mother and to the justiciars to secure the election of Hubert Walter.[2] He was sorely pressed at this time; the indefatigable Savaric, who had become bishop of Bath, was now a candidate on his own account; the imperial relationship was brought to bear upon Richard, who wrote two letters to the convent in his favour.[3] William Longchamp also got a letter from the king, and so, perhaps, did some others.[4] The real choice of the captive prince was undoubtedly Hubert, in whose favour he wrote pressing letters both to the convent and to queen Eleanor. Hubert was elected without much delay[5] on the 30th of May. Strange to say, two months after the election was over, a letter was brought from the king, dated July 10, forbidding the convent to elect him. It is hard to say what this

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[1] Gerv. 1580. Pet. Bles. ep. 216.
[2] Nos. cccxcix., cccc., cccci.
[3] No. ccccii.
[4] No. ccccciii. Gerv. 1583.
[5] The monks anticipated the election of Hubert by the bishops, by electing him themselves before the day appointed. Gerv. 1584.

meant:[1] the letter may have been extorted from the king by the influence of those about him, to which, as he complains to his mother, he is compelled to seem to yield. The election was by this time perfected, and Hubert busily engaged in reducing the kingdom to order and in procuring the king's release. Hubert Walter elected archbishop.

We have now to return to the old question of the college of clerks. Prior Osbert,[2] shortly before his deposition, had sent to Rome for an injunction for the destruction of the remaining buildings at Hakington, for the confirmation of the secret act of John of Anagni, and the renewal of the mandates of popes Urban and Clement. These were readily granted by the pope Celestine III., who had succeeded Clement III. in the spring of 1191. The bishop of Bath and the abbots of Reading and Waltham were the delegates for executing the mandates.[3] The buildings were finally demolished, but the chancellor interfered to prevent the ejection of the clerks from the four disputed churches. The chapel of Hakington was destroyed on the 21st of July.[4] Reginald's participation in this act helped to endear him to the convent, and added a new claim to the many he already possessed to the primacy. Demolition of Baldwin's college.

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[1] Giraldus (Opp. ed. Brewer, iii. 19), who hated Hubert, declared that he obtained the election by unfair means, "Nisi enim rex Ricardus "in Alemannia detentus fuisset, et "ibi multipliciter in carcere circumventus, longe aliter procul- "dubio Anglicanæ ecclesiæ providisset." The appointment of Hubert must have been arranged between himself and Richard at Spires: for the management of it is entrusted to William of S. Mere l'Eglise, who accompanied Hubert on his visit to the captive king. Hoveden, 413.

[2] No. cccl.

[3] Nos. ccclvi., ccclvii., ccclviii. A month later Celestine renewed the privilege granted by Urban III. to the convent, which appears as No. xlvi. in the present volume. As the privilege of Celestine is word for word the same as that of Urban, I have not thought it worth while to put it into the Appendix. It is dated June 20, 1191, S. Peter's; and is printed by Wilkins in the Concilia, i. 524.

[4] Gerv. 1572–3.

The Lambeth estate.

The fears of the monks were now directed to another quarter. The original privilege by which Urban III. had permitted Baldwin to found his college had specified Lambeth as one of the places where it might be settled. The manor of Lambeth was the property of the convent of Rochester, to which it had come by royal gift soon after the Conquest. The archbishops of Canterbury had been the tenants of the manor house since the time of Anselm, who had ordained in the chapel and held a council there in 1100. His two successors used the chapel for the consecration of bishops. Archbishop Theobald seems to have made some arrangement with the owners, which ended in the house being recognized as the town residence of the primates,[1] and for this reason doubtless it was named by pope Urban. The archbishop did not, however, possess any part of the estate until the year 1190, when, as was mentioned above,[2] Baldwin acquired twenty-four acres of the demesne of the manor in exchange for land in the Isle of Grain, with the express intention of founding a church of canons. The parish church of Lambeth and the manor itself were not acquired until some years later.

On this piece of ground the foundations were laid before archbishop Baldwin sailed,[3] but owing to the want of his presence and support the scheme languished. The buildings had, however, in 1192 attained such dimensions as to offend the convent of Canterbury. In the May of that year a mandate was procured from Rome, directing the bishop of Chichester and the

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[1] Ann. Roffenses, *Ang. Sac.* i. 344. This may, however, refer only to Theobald's settlement of a dispute between the bishop of Rochester and the convent on the ownership of the manor. It would seem from the act of exchange of the manor between Hubert and the convent of Rochester, that the estate was managed as a cell under a "prior "de Lammedhe." Mon. Angl. i. 177.

[2] No. cccxxxvii. Fœd. i. 51.

[3] Gerv. 1564.

abbots of Waltham and Reading to release the canons of Lambeth from the oath they had taken to the late archbishop, and to close the church.[1] It seems probable that the canons appealed against this sentence, for there is a bull of pope Celestine III., of Jan. 30, 1193,[2] in which he takes them and their lawful possessions under the care of the holy see.

Celestine III. orders the dissolution of the Lambeth college.

Matters were in this state when Hubert was elected. He received the archiepiscopal cross from Gervase, now become the sacrist,[3] at Lewisham on the 3rd of November, and the pall at Canterbury on the 7th. In the first year of his pontificate the convent held their courts as in former times; although the affair was now becoming urgent, not a word had been spoken about it. Hubert was the intimate friend of Baldwin and the executor of his will; he had been himself one of the canons of Hakington, and may have felt some resentment for the extinction of that design, but this would hardly have led him into a new dispute if he had not been pressed by his old friends the clerks. With a view of compromising matters, he offered to remove the college to Maidstone, and build there on the estate of the convent.[4] But to this plan the monks would not listen; the original intention was therefore reverted to. In 1196 Gervase records that the monks remonstrated with the archbishop. After a long conversation, in which the historian himself probably took a leading part, and in which the history of the former controversy was reviewed, the archbishop honestly declared that, sorry as he might be to act in opposition to the church which had placed him at its head, he could not for his own honour's sake leave imperfect the work that he had begun. The two parties separated with the expressed intention of seeking divine counsel by prayer.[5]

Hubert's revival of the scheme.

[1] No. cccxcvii.
[2] No. cccxcvi.
[3] Gerv. 1585.
[4] Gerv. 1593.
[5] Gerv. 1595.

Outbreak of the new quarrel.

The new storm broke in 1197. On Christmas day, 1196, the archbishop visited Canterbury, but was prevented by illness from taking part in the service. After his recovery, on the 21st of January, he had a conference with the convent in the chapter-house; his own clerks were excluded, and his cross was carried by John of Dover, one of the monks.[1] The discussion lasted for three days, and the result was kept a profound secret. We may guess almost to a certainty at one subject of consideration. Hubert had already arranged for the acquisition to his see of the manor of Lambeth. As early as April 7, 1195,[2] and again June 13, 1196, the king had confirmed an exchange between Hubert and the church of Rochester, of Darent for Lambeth.[3] It was most probably on this occasion that the archbishop first tried to secure the assent of the convent to the completion of Baldwin's design. Although we cannot suppose that he succeeded in this, he must either nave lulled the suspicious watchfulness of prior Geoffrey, or have miscalculated the strength of the old feeling in the convent. He proceeded in April, 1197, to perfect the exchange, which was again confirmed by the king,[4] and on the conclusion of the bargain he sent an envoy to Rome to obtain the countenance of Celestine III. The pope, who was far beyond ninety, was growing very infirm, and had, perhaps, forgotten the part that in former days he had taken on the side of the monks. Hubert at any rate procured from him a letter which placed the collegiate church of S. Stephen and S. Thomas at Lambeth in his hands.[5] He was now lord of the manor of Lambeth, and had by the common law the right to build a religious house of any order he chose upon his own estate.

Acquisition of the manor of Lambeth.

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[1] R. de Diceto, 696
[2] Fœd. i. 65.
[3] No. dlxvi.
[4] No. dlxvii. Gerv. 1597.
[5] No. ccccxiii.

He was called away from England on the 17th of June,[1] long before the arrival of Celestine's grant, and remained on the continent until the 3rd of November.[2] On his return he took up the business immediately. After paying a visit in person to the convent, he sent, on the 16th, the abbots of Chertsey, Waltham, and Reading with new proposals.[3] The envoys declared that their purpose was not to ask the consent of the monks to the foundation of the college of Lambeth, that was not required, but to lay before them the scheme which the archbishop had drawn up for the securing of their rights. The principal points of this scheme were these: every newly appointed canon should swear that he would never attempt to assert for the college any voice in the election of the archbishop; that he would not connive at the translation of S. Thomas to any other church; that he would not consent to the consecration of the chrism elsewhere than at Canterbury; he would never seek or suffer another to seek relief from this oath. Every canon should be installed *in propria persona*, and immediately after his installation should go to Canterbury, and take this oath under pain of privation. The prior of Christ Church should hold a prebendal stall at Lambeth, and be present at all chapters in the habit of a canon. To these conditions the archbishop was prepared to secure the consent of both king and pope.[4]

Hubert proposes certain cautions for the security of Christ Church.

The answer of the monks to this offer was conveyed by one of their own body, probably Gervase again; they professed the utmost affection for Hubert, but

[1] Gerv. 1597.

[2] Gerv. 1598. R. de Diceto says that he returned on the 8th, having been absent twenty weeks and six days.

[3] Gerv. 1598. Nos. ccccxxvii., ccccxxviii.

[4] No. dlvi. Gerv. 1598. This was the second time these propositions were made: Hubert sent them first by John of Dover; and afterwards summoned the monks to Coventry for their answer. No. ccccIxv.

The convent reject the proposal.

positively refused to consent to his design; as for the securities he offered, they would take the advice of their friends.[1]

The archbishop visited Canterbury again early in the next year to receive the deliberate answer of the convent to his proposals. The allegations which the monks brought forward in reply were probably those embodied in the very curious memorial with which our MS. closes, and which is unfortunately imperfect. They amount to a downright refusal. Hubert then proposed that the holy see should be consulted by both parties, on the strict understanding that neither should apply for any mandate without the knowledge of the other. The monks assented in words; and the archbishop left them, deceived, according to Gervase, by their mild speeches: for their envoys were already on the way to Rome.

Both parties agree to consult the pope.

Two monks go secretly to Rome.

Geoffrey was still prior; but he seems to have lost some of his earlier energy, or else to have considered the propositions of the archbishop not unreasonable. Two of the brethren, who looked upon him as dilatory or lukewarm in the cause, had left the convent secretly early in January, and proceeded to Rome to lay their case before pope Celestine.

Hubert excommunicates the fugitives.

On hearing of the gross deception that had been practised upon him, Hubert was very angry, and came down to Canterbury to make inquiry. The prior answered that the monks had left without his permission, and produced a letter from the delinquents confessing their offence, and appealing to the holy see against the archbishop. Hubert, having a strong suspicion of collusion, excommunicated the fugitives in spite of their appeal. It is not very easy to say what share the prior had in the transaction. Perhaps if he had been left to himself he might at this time have agreed

[1] Gerv. 1599. The answer was given on the 17th.

with the archbishop; but the precedent which he had created against himself by the deposition of Osbert was a dangerous one; it would be fatal to him to be suspected of a deficiency of zeal; his hesitation, if hesitation there was, was but for a moment. It is more charitable to suppose that such was the case, than to assume that he actually connived at the deceiving of the archbishop.[1] The prior Geoffrey.

The result of the manœuvre was not long delayed. The two brethren found when they reached Rome that Celestine was dead; that his successor, Innocent III., was their old friend, the lord Lothair. Their business was expedited at once. Without waiting to hear the representations of Hubert, Innocent, on the 24th of April, issued a letter to him, insisting on the demolition and abolition of the college within thirty days,[2] on pain of suspension, and accompanied it with an injunction to the suffragan bishops to withdraw their obedience in case of his refusal. This was granted on the hearing of one party only, but in dependence on the mandates of Urban, Clement, and Celestine. First mandate of Innocent III.

The news of the issue of these letters reached Lambeth, where Hubert was staying, on the 31st of May.[3] After a sleepless night, he called together his advisers early the next morning, and in their presence appealed against the mandate as obtained under false pretences; the bishop of Rochester joined in the appeal, and Symon, archdeacon of Wells, also appealed on behalf of Hubert appeals against the mandate.

[1] Gervase (1601) defends the deception practised by the monks on the grounds that the archbishop had already sent messengers with a great supply of money to Rome. It is probable that Hubert had agents generally at Rome; but the whole tenor of the succeeding controversy shows that he had acted in good faith on this occasion. In fact, he believed himself to have power to do all that he wanted in the matter, and even if he did send an agent to obstruct any petitions the convent might make, it was no more than he had a right to do on the terms of the agreement.

[2] Nos. ccccxxxiv., ccccxxxv.

[3] No. ccccl. Gervase, 1601.

He remonstrates with the convent.

the canons. He then proceeded to send the abbots of Chertsey and Waltham to Canterbury, with a letter of remonstrance, and a strict command that the monks should write a true statement of the whole case to Innocent.

The mandate is served on Hubert; and the king forbids him to obey.

The convent demanded time for consideration before answering, and in the meanwhile sent four monks to serve the obnoxious letters on the archbishop. They arrived at Lambeth on the 7th of June, but were kept waiting two days before they were suffered to execute their office. The information had now reached the king in Normandy, and provoked him to great indignation. He immediately prohibited the archbishop from obeying the mandate, and wrote to the pope and cardinals, protesting vigorously against so monstrous an invasion of English liberties in Church and State.

Council of the bishops; and attempts at mediation.

Hubert had already summoned the bishops to Canterbury to the consecration of Geoffrey Muschamp, elect of Coventry, which was fixed for the 21st. He himself arrived there on the 19th. On the 20th he visited the convent, and complained bitterly of the ill faith of the prior. On the Monday after the consecration the abbots of Waltham, Chertsey, and Reading again appeared as his messengers; with them came several of the bishops, and Geoffrey Fitz Peter and Hugh Bardolf, on the part of the king. These produced a letter from Richard, in which he forbade the execution of the mandate, and himself appealed against it, at the same time taking the college at Lambeth under royal protection, and summoning the prior to account for the offence against the liberties of the realm. When this had been read, the archbishop appeared in person, and tried by persuasion to prevail on the monks to renounce the papal sentence, and to accept an arbitration. Finding all argument useless, he left Canterbury in disgust on the 23rd, and directly on his departure the royal officers entered on the possessions of the con-

vent. This first occupation lasted only a few days, and was withdrawn at the archbishop's request,

The archbishop sends envoys to Rome.

Both parties now sent accredited messengers to Rome. Hubert, in the simplicity of his heart, furnished his with a load of the relics of SS. Albinus and Rufinus;[1] not neglecting, however, to send a great treasure of ready money with them. His envoys were the Cistercian abbots of Boxley and Robertsbridge, who had already attempted to act as mediators.[2] They were furnished with letters in defence of the archbishop from all the suffragans of the province, and from the Cistercian abbots of England.

The king insists on an arbitration.

Although Hubert deemed it wise to appear at Rome by his agents, he could foresee the sentence of the pope, and was not inclined to acquiesce in it. He devoted himself, therefore, to another attempt to persuade or to compel the convent to a compromise. He again applied to the king, who issued a letter on the 23rd of July, ordering the convent to choose five bishops and five abbots as arbiters.[3] The prior refused on the old grounds, that as all the prelates in England were committed to the design of Hubert, no fair arbitration could be obtained.

Hubert in Wales.

The month of August passed away without any alteration in the position of parties, the archbishop being called away by the war on the Welsh marches,[4] and no new mandates being received from Rome. Hubert was employed further in surrendering the jus-

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[1] Honorius had before taken a quantity of the relics of these saints to Rome to work upon the feelings of pope Clement. No. ccxxxiv.

[2] Gerv. 1606.

[3] No. cccclxx. Gerv. 1608.

[4] Gervase, 1614. The archbishop defeated the Welsh in a great battle at Payn's Castle a few days after the death of Peter, bishop of S. David's, which happened on July 16. Giraldus, Opp. i. pp. 95, 96. He then returned to London, and surrendered the justiciarship, to which Geoffrey Fitz Peter succeeded in August. The writ by which the king relieved Hubert from his office is dated July 11. Fœdera, i. 71.

Hubert surrenders his justiciarship.

ticiarship, which, according to Hoveden and Matthew Paris, the pope, at the suggestion of the monks, had forbidden him to retain. It is curious that not a word on this subject is found in the present volume. If it were not for the strong contemporary evidence, the statement would seem improbable; as it is, we must suppose that the allegations were made by word of mouth, or the letters containing them were destroyed, as dangerous documents, should they fall into the hands of either Hubert or the king. In the midst of business, however, the archbishop found time to send for the third time to Canterbury the schedule of cautions with which he was prepared to secure the status of the mother church in case the new foundation should take effect.

Richard sends to enrol the treasure of the church.

Richard was not disposed to let matters rest even for a time. The treasures of the church had not been exhausted by his ransom; sufficient yet remained to swell considerably the hoard he was laying up in France, and this he would not suffer to flow into the pockets of the Roman courtiers. He renewed the struggle early in September by a command addressed to the justiciars to visit Canterbury and make an inventory of the treasures of the convent. This was to be followed by a similar visitation of the other cathedral monasteries.[2] The visit was paid on the 26th of September;[3] the royal officers presented themselves in company with Henry of Castillon, archdeacon of Canterbury, and the abbot of Faversham, on the part of the archbishop. The prior stoutly refused to suffer the treasure to be seen by profane eyes; the envoys did not choose to use force, but departed as they came. The refusal was an act of rebellion against the king; on the 28th,[4] therefore, the conventual estates were the second time occupied by the king's officers. On

[1] No. ccccIxv.
[2] No. ccccIxxiv.
[3] Gerv. 1614, 1680.
[4] Gerv. 1615, 1680.

that day Hubert left the kingdom; but on hearing of what had been done, he wrote an urgent letter to the king, begging him, out of consideration for himself, to recall the order. Such an act of violence would, he saw, effectually destroy any favour he might have found at Rome; and although he did not expect a favourable sentence,* it would be better not, by following the violent policy of his predecessor, to lay the foundation of future difficulties, or arm the monks with their favourite plea of "*vis et metus*."[1] The king complied with the petition, and the estates were restored by a letter dated October 29th.[2] Before this, prior Geoffrey, notwithstanding his age and the melancholy precedent of Honorius, had determined to carry his appeal in person to Rome. Since the 31st of May no news had been received from the brethren there; the messengers despatched with the report of July 6th had not yet certified their arrival; the pope was known to be away from the city, and the worst anticipations began to prevail as to the fate of the absent monks.[3] Not content, therefore, with sending a rein-

Hubert tries to mitigate the king's anger against the monks.

The prior goes to Rome.

[1] No. ccccclxxxiii.

[2] No. ccccclxxxiv.

[3] Unfortunately the names of the monks chiefly concerned in the second quarrel are only indicated by initials. The two who left the convent secretly in January were S. and N. Gervase says (c. 1601) that these monks, having received the mandate of April 24, returned home. In this, however, he is clearly wrong, for they write from Rome that they shall wait to hear of the receipt of the mandate, No. ccccxlviii.; and they had not arrived at home in June. See No. ccccl. Two others followed with the archbishop's licence to consult the pope, after the visit of Hubert to Canterbury in January; these must have been Jo. and Hubert, whom the archbishop excommunicated after their departure; (see No. dlxix.) S. and R. (No. cccccxcvi.) apparently followed in July with the letter No. ccccl.; and reached the pope in September. The two monks who had died before Sept. 5., No. ccccclxxx., were most likely the first party, S. and N. What had become of the others the prior did not know in September, but sent out three more, B., B., and T., to reinforce them. Nos. ccccclxxxvii. and cccccxcvii. He himself with William the precentor followed early in the next month.

He meets brother Salomon at Lucca.

forcement of three brethren, Geoffrey himself, about the middle of October, started in company with brother William, the precentor, and proceeded slowly to Rome. At Lucca he met brother Salomon, one of the third set of envoys, returning in triumph.

The two brethren who had carried the first appeal were dead; the arrival of the abbots of Boxley and Robertsbridge was expected early in September, and the pope, anticipating the action of the convent, wrote urgently on the fifth of that month for new advocates to be sent.[1] This letter was not received at Canterbury until after the prior's departure, but the arrival of the two or three reinforcements sent out from home had rendered it unnecessary to regard it. The brethren John and Hubert must have reached the court, which was now at Perugia, before the 11th of September, on which day the pope wrote to the priors of S. Augustine's and S. Gregory's at Canterbury, to declare invalid a sentence of excommunication which the archbishop had fulminated against them.[2] About the same time, before the arrival of the archbishop's agents, Innocent wrote to the king rebutting his arguments in Hubert's favour, and declaring his intention of walking in the footsteps of his predecessors.[3] A few days after this, before the 17th, the abbots arrived at Perugia.[4] But the cause was not heard before the 21st of October, after the court had returned to Rome. On that day[5] the pope heard the abbots on behalf of Hubert, and listened to a long letter on the same side from the archbishop of Lyons.[6] On the 22nd he heard

Arrival of Hubert's envoys.

[1] No. ccccl xxx.

[2] No. dlxix.

[3] No. dlxx.

[4] The archbishop's agents had reached the papal court before this, for on the 17th Innocent issued to Hubert the letter printed in the Fœdera, i. 71; and on the 18th and 19th others commissioning him to reclaim the alienated property of his see. Epp. Innoc. III., ed. Baluz. lib. i., epp. 370 and 371.

[5] Gerv. 1616.

[6] See No. ccccxcviii.

the answer of the monks, and the following day the abbots were suffered to reply. The monks on this occasion secured the all-powerful advocacy of Ugolino, the pope's chaplain, the very eminent canonist who afterwards filled S. Peter's chair as Gregory IX.[1] The hearing by Innocent III.

Innocent took a month to draw up his judgment, which was delivered on the 6th and dispatched on the 20th of November. It contained a clear and tolerably fair statement of both sides of the question, but concluded with reiterating the former mandate. It must be executed within thirty days, or Hubert would be deprived; this was notified to the suffragans, and the king himself was threatened with spiritual punishments if he should interfere to prevent the execution.[2] Such was the news that brother Salomon had for the prior at Lucca.[3] Great, however, as were the advantages thus assured, Geoffrey was aware that all was not yet gained, and he had his own appeal to prosecute. He therefore went on to Pisa, whither he summoned three of the brethren who were at Rome. He also retained Salomon, and sent the mandates home by William the precentor. When he had ascertained the state of affairs, he proceeded to Rome, where he arrived on the 11th of December,[4] and soon after had an interview with the pope. He laid his complaint formally against the archbishop and the justiciars for the visitation of September 26. Innocent, without waiting to hear how his second mandate was received, wrote on the 22nd to the king, urgently enjoining on him, "in remissione peccatorum," to recall the measures he had taken against the convent; he also wrote to the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of The second mandate of Innocent III. Geoffrey proceeds to Rome.

[1] Nos. div., dix., &c.
[2] Nos. ccccxcviii., ccccxcix., di., dii.
[3] No. ccccxcvii.
[4] No. dx.

Hubert's action on the second mandate; and proceedings of the delegates.

Ely to enforce canonical punishment against all offenders, including implicitly the king himself.[1]

The archbishop received the second mandate on the 2nd of January 1199,[2] and prepared immediately to fulfil it. The offending chapel was levelled with the ground on the 27th; the collegiate buildings, however, were left standing. The bishops of Ely and Lincoln and the abbot of S. Edmund's, to whom the execution of the mandate was committed by the pope, summoned the rectors of the alienated churches to appear at Westminster on the 10th of May to give account to the convent.[3] Whilst the latter were congratulating themselves on the obtaining of an unprecedented success, the letters which the pope had issued at the prior's request arrived.[4] The monks being wise enough to see that it would be ruinous to them to provoke the king by making use of these, abstained from presenting them.[5] It is probable, however, that the royal agents at Rome had informed their master of the issue, and on the 13th of March[6] the estates were again seized, on the pretext that the convent had refused to allow the king's officers to inspect their treasure, the very point upon which the papal letter had been most urgent. This time the archbishop refused to intercede with the king. The messengers who were sent to Richard himself were

The conventual property seized the third time.

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[1] Nos. dxx., dxix. Gerv. 1623. In this letter Innocent expresses the great regard which he had for Richard above all princes of the world. He had honoured him especially by sending him a precious ring, the first gift that was offered him after his consecration, and which Richard bestowed on abbot Samson of S. Edmund's. Jocelin de Brakelonda, p. 72. The letter to the king of England, which occurs in the first book of the epistles of Innocent III. (May 29, 1198), explaining the mystical meaning of four jewelled rings accompanying it, belongs, according to M. Paris, to the year 1207, and to king John.

[2] No. d. Gerv. 1623.

[3] No. dv.

[4] Nos. dxix., dxx.

[5] Gerv. 1626. No. dxxi.

[6] Gerv. 1626.

informed on their way into Poictou,[1] that he had fallen under that fatal bolt which ended so many high hopes and opened the way for the bitterest humiliation of the house of Anjou. Richard died on the 6th of April. The monk who was sent to him returned without redress; but Geoffrey Fitz Peter, hearing that his lord was dead, very shortly after restored the estates of the convent. The monks would not, however, regard this as an act of reparation, but pretended to look upon it as a reinvestment, or confirmation such as was usually obtained on the succession of a new prince.[2] They dispatched accordingly a third series of complaints to Rome, the burden of which was the continued detention of the disputed churches in contempt of the papal mandate, and the fact that the condemned buildings of the college were still suffered to stand.[3]

Death of Richard.

Fresh complaints sent to Rome.

The archbishop had now determined on a new plan. He probably thought that the pope might be satisfied with the obedience exhibited in the demolition of the chapel, and that he would be willing to listen to an application on behalf of the college, if it were made to himself first. Immediately after the demolition of the chapel he sent his agents to Rome to announce that so far the mandate had been fulfilled, and that he was ready to grant the convent further redress for any injuries that they could prove to have been inflicted on them in consequence of their opposition to the new college. He prayed further that a papal licence might be granted him to found a college in honour of S. Stephen and S. Thomas at Lambeth, but on a new site. This application the pope could not well refuse to entertain; he directed, therefore, a commission to the bishops of Lincoln and Ely, and the abbot of S. Edmund's,[4] to examine into the whole case. They were instructed first of all to use their best endeavour to restore concord between Hubert

The archbishop changes his tactics.

Innocent issues a commission to adjudge the case.

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[1] Gerv. 1627.
[2] No. dxxiii.
[3] No. dxxiv.
[4] No. dxxv.

Instructions of the commission.

and his convent; if that failed, they were first to compel the archbishop to restore all that had been taken from the convent to enrich the new foundation, or in consequence of their opposition to it, and then to adjudicate on the question itself; or if they could not do that, to hear evidence and refer the decision back to the pope. They were further empowered to visit Canterbury, and to examine into the condition of the monastery, both external and internal.

Hubert's further aggressions.

Whilst his envoys were at Rome, Hubert had been provoked to fresh acts of aggression. He had seized the marsh of Appledore, and the oblations of the high altar. After his return to England in Easter week,[1] he had, towards the end of May,[2] closed the conventual courts of justice. These acts were made the burden of fresh complaints: the pope was further informed that the archbishop refused to let the monks approach him, even in the solemn processions of the church, but hedged himself in with clerks before and behind; the very dress of the clerks was a ground of accusation. Wearied with these petty complaints, Innocent once more wrote, on the 11th of September,[3] to the archbishop, to induce him to more fatherly behaviour: he had also ordered him, on the 21st of August, to restore all the churches on the estates of the convent.

Proceedings of the delegates.

The delegates on receiving their commission summoned the parties to appear before them at Westminster on the Friday after Michaelmas.[4] The monks did not condescend to obey. Hubert appeared, and laid before the judges his terms of reconciliation. The convent were informed of this, and notice was given that the delegates would hold their visitation at Canterbury on the 18th of November.[5] It does not appear on what day it actually took place: the result was signified to

[1] Giraldus, Opp. iii. 81.
[2] No. dxxiv.
[3] No. dxxix.
[4] No. dxxxi.
[5] No. dxxxii.

the pope by the convent :[1] they had offered the archbishop fair terms: they would remit three years' revenue of their possessions, and the mesne profits of the disputed churches and the xenia, in all fifteen thousand pounds sterling: the churches were to be confirmed to their incumbents for life, at a small annual pension, and Hubert was to retain the xenia for his life. The convent undertook the completion of the building of the cathedral; and further, they offered when the cathedral was finished to consent to Hubert's building in some unsuspected place a college of canons regular. The archbishop refused to listen to this proposition, and insisted that the convent should throw themselves upon his mercy. Proposals of the convent for peace.

The formal hearing of the case was resumed, as it would seem, on the 26th of January 1200, at Westminster :[2] for that day the delegates peremptorily summoned the convent, who had failed to attend on the 30th of September and the 27th of November; if they refused the third summons, judgment would go against them by default. When they had presented themselves, the archbishop made a formal claim to be allowed to build his college.[3] The monks insisted that before the question could be entertained, their claim of restitution according to the mandate should be satisfied. Everything that had been taken from them, on account of the chapel at Lambeth, must be restored. So the commission ran; the delegates were warned not to go beyond the letter of their authority. Hubert sheltered himself under a verbal ambiguity; and this having been reserved by the judges, they proceeded to hear evidence. They decided that the convent had failed to prove that they had lost anything on account of the interdicted chapel: they notified the decision to the pope, with the points Argument before the delegates.

[1] No. dxxxiv., &c.
[2] No. dxxxiii.
[3] No. dxxx. Gerv. 1680.

The powers of the delegates revoked.

reserved; thus, virtually, giving sentence in favour of Hubert. His clerks began to triumph; the king forbade the papal judges to enter on the question of the disputed advowsons:[1] the quarrel broke out again with its old bitterness. Innocent was prevailed upon by the convent to rescind the powers of the delegates, and to recall the cause to Rome, the parties to appear before the pope himself on the feast of S. Martin. This letter was issued on the 21st of May.[2]

Sudden change in the position of the parties.

Before, however, the letter was received, a sudden change had taken place in the feelings of the combatants. The delegates had appointed the Thursday before the feast of S. Simon and S. Jude,[3] for the last day of hearing. What produced the change in the archbishop's tactics it is impossible to say: according to the monks he was prevailed upon by the arguments of certain foreign scholars who visited Canterbury;[4] it is more likely that he had found by experience that he must not reckon on the continued support of the king; it is probable also that most of the original promoters of the college being now provided for, less pressure was brought to bear upon him than had been before. Of one thing we may be sure, that he was anxious that the cause should not be referred to Rome, but should be settled in a way that was compatible with the laws of the kingdom.

Hubert proposes to choose the delegates as arbitrators.

On whatever motive he acted, he came down to Canterbury before the day of hearing, and proposed that instead of proceeding on the apostolic letters, himself and the convent should agree to elect the delegates to arbitrate in the case. The bishop of Lincoln was dying; Roger of Rolveston, the dean, might fill his place. The convent having now, by Innocent's letter[5] revoking the commission, the means of quashing further proceedings

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[1] No. dxxxiv.
[2] No. dxlv.
[3] No. dxlvi.
[4] No. dxlvi.
[5] No. dxlvii.

if they should be unfavourable, accepted the archbishop's proposal. The bishop of Ely, the dean of Lincoln, and the abbot of S. Edmund's sat at Westminster, not as papal delegates, but as umpires chosen by the parties to the suit.[1] They pronounced their decision on the 6th of November. It was highly favourable to the monks. The archbishop might build at Lambeth, not, however, on the forbidden site, a church of canons, but the church must be a small one, and the canons Premonstratensians. It might be endowed from the archiepiscopal estates or churches, but not from those of the convent or of the almonry, or to an amount of more than a hundred pounds per annum. No consecrations or ordinations were to be celebrated in it: no church of secular canons must be built by the archbishop without the consent of the convent. As for the alienated churches, they were to be held by their present possessors, John, late archbishop of Lyons, Ralph of S. Martin, Symon of Wells, and Master Virgil, at a small rent for life; when vacant they should be apportioned between the almonry and the archbishop. Hubert was to have the xenia for his life. The question of the marsh of Appledore should be settled by a jury of twelve men.

Final award of the arbitrators.

The several parties signified this arrangement to the pope, who ratified it on the 30th of June 1201.

In the foregoing sketch of this famous struggle I have not thought it necessary to be constantly recurring to the legal character of the proceedings. These were, in fact, a series of repetitions, and may be dismissed in one sentence. The whole case turns on the persistence of the convent in compelling obedience to the papal mandates, and on the persistence of the king and archbishop in defeating them by law, by force, or by fraud. The case was never tried on its merits. What-

Character of the proceedings.

[1] No. dxlviii., &c. R. de Diceto, 708. Hoveden, 458. Ann. Winton., 305.

The case not tried on its merits.

ever was the opinion entertained upon them both in Rome and in England, and they are found frequently discussed in the unofficial, sometimes in the official correspondence, the proceedings turned at Rome on the disobedience of the primates, in England, on the contumacy of the convent. The same has been the case with the few writers who have ventured to dip into the history. On one side the reasonable rights of the archbishops have been obscured by the arbitrary means they took to secure them; on the other, all sympathy has been alienated by the dishonesty and litigiousness of the monks.

Points for canonical discussion.

There were, however, from beginning to end, points in dispute that were quite open to free discussion, both at canon and at common law. What right had the former archbishops to sacrifice the interests of their successors? What authority did the papal confirmation give to acts *ipso facto* uncanonical, such as the alienation of the oblations from the archbishop? What were the powers of the convent to restrain the acts of the primate as archbishop, or what, as abbot of Christ Church? These points were never considered *pro tribunali* at Rome. Each party avoided appearing before the pope in the presence of the other. The popes themselves issued their letters on *ex parte* statements, The constant argument of the monastic party was, that the right of appeal must be maintained; they would not have a second pope at Canterbury. It might indeed have been tolerable, had they been his cardinals, but as it was, the liberties of the whole Western Church were imperilled. To this representation the successive mandates were granted; when they were contemned they were followed up with others, and, on the non-fulfilment of these, the decision of the whole case, had it been decided at Rome, would have turned.

In England, on the other hand, the questions for legal decision were manifold, but the actual proceedings

were as simple as at Rome, and probably, with some few exceptions, more directly opposed both to law and equity. What was the real state of the law on the question of appeals? They were not unlawful, for the constitution of Clarendon that forbade them had been renounced by the king, and never renewed. Yet every possible means was taken to defeat the prosecution of them. The mandates delivered from Rome were actually illegal, but Henry did not venture to prohibit the publication of them. Richard, on the other hand, did so prohibit them, and in both cases with manifest advantage; still the transgressors were not punished. Other questions might have been entertained at law without any risk of coming in contact with the papal authority: What was the validity of the charters of the convent which the king denied? What was their interpretation, if genuine? What was the nature of the tenure of their property, immediate of the crown, or through the person of the archbishop? What right had they to refuse to answer in the king's court except through the archbishop, and yet to refuse his officers leave to hold the private courts in which, as their abbot, he was the source of justice? These questions were avoided. The law was not strong enough to assert itself. If the monks were guilty of illegal conduct, it was not by excommunication or by confinement and blockade that they were legally punishable. If they were never tried, they ought not to have been persecuted. The archbishop was at Rome, admitting the legality of an appeal by answering the appellants, whilst at home he was excommunicating them, and throwing every obstacle in the way of a judgment that he seemed to be soliciting.

Points for decision at home.

Inconsistency of the conduct of the archbishop.

The power of the Church of Rome was exerted, and the spirit of the court of Rome was aroused on the one side, on the other were the national feeling and the majesty of the law of England. Irrespective of law,

Contrast between the tactics of the courts of Rome and England.

the pope and cardinals were engaged in sympathy with one side, and the king, clergy, and lawyers on the other. Yet they avoided coming to an actual collision, and in a manner tried to gain a triumph rather by checking their adversaries in alternate moves than by fairly facing the difficulties of the situation. In this game the popes had a decided advantage, for they confined themselves to ground which, on their own hypothesis, was strictly legal, and to a series of measures, each of which sprang naturally and logically from its predecessors. Their adversaries, on the other hand, afraid to bring about a collision, moved in crooked paths and fought with weapons that no law could justify. The policy of Rome was not hampered with either the fear of law or the desire of peace; the popes played accordingly the more open game; but they had nothing to lose, whatever loss resulted would fall on insignificant monks; the law of England had the better cause, but it was enthralled by the fear of spiritual weapons, or a second excitement such as had been so fatal in the earlier years of Henry's reign.

The same plan pursued in both the disputes.

The two struggles were conducted by the monks on the same principles. In each case appeal was made against the acts of the archbishop, and in each the appeal was withdrawn, or the archbishop was persuaded that it was so. In each the withdrawn appeal was secretly prosecuted, so that the convent might get the first word at Rome, and yet be able to recognize or disavow, as occasion served, the acts of their messengers. In each the result of the appeal was an unfair judgment. A mandate was issued on *ex parte* representations. The archbishops were warranted in the belief that such acts were null or illegal, or tried to anticipate the blow by excommunicating the appellants; the excommunication was made the *gravamen* of a new appeal; so mandate followed mandate, and appeal followed appeal. At last extreme spiritual censures

were threatened and defied. In both the matter was settled by compromise; in the former the good sense of Richard and his advisers prevented a schism or an interdict; in the latter Hubert was wise enough to yield; he saw, in fact, that the time for successful resistance was still far off. Both decided by compromise.

The characters of the two archbishops gave, however, a distinctive colour to each of the disputes. Baldwin, with his Cistercian notions, his learning and unworldliness, was a very different man from Hubert, the legate, chancellor, and justiciar, primate and commander-in-chief, holding more than regal power in England, and possessing supreme influence over the royal mind. Baldwin might be expected to conduct the struggle as a priest, Hubert as a statesman or a soldier. Possibly, as has been remarked above, the proceedings of Baldwin may be regarded as characteristic of an unworldly man under the influence of unprincipled advisers: but Hubert certainly acted for himself. Hubert was careful to observe some regard to the law, and was ready to yield where he saw he could not succeed. But Baldwin, or those who acted with his authority, uniformly perverted the process of law, and preferred the weapons of terrorism. Yet in the final arbitration it was by a side wind that Hubert saved the dignity of the country, losing at the same time all that he had contended for; whilst in the first, Baldwin gained all that he wanted except one unimportant point. The difference of the result probably arose from the different characters of Richard and John, and the decreased interest that Hubert took in the design. He could not reckon on John's support as he could upon Richard's. He was content to sacrifice his own interest to save the law. The papal commission and the long series of mandates were all set aside, and so far the law was upheld; but the points in dispute were all given against him; and the very arbitrators who decided Contrast between the procedures of Hubert and Baldwin.

The law kept, but not vindicated.

the award were the persons whom the pope had commissioned as delegates. The law was strong enough to rob the papal proceedings of their logical conclusion, but not strong enough to decide the cause on its merits or by its own virtue.

And this is not to be wondered at; for, not to speak of the constant and accumulated aggravations of papal interference, the administration of the law of the land was in the hands of men too rough and self-willed to handle so delicate an instrument. For the law itself was not in its infancy, and was fully competent to decide on nearly all the points involved; but though the weapons were ready and appropriate, they were crushed by the hands that wielded them, and the law was broken in the attempt to enforce it more than in the attempt to evade it.

Illustrations of character.

The character of Richard is illustrated in some minor points by his course in these disputes. He stands in pleasant contrast with his father in respect both of his openness and of his firmness. His stout determination not to yield is manifest from the first. He would not suffer the law of the land to be overridden by a rescript from Rome. He condescended to none of what S. Thomas called his father's mousetraps: the tricks by which that astute king managed to put his adversaries in the wrong without committing himself to a decided course. He not only threatened, but actually defeated, the legate, John of Anagni, in a way worthy of his father's bolder days. He forbade the execution of the mandate of Innocent, instead of trying to elude it either by chicanery or by bullying. And the success of his resistance fully justified the more manly line he took.

Influence of Hubert.

Not less conspicuous is the influence exercised over him by archbishop Hubert. Hubert's character has suffered a good deal from his connexion with Richard. From S. Hugh downwards, judgment has been passed upon him as a man of secular mind, ambitious, unscru-

pulous, the willing minister of a greedy tyranny. In some respects his position was one of his own seeking. He was the first archbishop of Canterbury who had retained secular power after his accession to the primacy. With the exception of S. Thomas, he was the only primate since the Conquest who had been chosen for any other reason than learning or sanctity: he was raised to the high position which he filled simply for secular reasons. But it should be taken into account that Hubert never worked for himself alone; he never enriched or aggrandized himself;[1] if he grasped a power, there were no other hands capable of grasping it, or even of holding it for a moment. No one exercised over Richard an influence to be compared with that of Hubert. In the recollection of this lies the excuse for much of that arbitrary conduct that has offended his critics. If the yoke when held by Hubert was heavy, what must it have been in the hands of William Longchamp, a man who, not inferior in zeal and faithfulness, and perhaps even superior in political acuteness, had not the tact or the moral influence, or a particle of the English feeling that characterized the archbishop. That the influence of Hubert over Richard was not a mere accident, but the result of something in the character of the former, can scarcely be questioned; for he exercised the same among the haughty nobles and among the citizens of London. The extent and character of this influence was especially apparent in

Position of Hubert.

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis gives Hubert a very bad character for dishonesty, incontinence, ambition, avarice, and tyranny. Besides this, he was both utterly unlearned, and only saved by his ignorance from being heretical. See Giraldus' *Invectiones, passim*; especially, Opp. iii. 28, 38, 39. These calumnies would be utterly unworthy of attention, if the inventor had not thought fit to retract them. As it is, we must set against them the character given by Gervase, 1681, 1682. Giraldus accuses Hubert further of aspiring to the cardinalate, and even to the papacy. Opp. iii. 23.

Influence of Hubert as a minister.

the pacification of England during Richard's captivity and in the management of the election of John.[1] On the former of these occasions it is almost amusing to remark the way in which the minor actors who had acquired some importance in the medley, vanish before his strong and sensible proceedings. William of Longchamp dwindles down into the king's chancellor; Walter of Coutances disappears almost entirely from the arena of English politics; Hugh of Puiset and Hugh of Nunant are compelled to keep order; John and Geoffrey are both put in their proper places; Richard reigns as powerfully from Spires or Worms as he did from Roche d'Andeli or Azai. Hubert was himself a Norman nobleman, and allied with the greatest names of the period of amalgamation. He had stood face to face with Saladin both in the field of battle and in the council. He who knew how to keep the lion-hearted king in something like order, was not likely to cower before a fellow noble. He was not, perhaps, the best conceivable minister for Richard, but he was probably the best, if not the only one, possible. He was a true patriot, a man of honest purposes, and of pure life. That such a man should have the authority he had with Richard is enough to outweigh any charges that can be brought against him as a minister, and the details of the association bring out some of the better features of the king's character at the same time.

Hubert as a bishop.

If we regard him as a bishop, other considerations come in. The exchequer of a Norman sovereign could hardly be a good school of financial honesty, much less of theological training. Hubert was sadly deficient in both the scholarship and the doctrinal learning that become a bishop. The secular occupations to which he devoted himself could not be satisfactorily pursued

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[1] The influence which he maintained over John is especially noted by Gervase as a proof of his wonderful prudence. G. c. 1681.

without some dereliction of his spiritual work. It can only be said for him that the greatness of his country's need was his best excuse. Yet the results of the system which he represented were very terrible. Under an archbishop whose time was filled with secular work, and whose energies, however commanding, could scarcely have grappled alone with the evils of the disordered church, the state of religion in the country was extremely bad. Unhappy state of religion.

Nigel, the monk of Canterbury, and author of the *Speculum Stultorum*, whose name is found two or three times in the following pages, has left us in his book, *De Abusu Ecclesiastico*, a picture of the state of the church as viewed by a sincere and by no means prejudiced monk. The following of secular pursuits by the superior clergy had the double effect of laying open the spiritual offices to unworthy persons, and of perverting religious endowments to mere secular uses. Immorality and simony were crying sins in the portion of the clergy, that was supposed to be devoted to spiritual duties, and these were rather encouraged than restrained by their poverty. The superior clergy were generally free from these stains, but ignorance, meanness, avarice, and servility were common amongst them. Nigel doubtless attributed much of this to the inherent corruptness of secular life; but a careful study of these letters will show that there was another cause at work, that did not lie, indeed, so deep in human nature, but was almost as difficult to eradicate as if it had done so. This was the paralysis of discipline in the church itself. There can be no reasonable doubt that the hands of the bishops were tied by the sufferance of appeals to Rome, contrary to the ancient custom of the realm; the evil that had called for the constitutions of Clarendon; the old evil, foreign to the English Church, which had been gradually creeping in since the Conquest. It was practically in the power of any contumacious priest to Nigel's view of the clergy. Paralysis of discipline.

Mischief of appeals.

lodge an appeal to Rome, which at once removed him from the authority of his diocesan, and placed him, whatever his merits might be, under the protection of the holy see. Neither the spiritual nor the lay courts could try him; no bishop would subject himself to the annoyance and expense of a suit which would almost to a certainty be decided against him. All-powerful money could purchase, or wearisome pertinacity extort a mandate; pains and penalties would follow the refusal of the bishop to obey; from that moment he ceased to be a judge and became a defendant; and that under a charge on which the Italian lawyers never acquitted a bishop. The great proportion of English cases which are found in the Decretals of Gregory IX., and the space that English letters occupy in the letters of Alexander III. and his successors, which are of course only picked cases and letters of supposed importance, speaks more convincingly than any complaints of the historians of the paralysis of judicial power in the English Church. Although Hubert was neither a learned man nor a great theologian, he did his best, by the means of councils and legatine visitations, to remedy the evils that he saw existing. He failed under circumstances in which S. Hugh of Lincoln and Baldwin of Canterbury failed too.

Perversion of church endowments.

With the ideas that prevailed during this period on the subject of church preferment, there was doubtless a difficulty in attracting a superior class of minds to mere clerical work. The better endowments were heaped upon men who were ready to serve the king in the business of the State. The monasteries engrossed a vast proportion of tithe and only scantily provided for the duties legally attached to the possession. Piety was driven out of the church and choked in the monastery. The foundation of colleges and enrichment of the cathedrals would have served to provide for the learned and legal clergy, and have left parochial endowments

to their natural purpose. But this could only be done at the expense of the monastic order, either by alienating their revenues or by diverting that stream of pious liberality that had flowed so long in their direction. It was partly with this view that Henry II. and his ministers encouraged the design of Baldwin; and this, like every effort after reformation that proceeded from the bishops, was foiled by the appeal to Rome.

Sacrifice demanded of the monastic orders.

The Hakington and Lambeth foundations may be regarded as the last attempt to utilize the property of the monasteries before the Reformation. It failed signally, and the need of the moment was satisfied within a few years by the introduction of the mendicant orders, who undertook the religious revival of the people; these in their turn provoked the parochial clergy to greater activity, and so reform worked itself out; later the lawyers set themselves to oust the clergy from their secular occupations, and thus what was lost to the State was gained to the well-being of the church. The monastic system was left to itself until the sins of the fathers were visited upon the children, and the endowments which might have nursed learning and amply provided for monastic peace and hospitality, served to enrich the greedy courtiers of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

Importance of the Hakington and Lambeth cases in church history.

From the end of the twelfth century until the Reformation, from the days of Hubert Walter to those of Wolsey, the monasteries remained magnificent hostelries; their churches were splendid chapels for noble patrons; their inhabitants were bachelor country gentlemen, more polished and charitable, but little more learned or more pure in life than their lay neighbours; their estates were well managed, and enjoyed great advantages and exemptions; they were, in fact, an element of peace in a nation that delighted in war. But with a few noble exceptions, there was nothing in the system that did spiritual service; books were multiplied, but

Decline of monastic power dates from this time.

Uselessness and impotence of later monachism.

learning declined; prayers were offered unceasingly, but the efficacious energy of real devotion was not found in the homes that it had reared. The monastic body had sacrificed the opportunity of doing good work for the triumph of a moment. The great prize of their ambition, the government of the church, fell from their hands. The position occupied from henceforth by the monks of Canterbury,—and their state and weight may be taken as a fair criterion of the whole system,—was void of all political importance; their action in the election of the primate was merely nominal; in spite of many efforts to elect men of their own order, only once more did a monk fill the throne of Augustine. With the exception of Simon Langham, whose merits were by no means those of a monastic saint, Baldwin was the last monk who governed the Church of England.

A CALENDAR OF THE LETTERS CONTAINED IN THE PRESENT VOLUME.

[Baldwin elected archbishop of Canterbury 1184, Dec. 16. Alan, prior of Christ Church, appointed 1179, Aug. 6.]

1185.

Mar. 15. Verona. Litteræ Lucii papæ impetratæ a Baldewino archiepiscopo, contra conventum, suppressa veritate. —No. I.

The pope empowers the archbishop to reclaim the property alienated from the see by archbishop Richard.

[Lucius III. dies, and Urban III. is elected pope, 1185, Nov. 25.]

Dec. 19. Verona. Litteræ Urbani papæ ab eodem Baldewino eodem modo impetratæ.—No. II.

Pope Urban empowers the archbishop to reclaim the alienated property of the see.

[Archbishop Baldwin takes possession of the Xenia, 1185, Dec. 16; and reclaims the churches appropriated to the almonry by archbishop Richard, 1186, Jan. 25. The monks appeal to the pope, Feb. 18. Peace is restored, and the appeal renounced, at the intervention of three abbots. Brother Haymo alone refuses, and carries the appeal to the Court of Rome.]

1186.

Jan.—June. Canterbury. Johanni archiepiscopo Lugdunensi Alanus prior Cantuariensis. —Nos. DLVIII. and DLIX.

Prior Alan remonstrates with the archbishop of Lyons for accepting the church of Eynesford from the archbishop.

[Prior Alan is blessed abbot of Tewkesbury; and Honorius, the cellarer and chaplain of the archbishop, is appointed prior, 1186, Jun. 15.]

Oct. 1. Verona. Litteræ impetratæ a Baldewino, tacita veritate, pro canonia sæcularium erigenda.—No. VI.

The pope grants the archbishop leave to build a church in honour of SS. Stephen and Thomas.

1186.

Oct. 1. Verona. Urbanus papa Baldewino archiepiscopo.—Nos. DLX. and DLXI.

The pope grants to the archbishop the disposition of the oblations at S. Thomas's altar, and to build a church at Lambeth or elsewhere.

——— ——— Fraternitas quam instituit Baldewinus archiepiscopus pro canonia.—No. VIII.

The archbishop founds a fraternity for building a new church.

[The archbishop proposes to found a college of secular priests at Hakington, before Nov. 25. The monks appeal a second time.]

Dec. 8. Canterbury. Appellatio secunda conventus ne fieret canonia.—No. IX.

The prior and convent inform the archbishop of their second appeal.

[The archbishop comes to Canterbury and suspends the prior, Dec. 17.]

After Dec. 17. Canterbury. Henrico regi conventus Cantuariensis.—No. XXX.

The convent lay their griefs before the king.

After Dec. 17. Canterbury. Philippo regi Franciæ conventus Cantuariensis.—No. X.

The convent entreat Philip's intercession with the pope.

After Dec. 17. Canterbury. Frederico imperatori conventus Cantuariensis.—No. XI.

Asking for safe passage for the prior and his companions.

After Dec. 17. Canterbury. Idem archiepiscopo Remensi.—No. XIV.

Asking for the archbishop's interest with the pope.

After Dec. 17. Canterbury. P. Atrebatensi episcopo conventus Cantuariensis.—No. XII.

Asking for the bishop's intercession with the archbishop, the pope and the convent of Cîteaux.

After Dec. 17. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui Clarevallensi.—No. XIII.

Asking them to send the bishop of Arras to intercede with the archbishop.

[The prior and his companions leave Canterbury, Dec. 20.]

After Dec. 22, in Flanders. Honorius prior et socii Conventui.—No. XIX.

We arrived in Flanders, Dec. 22, and want letters of full powers.

1186.

After Dec. 22. Canterbury. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. XX.

The convent inform the pope that the prior and his companions have full powers to conduct the appeal.

After Dec. 25. Guildford. Henricus rex Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. XXXI.

The king is grieved to hear of the archbishop's harshness.

1187.

Jan. 13. Verona. Litteræ impetratæ a Conventu post primam appellationem.—No. III.

The pope enjoins the archbishop to restore the churches of Eastry and Monkton.

——— Verona. Urbanus papa Baldewino archiepiscopo.—No. IV.

Ordering him not to oppress the monks in consequence of the appeal.

Jan. 13. Verona. Idem Lincolniensi episcopo, et de Favresham et de Boxelia abbatibus.—No. V.

Commissioning the bishop and abbots to take cognizance of the quarrel about the alienated churches.

Jan. ——— Baldewinus archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi. —No. LXXXIV.

Ordering the convent to receive the bearers as administrators during the prior's absence.

Jan. Canterbury. Baldewino archiepiscopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. LXXXV.

Refusing to be governed by the three brethren sent by the archbishop, and to obey any one but the sub-prior.

Before Feb. 8. ——— Henricus rex Conventui Cantuariensi. —No. XCIX.

The king sends the bishop elect of Coventry and the bishops of Norwich and Worcester to Canterbury to learn the truth.

[The bishops visit Canterbury, Feb. 8. The sub-prior has an interview with the king at Chilham, Feb. 10. The king visits Canterbury, Feb. 11. The king leaves England, Feb. 15. The archbishop begins the foundations of his new church in a field before the church of S. Dunstan, Feb. 18.]

——— ——— Urbano papæ Henricus rex Angliæ.—No. XXI.

The king asks the pope's favour for the archbishop and his new church.

1187.

——— ——— Baldewinus archiepiscopus suffraganeis suis.—No. XXII.

Informing them of his design, and of the opposition of the monks.

——— ——— Urbano papæ Gaufridus Ridel Eliensis episcopus.—No. XXIII.

S. Thomas himself intended to build this new church: the bishop asks the pope's favour for the design.

——— ——— Baldewino archiepiscopo Exoniensis episcopus.—No. XXIV.

The bishop of Exeter incloses a letter to the pope in favour of the archbishop.

——— Clairvaux. Baldewino archiepiscopo abbas Clarevallensis.—No. XVIII.

The abbot prays for justice for the convent of Canterbury.

——— Cîteaux. Conventui Cantuariensi abbas Cistercii.—No. XVI.

Acknowledges the receipt of the letters of the convent, and has written to the bishop of Arras.

——— Cîteaux. Idem abbas Cystercii Atrebatensi episcopo.—No. XVII.

Desires the bishop to mediate between the archbishop and monks.

——— Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis decano Remensi.—No. XV.

Thanking him for his kindness to the prior.

Mar. 1. Verona. Urbanus papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.—No. XXVI.

Ordering the suspension of the prior to be removed within ten days. (Received March 25.)

Mar. 1. Verona. Idem abbatibus de Bello, de Faversham et Sancti Augustini.—No. XXVII.

Commissioning them to remove the suspension of the prior in case of the archbishop's refusal.

March 1–8. Verona. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. XXV.

We have arrived at Verona, and got letters from the pope, which we enclose.

[The day of appeal fixed by the monks was March 8. The archbishop's messengers not appearing, the pope adjourned to the 10th of April.]

1187.

After March 8. Verona. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. XXXV.

The pope has adjourned to April 10.

March 13. Verona. Urbanus papa Conventui Cantuariensi. —No. XLV.

Granting the disposition of the oblations to the monks.

March 25. Verona. Idem Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. XLVI.

Granting certain privileges as against the archbishop.

April 8. Verona. Idem Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. XLVII.

Quashing former decrees about the oblations.

——— Verona. Idem Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. XLVIII.

Quashing all decrees prejudicial to the convent.

April 10. Verona. Idem archiepiscopis, episcopis et cæteris prælatis Angliæ.—No. XLIX.

Charging the clergy to observe the above.

——— Canterbury. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis. —No. XXXVI.

Thanking him for his good news.

Before April 11. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Gaufrido supriori Cantuariensi.—No. XXXII.

Ralph of Orpington and John of Bochinge forbidden to quit the convent.

After April 11. ——— Urbano papæ abbas de Bello.—No. XXVIII.

We removed the suspension of the prior on the 11th of April.

After April 11. Canterbury. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. XXXIII.

The archbishop has refused to obey the mandate, which has been executed by the abbots, April 11. He has consecrated the chrism at London, March 26, and has confined two of the monks to the monastery.

——— Canterbury. Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. XXXIV.

Rejoicing in his return to the court, and asking support for the prior.

——— Canterbury. Idem Hugoni Lincolniensi episcopo.— No. XXXVII.

Asking his intercession with the king.

——— Canterbury. Idem magistro Alexander Walensi.—No. XXXVIII.

Asking him to use his eloquence on their behalf.

1187.

Before May 9. Verona. Honorius prior Conventui Cantuariensi. No. L.

Enclosing copies of the privileges (xlv.–xlix.).

May 9. Verona. Urbanus papa Baldewino archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.—No. XL.

Commanding the archbishop to stop building. (Received June 10.)

May 9. Verona. Idem omnibus prælatis Angliæ pro fraternitate quassanda.—No. XLI.

Quashing the archbishop's brotherhood.

May 9. Verona. Idem Baldewino archiepiscopo.—No. XLII.

Ordering him to restore all things as they were before the appeal. (Received June 23.)

May 9. Verona. Idem de Bello, de Faversham et Sancti Augustini abbatibus.—No. XLIII.

Ordering them to execute No. XLII., in case of the archbishop's refusal.

May. Verona. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. XLIV.

The pope has written to the archbishop.

May. Verona. Idem eidem.—No. XXXIX.

The pope has written to the archbishop. The pope is not to be blamed for the insufficient execution of the mandate of March 1.

May. Verona. Idem Gaufrido suppriori.—No. LI.

Send an account of the reception of the mandate of May 9.

June 4—24. ——— Petrus Atrebatensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. XXIX.

He received the abbot of Cîteaux' letter June 4: proposes to visit Canterbury on S. John's day.

After June 10. Canterbury. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. LV.

The mandate to stop building has been presented to the archbishop (June 10).

Magistro Gratiano cardinali Conventus.—No. LVI.

Expressing their confidence in him.

June. Verona. Urbanus papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.—No. LII.

Asking pardon for the prior, who is returning home.

June. Verona. Idem eidem.—No. LIII.

Interceding for brothers Haymo, Humfrey and Edmund.

1187.

June. Verona. Idem Henrico regi Angliæ.—No. LIV.
Charging him to defend the church of Canterbury.

June. Canterbury. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. LXXVI.
The archbishop contemns the mandates: there are reports of our expulsion.

June. Canterbury. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. LXXV.
Thanks for favours.

June. Canterbury. Jacincto cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. LVII.
Thanks for favour to the prior.

After June 23. In Wales. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori.—No. LXXIII.
Excommunicates Ralph of Orpington and John of Boching.

After June 23. Canterbury. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. LXXIV.
The archbishop has received both mandates (June 10 and June 23), and has excommunicated two brethren.

After June 23. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis, de Bello, et de Faversham et Sancti Augustini abbatibus.—No. LVIII.

June 23—July 25. Canterbury. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. LXXVII.
Remonstrance for leaving Verona.

After June 23. Canterbury. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. LXXXIII.
Recommending Ralph of Orpington and John of Boching.

July. ——— Honorius prior Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. LXXVIII.
Defence of his conduct in returning.

July. Soissons. Honorius prior Gaufrido suppriori.—No. LXXIX.
Explaining his reasons for returning.

July. Canterbury. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. LXXX.
Relating the circumstances that followed the presentation of the mandates.

July. Canterbury. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. LXXXI.
Explaining the urgency of No. LXXVII.

1187.

July. Canterbury. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. LXXXII.

Ordering him to return to the papal court.

Before July 25. Westminster. Randulfus Glanvilla abbati de Bello.—No. LIX.

Forbids the execution of the mandates.

Before July 25. Westminster. Randulfus de Glanvilla Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. LX.

Forbids the use of the mandate, and summons the subprior to London on July 25.

Before July 25. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Randulfo de Glanvilla.—No. LXI.

Refusing the attendance of the subprior.

Before July 25. Canterbury. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. LXII.

Defending themselves against a charge brought by Ranulf Glanvill in No. LX.

July. ——— Urbano papæ Henricus rex.—No. LXIII.

Remonstrating for his behaviour to the archbishop.

After July 25. Canterbury. Honorio priori Gaufridus subprior.—No. LXIV.

News up to July 25.

After July 25. Canterbury. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. LXV.

News up to July 25.

After July 25. Canterbury. Idem Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo.—No. LXVI.

Idem magistro Meliori cardinali.—No. LXVII.

Idem Radulfo Sancti Georgii ad Velum Aureum cardinali.—No. LXVIII.

Complaints of the king, and petitions for favour.

After July 25. Canterbury. Idem Honorio priori et sociis suis.—No. LXIX.

Instructions in consequence of the acts of July 25.

——— ——— Amicus amico.—No. LXX.

Complaining of the behaviour of the convent to brother Haymo.

——— Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis cuidam speciali amico suo.—No. LXXI.

Reply to a letter of sympathy.

——— Canterbury. Idem Ricardo Wintoniensi episcopo.—No. LXXII.

Letter of thanks.

1187.

Before Aug. 11. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Atrebatensi episcopo.—No. LXXXVIII.

The archbishop is going abroad.

July or August. Verona. Honorio priori fratres de Verona. No. LXXXIX.

Ralph of Orpington and John of Boching are returning.

July or August. Verona. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres de Verona.—No. XC.

Ralph and John have been absolved.

August. Verona. Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. XCI.

Letter of encouragement.

August. Verona. Idem Odoni abbati de Bello, et de Faversham et Sancti Augustini.—No. XCII.

The pope will excuse the abbots from visiting Rome in consequence of the archbishop's appeal.

[The archbishop, on his return from Wales, seizes the manors of the convent, and appeals to the pope; leaves England August 11.]

After August 11. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Honorio priori.—No. XCIII.

Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. XCIV.

Domino Meliori cardinali Hugo Lucensis.—No. XCV.

The archbishop has seized the manors of the convent, stopped the London rents, and appealed to the pope.

After August 11. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Roberto sacristæ, Rogero thesaurario, A. et R. monachis.—No. XCVI.

Forbidding them to accept the obediences from the archbishop.

August. ——— Conventui Cantuariensi Honorius prior.—No. XCVII.

He has set out for the court of Rome.

After August 11. Canterbury. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. XCVIII.

Complaining of the seizure of the manors.

August. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis W. Remensi archiepiscopo.—No. C.

Idem Remensi Decano.—No. CI.

Idem Ricardo comiti Pictavensi.—No. CII.

1187.

August. Canterbury—*cont.*

Idem comitibus W. de Mandavilla, Hamelino et Theobaldo.—No. CIII.

Philippo regi Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CIV.

Asking for their influence with the pope and the king.

——— ——— Urbano papæ Philippus rex Francorum.—No. CV.

Interceding for the convent.

——— ——— Honorius prior Gaufrido suppriori.—No. CVI.

Letter of consolation.

Aug. 11—Aug. 28. Alençon. Conventui Cantuariensi R. R. fratres sui.—No. CVII.

Robert the sacrist and Roger Norreys have reached the royal court.

After August 25. ——— Amicus Amico.—No. CVIII.

Letter of encouragement.

August. Canterbury. Conventui Cantuariensi R. decanus Remensis.—No. CIX.

Good wishes and prayers.

August. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido domini regis cancellario.—No. CX.

The archbishop has seized the manors.

[The king persuades Robert the sacrist and Roger Norreys to accept the obediences at the hand of the archbishop, Aug. 28.]

——— Alençon. Confirmatio Henrici regis canoniæ.—No. VII.

The king confirms the foundation of the new church.

After August 28. Alençon. Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus Gilberto Rofensi episcopo.—No. CXI.

Orders the bishop to institute Robert as sacrist, Roger as cellarer, and Symon as chamberlain.

After Aug. 28. Alençon. Henricus rex eidem et Randulfo de Glanvilla.—No. CXII.

Confirming the archbishop's order.

After Aug. 28. Alençon. Urbano papæ Henricus rex.—No. CXIII.

——— Rex Angliæ Henricus Honorio priori Cantuariensi et sociis suis.—No. CXIV.

Informing them that he has made peace between the archbishop and the convent.

August. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis capitulo Cysterciæ.—No. LXXXVI.

Asking the assistance of the Cistercian chapter against the new church.

1187.

Early in September. Canterbury. Baldewino archiepiscopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXVI.

Eidem Symon camerarius.—No. CXVII.

Eidem Robertus sacrista.—No. CXVIII.

Renouncing the compact of Alençon.

——— Canterbury. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis. —No. CXIX.

Informing him of the deception of the archbishop.

——— ——— Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXX.

Laying before him the acts of August 28.

——— ——— Conventus Cantuariensis Honorio priori.—No. CXXI.

Relation of the events of August 28.

Amicus amico.—No. CXXII.

The convent have sent to the king to demand restitution.

Sept. 14. Citeaux. Capitulum Cysterciense Baldewino archiepiscopo.—No. LXXXVII.

Intercession for the convent.

Sept. or Oct. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXXV.

The sheriff of Kent has demanded the release of R. Norreys.

Sept. or Oct. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Roberto sacristæ et sociis ejus transmarinis.—No. CXXIII.

Renewing the command to renounce the compact of Alençon.

After Sept. 11. Verona. Henrico regi Angliæ prior Cantuariensis et socii ejus.—No. CXV.

The prior replies to No. CXIV.

[The pope removes from Verona to Ferrara, Sept. 22—Oct. 3.]

Oct. 3. Ferrara. Urbanus papa Baldewino archiepiscopo.—No. CXXVIII.

Commanding him to restore the status quo; demolish the new church, annul the foundation, desecrate the site, suspend the clergy, and restore the officers, within 30 days.

Received Nov. 1.

Oct. 3. Ferrara. Idem Bathoniensi et Cicestrensi episcopis, et de Bello et Faversham abbatibus.—No. CXXIX.

Appointing them executors of the mandate.

1187.

Oct. 3. Ferrara. Urbanus papa Henrico regi.—No. CXXX.

Requesting him to enforce the execution of the mandate.

Oct. 3. Ferrara. Urbanus papa capitulo Cantuariensi.—No. CXXXI.

Privilege against the sentences of the archbishop.

After Oct. 3. Ferrara. Honorius prior Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CXXVI.

Accompanying the new mandate.

After Oct. 3. Ferrara. Idem Gaufrido suppriori.—No. CXXVII.

He has returned to the papal court, and reached Verona Sept. 11. The pope has issued new mandates.

After Oct. 21. Ferrara. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi de morte Urbani papæ.—No. CXXXIV.

The pope died Oct. 19; Gregory VIII. elected Oct. 21.

After Oct. 25. Ferrara. Baldewino archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Petrus archidiaconus Bajocensis et Willelmus præcentor de Welles.—No. CXXXV.

Account of the death of Urban III., and of the election and consecration of Gregory VIII.

Oct. 29. Ferrara. Gregorius papa archiepiscopis et episcopis et cæteris ecclesiæ prælatis.—No. CXXXVIII.

Confirming all letters of pope Urban III., issued within three months before his death.

Oct. 29. Ferrara. Idem episcopis et abbatibus Angliæ.—No. CXXXIX.

Excepting from the above, the suit of Baldwin and the monks.

[The last mandates of Urban III. promulgated at Canterbury about Nov. 1. See No. CLXXVI.]

About Nov. 1. Canterbury. Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXXXII.

Begging him observe the mandate of Oct. 3.

Before Nov. 18. ——— Randulfus de Glanvilla vicecomiti de Kent.—No. CXXXIII.

Ordering him to take the new church under the king's protection on Nov. 18.

Before Nov. 18. Canterbury. Honorio priori et fratribus Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXXXVII.

They have received the news of pope Urban's death.

1187.

Before Nov. 18. Canterbury. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXLIX.

Congratulations; rejoicings in pope Urban's mandate.

After Nov. 18. Canterbury. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXXXVI.

The king has taken the new church under his protection.

Nov. —. Canterbury. Honorio priori et fratribus Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLX.

Instructions: try to get the bishop of Albano away from the Court.

Nov. ——— Conventui Cantuariensi quidam fratrum a curia. —No. CLV.

The pope is only delaying, not refusing help.

Nov. 30. Parma. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CLIV.

The prior has reached Parma on his way to Rome.

[The news of the edict of Oct. 29 would reach England about the end of November.]

November. ——— Baldewinus archiepiscopus Roberto de Bechetun, et magistro Samsoni et aliis canonicis de Hakentun.—No. CXL.

Ordering rejoicings for the quashing of pope Urban's mandate.

November. Canterbury. Philippo regi Franciæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXLI.

Asking his influence with the new pope.

Nov. or Dec. ——— Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CXLVIII.

The pope has left Parma: he is propitious.

Nov. or Dec. ——— Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CL.

No good news; write to the dean of Rheims.

Nov. or Dec. ——— Henricus rex Angliæ, Randulfo de Glanvilla.—No. CLVIII.

He is about to send messengers to the convent, (those of Jan. 9).

December. Canterbury. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXLIII.

Statement of the case, and remonstrance against the edict of Oct. 29.

1187.

December. Canterbury. Honorio priori et sociis Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXLIV.

They have received the edict of Oct. 29.

December. Canterbury. Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXLV.

Complaining of the edict of Oct. 29.

December. Canterbury. Magistro Meliori cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXLVI.

Entreating assistance.

[The archbishop's clerks forbid the monks to hold their court, Dec. 17.]

After Dec. 17. Canterbury. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXXIV.

The clerks of the archbishop have forbidden the holding of the court.

[Pope Gregory VIII. dies, Dec. 17; Clement III. elected, Dec. 19.]

After Dec. 19. Pisa. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi de morte S. R. papæ.—No. CLXI.

Pope Gregory VIII. is dead; Clement III. succeeds.

After Dec. 19. Pisa. Honorius prior Gaufrido suppriori Cantuariensi.—No. CLXII.

Gregory VIII. is dead; Clement III. promises to be our friend.

After Dec. 19. Pisa. Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CLXIII.

Clement III. has succeeded; the prior must remain at the Court.

After Dec. 19. Pisa. Gaufrido suppriori quidam fratrum a curia.—CLXIV.

On the characters of the three popes.

December. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Radulfo decano Remensi.—No. CXLII.

Asking his influence with pope Gregory VIII.

1188.

Before Jan. 9. ——— Randulfus de Glanvilla dilecto sibi Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CLIX.

Warning them of the bishop of Rochester's visit.

[The bishop of Rochester visits Canterbury Jan. 9.]

Jan. 9—13. Canterbury. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXLVII.

Jan. 10—13. Canterbury. Honorio priori et sociis Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLI.

1188.

Jan. 10—13. Canterbury. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLIII.

The bishop of Rochester has visited the convent.

——— Canterbury. Omnibus filiis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ Conventus.—No. CLII.

A circular letter asking for the prayers of their friends.

[The archbishop landed Jan. 11. His clerks invaded the monastery, and he excommunicated two brethren at Wingham, Jan. 13.]

Jan. 14—17. Canterbury. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLVI.

Complaining of the invasion of the court, and of the excommunication of the two brethren.

Jan. 14—17. Canterbury. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLVII.

Complaining to the king of the same.

[The archbishop excommunicated the subprior Jan. 17; and shut up the monks Jan. 17–20. The news of pope Gregory's death must have reached Canterbury about Jan. 17.]

After Jan. 17. Canterbury. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXVI.

Statement of the archbishop's aggressions down to Jan. 17.

After Jan. 17. Canterbury. Willelmo Wigorniensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXI.

Statement: petition for help.

After Jan. 17. Canterbury. Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXIII.

Similar statement and petition.

After Jan. 17. Canterbury. Cuidam amico Gaufridus supprior Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXVI.

Reasons why he did not obey the archbishop's summons, in consequence of which he excommunicated him.

Jan. 20. S. Omers. Conventui fratres missi ad curiam.—No. CLXV.

The messengers have heard of the pope's death.

After Jan. 20. Canterbury. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXVII.

Statement of affairs from Jan. 9 to Jan. 20.

——— Canterbury. Henrico regi Anglorum Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXVIII.

Entreating him to disavow the archbishop's acts.

1188.

After Jan. 20. Canterbury. Willelmo Herefordensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXII.

——— ——— Odoni abbati de Bello et Conventui, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXIV.

Statement up to Jan. 20, and petition for help.

After Jan. 20. Canterbury. Abbati S. Albani et Conventui, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXV.

Begging them not to connive at their dispersion.

After Jan. 20. Canterbury. Omnibus Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXIX.

Circular statement and petition.

Before Jan. 26. Pisa. Gaufrido suppriori magister Humfridus monachus.—No. CXCV.

The pope will shortly issue a mandate.

Before Jan. 26. Pisa. Gaufrido suppriori magister Eadmundus monachus.—No. CXCVI.

The bishop of Albano has been recalled.

Jan. 26. Sienna. Clemens papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.—No. CXCIII.

Ordering him to destroy and annul the new church, and excommunicate the clergy; restore the possessions of the convent, and abstain from further injuries. (Received March 22.)

After Jan. 26. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CXCIV.

The pope has issued letters in our favour.

January. Canterbury. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXXIV.

The convent are living on alms.

Jan. or Feb. ——— Clementi papæ Philippus rex Franciæ.—No. CLXIX.

Interceding for the convent.

Jan. or Feb. S. Denys. Clementi papæ Conventus Sancti Dionysii.—No. CLXX.

Interceding for the convent.

[The king lands at Winchelsea, Jan. 30.]

Feb. 1—11. Otford. Clementi papæ Henricus rex Angliæ.—No. CLXXXII.

Excusing the archbishop from visiting Rome; stating that on his return from abroad he found divine service suspended.

Feb. ——— Clementi papæ Nicholaus suus alumnus et clericus.—No. CLXXXVIII.

Warning the pope of the danger of the convent.

1188.

Feb. Canterbury. Domino Gratiano cardinali conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXCIX.

——— ——— Domino Jacinto cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CC.

Complaining of imprisonment and starvation, and asking help.

Feb. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Radulfo decano Remensi.—No. CCIV.

Letter of sympathy; the archbishop is proposing arbitration.

[Council at Gaitington, at which the archbishop takes the cross, and the charters of the convent are exhibited, Feb. 11. The king sends the bishops of Chichester, Worcester and Hereford to Canterbury, and the convent send four monks to the king, Feb. 24.]

After Feb. 11. Canterbury. Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXXIX.

Thanks for his support at Gaitington.

After Feb. 11. ——— Clementi papæ Henricus rex Angliæ.—No. CXC.

Complaining that the monks refuse an arbitration, and praising the archbishop.

——— ——— Clementi papæ Baldewinus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis.—No. CXCI.

Defending himself against the charge of disobedience.

Middle of Feb. Great St. Bernard. Gaufrido suppriori frater Johannes.—No. CXCVII.

He has reached the Great S. Bernard, and met the pope's letters of Jan. 26.

Feb. 24. Canterbury. Henrico regi Angliæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCXLIII.

Enumerating their charters, and proving their claim to hold of the king in chief.

Feb. 24. Canterbury. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXCII.

Commending the messengers to the king's favour.

After Feb. 24. Canterbury. Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXXV.

The archbishop refuses to plead his cause, except before his accomplices.

After Feb. 24. Canterbury. Honorio priori et sociis Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXXVI.

1188.

Account of the council of Gaitington, Feb. 11. The visit of the bishops, and the sending of four messengers to the king.

After Feb. 24. Canterbury. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXXVII.

The monks have been forty days imprisoned in their monastery.

[The four monks sent to the king reach him at Clarendon, Feb. 29, and have an audience, Mar. 1. The archbishop proceeds to preach the Crusade in Wales.]

After Mar. 1. ——— Conventui fratres missi ad curiam regis. —No. CCXL.

Describing their audience at Clarendon.

Mar. 5. Rome. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCV.

The brethren (John &c.) reached Rome, Feb. 27; the pope heard their news, Mar. 1.

Mar. 1—17. Rome. Conventui Cantuariensi frater Humfridus monachus a curia.—No. CCVI.

March 1—17. Rome. Conventui Cantuariensi magister Eadmundus monachus a curia.—No. CCVII.

Consoling the convent, and informing them that the pope has promised redress.

Early in March. Canterbury. Honorio priori et sociis Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCVIII.

We have received copies of the pope's mandate of Jan. 26.

March 5—17. Rome. Honorius prior Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori.—No. CCX.

The pope will shortly grant redress: we sympathize with your sufferings.

March 17. Rome. Clemens papa priori de Faversham et magistro Farremanno.—No. CCXIII.

Commanding them to excommunicate the persons who have broken into the monastery. (Received April 15.)

About Mar. 17. Rome. Conventui Cantuariensi frater Johannes. —No. CCIX.

We have succeeded in getting letters of excommunication against those who broke into the court of the monastery.

About Mar. 17. Rome. Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus, priori de Faversham.—No. CCXVII.

Urging him to execute the mandate committed to him.

1188.

After Mar. 17. Rome. Honorius prior Gaufrido suppriori.—No. CCXII.

Sending the mandate of excommunication.

After Mar. 17. Rome. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCXVI.

Advising the monks to resume divine service.

[The archbishop receives the pope's mandate of Jan. 26, on the 22nd of March.]

March. Canterbury. Honorio priori et fratribus Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCI.

The archbishop has received by his clerks a copy of the pope's letters, and does not obey.

March. Canterbury. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CXCVIII.

Thanking the pope for the mandate, and complaining of the disobedience of the archbishop.

March. Canterbury. Omnibus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ filiis Conventus.—No. CCLXXI.

Circular recounting the archbishop's offences, and warning the faithful against Roger Norreys.

Mar. 31. Palermo. Clementi papæ rex Siciliæ et regina. No. CLXXXIII.

In favour of the archbishop and his college.

April 1. Rome. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCXI.

Explaining the obstacles they meet with in the prosecution of the cause.

After April 11. Rome. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCXXVIII.

On the Monday after Palm Sunday, the pope promised to send a legate *a latere* to England.

April 11—17. Rome. Honorius prior Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori.—No. CCXXXIII.

We hope the bishop of Ostia will be the legate, and that he will start in Easter week.

About April 13. Canterbury. Philippo Francorum regi Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXVII.

——— ——— Philippo comiti Flandriæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXVIII.

——— ——— Henrico duci Saxoniæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CLXXX.

——— ——— Amicus amico.—No. CLXXXI.

——— ——— Abbati et Conventui Cluniacensi, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCII.

1188.

——— ——— Conventui Sancti Bertini Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCIII.

The convent having now been for three months imprisoned (from Jan. 13) desire the prayers and intercessions of their friends.

About [April 14. Canterbury. Gilberto Roffensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCXXI.

Applying to the bishop, as vicar of the archbishop, for the chrism.

About April 14. Canterbury. Baldewino archiepiscopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCXX.

The bishop of Rochester has refused the chrism, and the convent appeal to the pope.

After] April 23. Canterbury. Honorio priori et sociis Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCXIX.

The mandate of March 17, arrived at Canterbury April 15, and the aggressors were admonished on the 16th, 19th, and 21st. The prior of Faversham executed the mandate on the 23rd.

After April 23. Canterbury. Honorio priori et sociis Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCXXII.

The archbishop has sent the chrism; the people at Canterbury show no respect to the mandate.

After April 23. Canterbury. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCXXIII.

The mandates of Jan. 26 and of March 17, have failed to produce any effect on the archbishop. The pope is to blame for his apathy.

After April 23. Canterbury. Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCXXV.

The prior of Faversham has published the sentence of excommunication against the aggressors.

After April 23. Canterbury. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCXXVI.

The convent have resumed divine service.

After April 24. Canterbury. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCXXIV.

The day after the publication of the sentence, the priests and people of Canterbury made a riot.

After April 24. ——— Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo prior de Faversham.—No. CCXVIII.

In the riot after the publication of the sentence, Ralph, a nephew of S. Thomas, was taken and imprisoned.

1188.

After April 24. Canterbury. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCXXVII.

Ralph, a nephew of S. Thomas, has been cast into prison.

After April 24. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis magistro Guarnerio.—No. CCXXIX.

Entreating him to obtain the liberation of Ralph.

After April 24. Amicus amico.—No. CCLI.

Gaufrido suppriori quidam amicus.—No. CCLII.

Conventui Cantuariensi quidam amicus.—No. CCLIII.

Suo suus.—No. CCLIV.

Legal opinions as to the mode and value of the sentence of excommunication published April 23.

May. Rome. Gaufrido suppriori frater Johannes.—No. CCXXXII.

Character of the Roman court.

May 4. Rome. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCXXXV.

The pope has promised to send the bishop of Ostia as legate.

May 28. Rome. Clemens papa Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCXIV.

Annulling the sentence of the archbishop against the subprior.

May 30. Rome. Clemens papa clero et populo Anglicano.—No. CCXV.

Annulling the sentence against the subprior.

June 2. Rome. Suo suus.—No. CCXXXVI.

The bishop of Ostia is nominated; the pope is ill with a cardiac affection.

June. Rome. Honorius prior Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori.—No. CCXXX.

The pope and the bishop of Ostia have been ill, the latter is not yet recovered.

June. Rome. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi —No. CCXXXI.

The bishop of Ostia is recovered; we shall have a legate with full powers.

Before June 16. Canterbury. Radulfo decano Remensi, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCXXXIX.

The archbishop is going to the king of France; try to get an interview with him.

[The archbishop sails for France from Winchelsea, June 16.]

1188.

After June 16. Canterbury. Hamelino comiti Warenniæ, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCLXXXVII.

Desiring the liberation of the prisoners, as commanded by the archbishop before he sailed.

June. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui Radingensis ecclesiæ.—No. CCXXXVII.

Do not let your abbot go to Rome to oppose us.

June. Canterbury. Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCXXXVIII.

Asking for sympathy and support.

June. Rome. Philippo regi Francorum Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus.—No. CCXLI.

June. Rome. Henrico regi Angliæ, Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus.—No. CCXLII.

In favour of the church of Canterbury.

End of June. Rome. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCXXXIV.

We still hope for the bishop of Ostia as legate: the king of France has reproached the archbishop with his treatment of the convent. The king of England was never in greater difficulties.

Before July 10. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis abbati de Bello.—No. CCLXXXVI.

The king is going to France by way of Battle; explain to him that our messengers were not allowed to quit the convent.

Before July 10. Canterbury. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCLXXXV.

We had prepared to send two of the brethren to you, but they were not allowed to quit the convent.

[The king crossed over to France, July 10.]

Before July 13. Rome. Conventui Cantuariensi magister Humfridus monachus.—No. CCLVI.

Exhorting to perseverance.

[Brother Humfrey died July 13; Haymo, July 7; Edmund, July 11; Symon, July 15; Ralph, July 18.]

After July 18. ——— Honorius prior Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori.—No. CCLXXII.

The five brethren are dead.

After July 18. ——— Conventui Cantuariensi quidam amicus. —No. CCLXXIII.

Congratulating them on the martyrdom of the five brethren.

1188.

July. ——— Conventui Cantuariensi fratres R. et J.—No. CCXLIV.

The two brethren returning from Rome have reached Arras: they hear that the bishop of Arras is going to Canterbury with proposals from the archbishop.

July or August. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus R. et J.—No. CCXLV.

If the bishop of Arras is coming, one of the two is to return. It is said that the archbishop is going to Cîteaux. (Answer to CCXLIV.)

July or August. ——— Conventui Cantuariensi fratres Cantuarienses.—No. CCXLVI.

Advising them to send to the chapter at Cîteaux.

August. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus Cantuariensibus.—No. CCXLVII.

The bishop of Arras has visited Canterbury, and recommended us to send to Cîteaux.

August. S. Bertin. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres R. et J. —No. CCXLVIII.

Advising them to secure the advocacy of the bishop of Arras, and transmitting a form of a letter to the chapter at Cîteaux. (Answer to No. CCXLVII.)

August or September. ——— Gaufrido suppriori frater J. —No. CCL.

He has found at Whitsand the messenger conveying the form of letter for the chapter, delayed for want of money, and has paid his passage.

September. ——— Conventui Cantuariensi fratres R. et J.— No. CCXLIX.

When they reached Arras, they found that the bishop was gone to Cîteaux, and immediately followed.

[Cistercian chapter, Sept. 14.]

After Sept. 14. ——— Conventui Cantuariensi fratres Cantuarienses.—No. CCLXXIV.

Account of what happened at the Cistercian chapter: we have heard of the death of the brethren at Rome; the prior and the bishop of Ostia are yet alive.

After Sept. 14. ——— Conventui Cantuariensi fratres R. et J.—No. CCLXXV.

1188.

We have been delayed by different circumstances, but have now started for Rome, from Rheims, having heard of the death of the brethren.

September. ——— Conventui Cantuariensi frater transmarinus.—No. CCLXXVI.

Advising caution in sending messengers to the king.

September. ——— Conventui Cantuariensi prior Sancti Bertini.—No. CCLXXVII.

Sympathy on the death of the brethren.

September. Canterbury. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCLXXVIII.

Asking help from the cardinals: the convent are still imprisoned: the brethren at Rome are dead.

Before Oct. 21. Honorio priori quidam amicus.—No. CCLVII.

Exhorting him to constancy.

Incert. Conventui Cantuariensi Hugo clericus Lucenensis.—No. CCLV.

Good wishes and consolations.

——— ——— Magistro Gerardo Hugo Leuensis.—No. CCLVIII.

Describing the sufferings of the monks and the impiety of the archbishop.

——— ——— Amicus amico.—No. CCLIX.

Account of a vision of good omen to the convent.

——— ——— Suo suus.—No. CCLX.

Consolation.

——— Lewes. Conventui Cantuariensi *Conventus de Lewes.* —No. CCLXI.

We are celebrating special services for you.

——— Canterbury. Archiepiscopo Lugdunensi Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCLXII.

Reminding him of the claims of the convent to his support.

——— ——— Archiepiscopus Lugdunensis Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCLXIII.

Advising them to obey the archbishop.

——— ——— Suo suus.—No. CCLXIV.

Advising him not to forsake his flock.

——— ——— Conventui Cantuariensi magister Hugo Lucensis.—No. CCLXV.

He has received the promise of a gift from them.

1188.

——— ——— Galterius Rothomagensis archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCLXVI.

He has had an interview with the archbishop, who says that he only wants peace and his rights.

——— ——— Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCLXVII.

Advising them to apply to the queen and count Richard.

——— ——— Conventui Cantuariensi quidam amicus—No. CCLXVIII.

Excusing his absence, and stating the cause of the troubles of the convent to be their ungrateful conduct towards S. Thomas.

Before Oct. 21. ——— Honorio priori quidam amicus.—No. CCLXIX.

Encouraging him to persevere.

——— Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui Dovorum.—No. CCLXX.

Ordering them not to receive Roger Norreys as prior.

——— Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis, omni abbati quicunque vult salvus esse.—No. CCLXXIX.

Circular asking for relief.

——— Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis abbati et Conventui Sancti Eadmundi.—No. CCLXXX.

Asking for relief.

——— Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Hamelino comiti Warenniæ.—No. CCLXXXI.

Asking his good offices and charity.

——— Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui de Lewes.—No. CCLXXXII.

Thanking them for their kindness to a kinsman.

——— Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis civibus Londoniensibus.—No. CCLXXXIII.

Reminding them that S. Thomas was born among them.

——— Canterbury. Omnibus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ filiis et amicis.—No. CCLXXXIV.

They will admit all benefactors to a share in their privileges and services.

[Elias and Symon reach Rome, Oct. 31.]

After Nov. 4. Rome. Gaufrido suppriori fratres a curia Romana.—No. CCLXXXVIII.

The prior is dead; and the bishop of Ostia died on the fifth day after our arrival.

1188.

After Nov. 4. Rome. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres missi Romam.—No. CCLXXXIX.

Reflections on the deaths: the Pisan and Genoese crusaders have been attacked by plague and storm.

Dec. 10. Rome. Clemens papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.—No. CCXCI.

Reiterating the mandate of Urban III., and appointing cardinal Ralph Nigel legate.

After Dec. 10. ——— Gaufrido suppriori Cantuariensi fratres a curia Romana.—No. CCXC.

The legate started Dec. 9. He has got the prior's packhorse.

1189.

January. ——— Gaufrido suppriori et Conventui Cantuariensi, frater J. missus ad curiam.—No. CCXCIV.

Cardinal Ralph died at Mortara, Dec. 30: I am returning to Rome.

January. ——— Gaufrido suppriori et Conventui Cantuariensi, fratres transmarini.—No. CCXCIII.

On the death of cardinal Ralph.

January. Rome. Conventui Cantuariensi frater Johannes.—No. CCXCII.

The sorrows of his journey from Rheims to Rome: whither he has returned, and found there the archbishop's agents.

January. Rome. Petrus cardinalis Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCXCV.

Consoling them for the death of Ralph Nigel.

About Feb. 3. Le Mans. Gaufrido suppriori et Conventui Cantuariensi, frater R.—No. CCXCVII.

The papal letters (of Dec. 10) have been delivered to the archbishop: I had an interview with the king on Feb. 1, and letters were issued, Feb. 3, interpolated by the archbishop.

Feb. 3. Le Mans. Henricus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. DLXII.

The interpolated letter.

Feb. 25. Rome. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres a curia.—No. CCXCVI.

The pope has given us John of Anagni for legate.

1189.

March 2 or 12. Rome. Clemens papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.—No. CCCVIII.

Commissioning John of Anagni to enforce obedience.

After Mar. 2 or 12. Rome. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres a curia Romana.—No. CCCIII.

John of Anagni is on his road.

After Mar. 2 or 12. ——— Johannes legatus Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCIV.

Informing the convent of his mission.

[Mar. 24, Ranulf Glanvill visits Canterbury on the part of the king.]

After Mar. 24. Canterbury. Henrico regi Angliæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCXCVIII.

Excusing themselves for not sending messengers as R. Glanvill commanded.

After Mar. 24. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis, G. magistro militiæ Templi.—No. CCXCIX.

The reasons why messengers have not been sent to the king.

——— Canterbury. Ricardo comiti Pictavensi Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCC.

Asking Richard's intercession.

After Mar. 26.—Canterbury. Omnibus Christi fidelibus Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCII.

Osbert de Bristo fled from the convent, Mar. 26.

April. ——— Gaufrido suppriori Johannes monachus.—No. CCCI.

He has heard of the flight of Osbert.

April. ——— Conventui Cantuariensi fratres a curia Romana.—No. CCCV.

The legate has reached Paris, and is going to Le Mans.

April. ——— Conventui Cantuariensi fratres H. et J.—No. CCCVI.

The legate has given assurances of his favour.

After May 20. ——— Johannes Anagninus et legatus, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCX.

The legate has ordered the archbishop to obey the papal mandate.

After May 20. Le Mans. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres H. et J.—No. CCCVII.

The mandate was delivered to the archbishop, May 19. The next day we met him at the cardinal's lodgings.

1189.

——— ——— Suo amico suus fidelis et amicus.—No. CCCIX.
On the powers of a judge delegate.

July. Azai. Henricus rex Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCXII.
The king will shortly return, and find a way of peace.

July 1—6. Rouen. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres de transmarinis. No. CCCXI.
Report of the messengers sent to the king at Azai.

[Henry II. died at Chinon, July 6. Richard became duke of Normandy, July 20.]

——— ——— Gaufrido suppriori Cantuariensi quidam amicus.—No. CCCXIII.
Congratulations on improved prospects.

After Aug. 6. ——— Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus missis ad regem.—No. CCCXIV.
The archbishop has returned: details of his proceedings until Aug. 6, when he made brother Felix cellarer.

[The subprior fled from Canterbury, on or about Aug. 9.]

After Aug. 9. Arras. Conventui Cantuariensi G. prior jam transmarinus.—No. CCCXVI.
The subprior has reached Arras.

After Aug. 9. ——— Johannes Anagninus legatus, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCXVII.
Warning the convent to respect the rights of the subprior.

After Aug. 9. ——— Johannes Anagninus legatus, Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.—No. CCCXVIII.
Warning him not to wrong the subprior.

After Aug. 9. ——— Johannes legatus omnibus Christianis.—No. CCCXIX.
The archbishop's sentence against the subprior is invalid.

After Aug. 12. Canterbury. Abbas de Hyda, et prior de Beremundeseia omnibus Christi fidelibus.—No. DLXIII.
Restoring the possessions of the convent.

[Richard went to England, Aug. 13.]

After Aug. 13. ——— Conventui Cantuariensi frater J.—No. CCCXV.
The legate is sending a clerk to duke Richard.

1189.

After Aug. 13. Canterbury. Gaufrido suppriori et sociis transmarinis quidam amicus.—No. CCCXXII.

Answer to No. CCCXV. The duke is to be crowned on Sept. 3.

Before Sept. 3. ——— Philippus rex Franciæ Ricardi duci Normanniæ.—No. CCCXX.

——— ——— Regina Franciæ Ricardo duci.—No. CCCXXI.

Interceding for the convent of Canterbury.

——— ——— Gaufridus suppriori Alano tertio priori.—No. CCCXXIII.

Directions as to his proceedings relative to the new church.

After Sept. 3. ——— Johanni Anagnino Ricardus rex Angliæ. —No. CCCXXV.

Begging him to proceed in the collection of tithe in Poictou.

After Sept. 17. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido priori et sociis ejus.—No. CCCXXIV.

Account of the coronation, and the proceedings at Gaitington (Sept. 17).

After Oct. 6. Canterbury. Gaufrido suppriori et sociis suis quidam frater Cantuariensis.—No. CCCXXVI.

The archbishop has made Roger Norreys prior.

[The king's messengers visited Canterbury, Oct. 12.]

After Oct. 12. Canterbury. Johanni Anagnino Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DLXIV.

Enclosing a letter from Richard proposing arbitration.

After Oct. 12. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori et sociis suis.—No. CCCXXVII.

The brethren sent to the king on Oct. 12, have returned with a letter proposing arbitration.

Nov. 12. Westminster. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCXXX.

The archbishop has accepted an arbitration; the convent are ordered to do the same.

After Nov. 14. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido priori et sociis.—No. CCCXXIX.

Details from Nov. 5 to Nov. 14.

After Nov. 14. Conventui Cantuariensi Gaufridus supprior et socii.—No. CCCXXVIII.

They have heard that the convent are compelled to an arbitration.

1189.

After Nov. 14. ——— Johanni Anagnino et legato, Gaufridus supprior.—No. CCCXXXI.

The convent are compelled to an arbitration.

After Nov. 14 ——— Conventui Cantuariensi Gaufridus supprior et socii sui.—No. CCCXXXII.

The legate has issued letters delaying the progress of the suit.

[The legate lands, Nov. 21.]

Nov. 24. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori et sociis suis.—No. CCCXXXIV.

The legate has arrived at Dover, but is still prevented from going to Canterbury.

After November. Rome. Clemens papa Johanni Anagnino et legato.—No. CCCXXXIII.

The king of Sicily is dead: the legate must return.

Dec. 1. Canterbury. Ricardus rex Angliæ omnibus fidelibus. —No. CCCXXXV.

The sentence of the arbitrators.

About Dec. 11. ——— Johannes Anagninus omnibus Christi fidelibus.—No. CCCXXXVI.

Annulling the arbitration as extorted by force.

1190.

Conventio inter B. archiepiscopum Cantuariensem et episcopum Roffensem.—No. DLXV.

Deed of exchange of land in the isle of Grain for a site for the new college at Lambeth.

Mar. 20. Rouen. Ricardus rex Angliæ omnibus Christi fidelibus.—No. CCCXXXVII.

Confirming the exchange.

May or June. ——— Baldewinus archiepiscopus Gilberto Roffensi episcopo.—No. CCCXXXVIII.

He is to act as the archbishop's representative in the election of a new bishop of Worcester.

Oct. 12. Acre. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCXLV.

The archbishop has arrived at Acre, Oct. 12.

Oct. 21. Acre. Conventui Cantuariensi capellanus archiepiscopi.—No. CCCXLVI.

Ranulf Glanvill is dead.

1191.

Jan 25. Messina. Ricardus rex Angliæ Johanni fratri suo.— No. CCCXLVII.

The archbishop is dead. The archbishop of Montreal is to succeed him.

1191.

Jan. 25. Messina. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCXLVIII.

Informing them of the death of the archbishop, and proposing a successor.

Feb.—April. Canterbury. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCL.

Petitioning for justice.

March. Canterbury. Ricardo regi Angliæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCLI.

Asking for a free election of a new archbishop.

March. Canterbury. Alienoræ Anglorum reginæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCLII.

Entreating the queen's influence in favour of free election.

March. ——— Conventui Cantuariensi Gilbertus Roffensis episcopus.—No. CCCXXXIX.

The bishop has heard that the elect of Worcester has landed, and he has directed him to seek consecration at Canterbury.

March. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Gilberto Rofensi episcopo.—No. CCCXL.

They have directed their brethren at Winchester to appeal against the consecration of the elect of Worcester.

March. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Willelmo Eliensi episcopo et legato.—No. CCCXLI.

Appeal against the consecration of the elect of Worcester.

Mar. 28. Winchester. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus et legatus, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCXLII.

Excusing himself for not deferring to the appeal.

Before May 5. Tewkesbury. Johannes frater regis Ricardi, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCXLIX.

Forwarding the king's letter, No. CCCXLVIII.

Before May 10. Canterbury. Omnibus prælatis Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCXLIII.

Forbidding the consecration of the elect of York, except at Canterbury.

Before May 10. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus et legatus, omnibus Sanctæ Ecclesiæ prælatis.—No. CCCXLIV.

Forbidding the consecration of the elect of York.

[The king's letter of Jan. 25, delivered at Canterbury May 6. Prior Osbert deposed, and Geoffrey elected, May 10. Answer returned to the king's messengers, May 20.]

1191.

After May 10. Canterbury. Cœlestino papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCLIII.

Congratulating the new pope on his promotion.

After May 20. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus J. et R. missis ad curiam.—No. CCCLIV.

Relating the deposition of the late prior, and the receipt of and answer to the king's letter.

——— ——— Conventui Cantuariensi Petrus Blesensis.—No. CCCLV.

Apologizing for his former hostility.

May 28. Rome. Cœlestinus papa Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCLVI.

Annuls the privileges granted to Baldwin, and confirms the act of John of Anagni, No. CCCXXXVI.

May 28. Rome. Cœlestinus papa suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ.—No. CCCLVII.

Ordering them to respect the rights of the convent in the election of a new archbishop.

May 28. Rome. Cœlestinus papa Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo.—No. CCCLVIII.

Repeats the mandate of pope Urban III.

June or July. Canterbury. Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCLIX.

Praying him to execute the new mandate.

June or July. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis abbati de Waltham.—No. CCCLX.

Praying him to execute the mandate.

Before July 20. ——— Hereberto Cantuariensi archidiacono.—No. CCCLXI.

Ordering him to denounce the chapel at Hakington, and to cite the monks to Windsor on Aug. 11.

Before July 20. ——— Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus, et de Radinges et de Waltham abbates, canonicis de Hakentune.—No. CCCLXII.

They will execute the mandate on July 20.

Before July 20. ——— Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo, et W. abbati de Waltham, abbas de Radinges.—No. CCCLXIII.

Excuse for not appearing to execute the mandate.

July 20. ——— Omnibus Sanctæ Ecclesiæ filiis.—No. CCCLXIV.

The sentence against the chapel.

1191.

July 20. ——— Priori de Faversham et magistro F.—No. CCCLXV.

Commanding the demolition of the chapel.

July. ——— Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus, de Radinges et de Waltham abbatibus.—No. CCCLXVI.

Excusing himself from being present at Windsor on Aug. 11.

Aug. 2. London. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCLXVII.

Forbidding them to molest H. de Norhamtun, and R. de S. Martin.

Aug. 2. London. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo.—No. CCCLXVIII.

Forbidding them to proceed against the same.

Aug. 2. London. Idem eisdem.—No. CCCLXIX.

Forbidding them to molest W. de S. Mere l'Eglise.

Aug. 6. Acre. Ricardus rex Angliæ justitiario Angliæ.—No. CCCLXXV.

Announcing the capture of Acre.

Aug. 25. ——— Willelmus Eliensis episcopus Walterio Rothomagensi archiepiscopo.—No. DLXVI.

Forbidding him to go to Canterbury.

After Aug. 25. ——— G. Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCLXXVI.

He is unable to come to Canterbury to manage the election of the archbishop.

——— ——— Johannes comes, frater regis, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCLXXIV.

Forbidding them to elect the bishop of Ely as archbishop.

[Archbishop Geoffrey of York landed in England Sept. 14, and was taken prisoner Sept. 18.]

After Sept. 18.—Canterbury. Willelmo Eliensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCLXX.

Complaining of the capture of Geoffrey at Dover.

Sept. 29. Bromd'. Willelmus Eliensis Conventui Cantuariensi. No. CCCLXXI.

Excusing the arrest of Geoffrey.

September. ——— G. Wintoniensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCLXXII.

He will consult his brethren on the matter of Geoffrey.

1191.

September. ——— S. Cicestrensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCLXXIII.

He will consult his brethren on the matter of Geoffrey.

[The bishop of Ely deprived of his power and banished, Oct. 10.]

Oct. 10. Westminster. Ricardus rex Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCLXXVII.

Summoning them to London for the election on Oct. 22.

Oct. 10. Westminster. Johannes frater regis, et W. Rothomagensis, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCLXXVIII.

Attesting the authority of No. CCCLXXVII.

Nov. 5. Westminster. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCLXXIX.

Earl John and the justiciars will come to Canterbury on Dec. 2.

November. ——— Ricardus Londoniensis episcopus, Seffredo Cicestrensi episcopo.—No. CCCLXXX.

Summons to Canterbury on Dec. 2.

——— ——— Henricus Romanorum imperator, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCLXXXI.

Recommending them to take the advice of Savaric in the election.

——— ——— Philippus rex Franciæ Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCLXXXII.

Recommending the bishop of Bath for election.

About Nov. 27. Canterbury. W. Eliensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCLXXXVI.

Excusing themselves for not electing him.

Dec. 2. London. Cœlestino papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCLXXXIII.

Dec. 2. London. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCLXXXIV.

Announcing the election of Reginald.

After Dec. 2. Canterbury. R. Cantuariensi electo, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCLXXXV.

Thanking him for his behaviour in London on Dec. 2.

Dec. 25. Dogmersfield. Reginaldus Cantuariensis electus, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCLXXXVIII.

He is dying, and summons the prior with a monastic habit.

1191.

Dec. 26. Dogmersfield. Gaufrido priori Cantuariensi, R. clericus Cantuariensis electi.—No. CCCLXXXVII.
Announcing the illness of Reginald, and enclosing No. CCCLXXXVIII.

Dec. 27. Horsley. Conventui Cantuariensi Gaufridus prior.—No. CCCLXXXIX.
Announcing the death of the Elect.

1192.

January. Canterbury. Omnibus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ amicis, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCXC.
They are threatened by the justiciars about the deposition of prior Osbert.

January. Canterbury. A. abbati de Theokesberi, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCXCI.
Asking his intercession with earl John.

January. Canterbury. W. Eliensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCXCII.
Sympathy and excuse.

January. Canterbury. A. reginæ Angliæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCXCIII.
Asking her protection.

January. Canterbury. R. regi Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCXCIV.
Congratulating him on his success, and asking protection.

January. Canterbury. G. priori Hospitalis Jerusalem, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCXCV.
Asking his influence with the king.

May 16. Rome. Cœlestinus papa Cicestrensi episcopo, et abbatibus de Radinges et de Waltham.—No. CCCXCVII.
Ordering them to close the church of Lambeth, and release the canons from their oath.

1193.

Jan. 30. Rome. Cœlestinus papa de Lamhee canonicis.—No. CCCXCVI.
Taking the chapel at Lambeth under his protection.

Mar. 26. Spirès. R. rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCXCVIII.
Announcing his captivity, and asking for a loan towards the ransom.

Mar. 30. Spires. R. rex Angliæ Alienoræ reginæ matri suæ.—No. CCCXCIX.
Directing her to secure the election of Hubert as archbishop.

1193.

Mar. 30. Spires. R. rex justitiariis suis in Anglia.—No. CCCC.
Directing them to promote the election of Hubert.

Mar. 30. Spires. R. rex Angliæ priori et Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCCI.
Begging them to elect Hubert to the archbishopric.

May 28. Worms. R. rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCCII.
Recommending Savaric for promotion.

May 30. Canterbury or London. Cœlestino papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCVI.
Announcing the election of Hubert.

June 8. Worms. R. rex Alienoræ reginæ matri.—No. CCCCIII.
Urging the election of Hubert.

June 8. Worms. R. rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCCIV.
Commanding them to act on the advice of W. of S. Mere l'Eglise and John of Bridport.

July 10. ——— Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCCV.
Forbidding them to proceed in the election of Hubert.

September. ——— Cœlestinus papa Huberto Cantuariensi electo.—No. CCCCVII.
Charging him to destroy Baldwin's college.

September. ——— Cœlestinus papa Huberto Cantuariensi electo.—No. CCCCVIII.
Charging him to translate the body of S. Thomas.

Nov. 7. Canterbury. Professio Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi.—No. CCCCIX.
The oath taken by Hubert on receiving the pall.

1195.

Mar. 18. Rome. Cœlestinus papa Huberto archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.—No. CCCCX.
Granting him the legation throughout England.

Mar. 18. Rome. Cœlestinus papa Eboracensi archiepiscopo et omnibus prælatis Angliæ.—No. CCCCXI.
Announcing the legation of Hubert.

June or July. ——— H. Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, abbati et conventui Sancti Augustini.—No. CCCCXII.
Announcing his visitation in September.

1197.

June 9. Rome. Cœlestinus papa H. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. —No. CCCCXIII.

Placing the chapel at Lambeth at his disposal.

June 13. Roche d'Andeli. Carta regis Ricardi de excambio de Lamheia.—No. DLXVII.

Authorizing the exchange of Lambeth for Darent, &c.

——— Canterbury. Omnibus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ amicis, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXIV.

——— Canterbury. H. Lincolniensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXV.

——— Canterbury. J. Wygorniensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXVI.

——— Canterbury. A. abbati de Teokesberi, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXVII.

Announcing the approaching troubles, and asking for help, counsel and sympathy.

——— Canterbury. Cœlestino papæ G. prior Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXVIII.

——— Canterbury. Gratiano cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXIX.

——— Canterbury. Gerardo cardinali Gaufridus prior Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXX.

——— Canterbury. Domino Petro cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXXIII.

Begging that the archbishop may not be heard before they can send to Rome.

[Nov. 16. Three abbots visit Canterbury with Hubert's proposals.]

Nov. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis, R. Londoniensi episcopo.—No. CCCCXXV.

Nov. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis E. Eliensi electo. —No. CCCCXXVI.

Nov. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis abbati de Waltham.—No. CCCCXXVIII.

Nov. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis cuidam amico.—No. CCCCXXVII.

Asking them to advise the archbishop justly on the matter of Lambeth.

1197 or 1198.

——— Canterbury. Allegatio monachorum coram papa Cœlestino.—No. CCCCXXII.

The statement to be laid before the pope.

1197 or 1198.

——— Canterbury. Savarico Bathoniensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXXIV.

Reminding him of their claims on his friendship.

1198.

January. ——— G. priori et Conventui Cantuariensi, fratres Romam missi.—No. CCCCXXI.

Excusing their departure from the convent without leave.

Jan. 9. Rome. Innocentius papa electus omnibus prælatis in Anglia et in Scotia.—No. CCCCXXIX.

Announcing his promotion.

Feb. Canterbury. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXXX.

Entreating protection for their church.

Feb. or Mar. Canterbury. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXXXI.

Archbishop Hubert is attempting to re-establish the condemned church.

March. Canterbury. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXXXII.

The archbishop has excommunicated the two brethren at Rome.

April 1. Tours. Carta regis Ricardi de escambio de Lamheia.—No. DLXVIII.

Confirming the exchange of Lambeth for Darent.

[April 17. Pope Innocent hears the cause of the convent.]

After April 17. Rome. G. priori Cantuariensi, S. et N monachi ejusdem loci.—CCCCXXXIII.

The pope has heard the cause, April 17, and will shortly issue a mandate.

April 24. Rome. Innocentius papa H. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.—No. CCCCXXXIV.

Renewing the mandate of pope Urban, against the chapel at Lambeth.

April 24. Rome. Innocentius papa omnibus suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ.—No. CCCCXXXV.

Announcing the issuing of the mandate.

May. Rome. H. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, quidam cardinalis.—No. CCCCXXXVII.

——— ——— H. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, G. presbyter cardinalis.—No. CCCCXXXVIII.

Begging him to obey the mandate.

1198.

May 7. Rome. Innocentius papa, de Lewes et de Favresham abbatibus.—No. CCCCXLI.
Ordering them to suspend the archbishop from the power of excommunicating.

May 7. Rome. Innocentius papa Ricardo regi Angliæ.—No. CCCCXLII.
Enjoining on him not to hinder the execution of the mandate.

May. Rome. Ricardo regi, O. Ostiensis episcopus.—No. CCCCXLIII.

——— ——— Ricardo regi, J. presbyter cardinalis.—No. CCCCXLIV.

——— ——— Ricardo regi Petrus cardinalis.—No. CCCCXLV.
Begging him not to hinder the execution of the mandate.

May. Rome. J. cardinalis et Tuscanensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCCXXXIX.
Letter of encouragement.

——— Rome. Omnibus Christi fidelibus, J. presbyter cardinalis.—No. CCCCXL.
Annulling the excommunication of S. and N.

May. Rome. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres a curia Romana.—No. CCCCXLVIII.
Desiring to be informed of the execution of the mandate.

[The archbishop receives the news of the mandate, May 31; appeals, June 1; and summons a council of bishops for June 21. Receives the mandate, June 9].

June 1–9. Lambeth. H. archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Norwicensi episcopo.—No. CCCCXXXVI.
Giving an account of the mandate, and summoning him to Canterbury on the 21st of June.

June 14. Roche d'Andeli. Ricardus rex omnibus suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ.—No. CCCCXLIX.
Ordering them not to proceed with the mandate.

June or July. ——— Innocentio summo pontifici suffraganei Cantuariensis ecclesiæ.—No. CCCCLXI.
Stating the case in favour of the archbishop.

June or July. ——— Innocentio papæ, Cisterciensium abbatum de Anglia conventus.—No. CCCCLXII.
Interceding for the archbishop and his college.

June or July. ——— Allegatio episcoporum Angliæ pro archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.—No. CCCCLXIII.
Stating the grounds of appeal.

1198.

June or July. Canterbury. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLII.

Begging him not to listen to the bishops and abbots.

[July 6. The term for execution of the mandate expires.]

July 6. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus in curia Romana.—No. CCCCL.

Details from June 1 to July 6.

After July 6. Canterbury. Petro Cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLIV.

Octaviano Ostiensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLVIII.

Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXVII.

Cuidam cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXVIII.

Expressive of confidence and thanks; referring them to the brethren for particulars.

After July 6. Canterbury. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLI.

——— ——— Johanni cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLIII.

The archbishop has proposed an arbitration.

After July 6. Canterbury. G. Cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLIX.

The archbishop has called in the secular arm.

After July 6. Canterbury. Gratiano cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLX.

Asking for assistance.

July 15. Roche d'Andeli. Summo pontifici Ricardus rex Angliæ.—No. CCCCXLVI.

Remonstrance on behalf of the archbishop.

July 15. Roche d'Andeli. R. rex Angliæ J. Witerbiensi et Tuscalensi episcopo et cardinali.—No. CCCCXLVII.

He has forbidden the archbishop to execute the mandate.

July —. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui Sancti Bertini.—No. CCCCLV.

Decano Remensi et capitulo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No CCCCLVI.

Asking them to attest to the pope the authenticity of the act of John of Anagni and of the confirmation by pope Celestine.

July —. Canterbury. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis. No CCCCLVII.

Certifying the authenticity of the transcripts of the same.

1198.

July. Canterbury. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXIX.

Entreating the cardinals to adhere to their decision.

July 23. Roche d'Andeli. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCCLXX.

Ordering them to choose arbitrators.

After July 23. Canterbury. R. regi Angliæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXXI.

Refusing to except an arbitration.

After July 23. Canterbury. Alianoræ reginæ Angliæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXXII.

Asking for her influence with the king.

After July 23. Canterbury. Eliensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXXIII.

Inquiring how they may influence the king in their favour.

July or August. Canterbury. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXIV.

Reply to the arguments of the bishops in No. CCCCLXI.

July or August. Canterbury. Abbati et capitulo Sancti Remigii. —No. CCCCLXVI.

Recommending the bearers.

——— ——— Hæc sunt capitula quæ obtulit H. archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi pro canonia de Lamhee. —No. DLVI.

August. ——— Hubertus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCCLXV.

Forwarding the above conditions.

Sept. 2. Spoleto. Papa, de Faversham et Sancti Augustini et S. Gregorii prioribus.—No. CCCCLXXIX.

Ordering them to declare void any sentence against the convent.

Sept. 5. Spoleto. Summus pontifex Conventui Cantuariensi. No. CCCCLXXX.

Announcing the death of the brethren at the Court of Rome.

Sept. 6. Roche d'Andeli. Ricardus rex Angliæ, H. archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.—No. CCCCLXXIV.

He has ordered the justiciar to enrol the treasure of the convent.

After Sept. 6. ——— Hubertus archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCCLXXV.

He sends three clerks to enrol the treasure.

Sept. 11. Perugia. I. papa, S. Augustini et S. Gregorii prioribus.—No. DLXIX.

1198.

They are to pronounce the excommunication of John and Hubert null.

Before Sept. 19. Perugia. I. papa, R. regi Angliæ.—No. DLXX.

The archbishop's envoys have not yet arrived.

Sept. 20. Westminster. Conventui Cantuariensi justitiarius domini regis.—No. CCCCLXXVI.

He sends five officers to enrol the treasure.

[Sept. 26. The officers visited Canterbury.]

After Sept. 26. Canterbury. H. archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXXVII.

——— ——— Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXXVIII.

Remonstrating on the enrolling of the treasure.

[Sept. 28. The archbishop left England, and immediately the convent property was seized.]

After Sept. 28. Canterbury. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXXXI.

The king's officers have seized the convent property.

Oct. Canterbury. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXXXVI.

Recounting their persecutions.

Early in October. Canterbury. G. prior Cantuariensis, fratribus in curia Romana.—No. CCCCLXXVII.

The prior is alarmed at not having heard from the brethren; the treasures have been enrolled, and the property seized.

——— Canterbury. R. præcentori S. Quintini, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXXXVIII.

Thanking him for countersealing the copy of their privileges.

October ——— R. regi Angliæ, H. archiepiscopus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXXXIII.

Begging him to restore the convent property.

Late in October. Canterbury. Omnibus Christi fidelibus, G. prior Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXXXIX.

Renewing his appeal before setting out for Rome.

Late in October. Canterbury. Universis Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXC.

Declaring void anything that they may be forced to do against the prior.

Late in October. Canterbury. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXCI.

——— ——— Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXCII.

Recommending the prior to their favour.

1198.

Later in October. Canterbury. Gaufrido priori Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXCIII.

Thanking him for undertaking the appeal.

Later in October. Canterbury. I. summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXCV.

The prior will inform the pope of their persecutions.

——— Canterbury. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCXCIV.

Short statement of their case.

End of October. Canterbury. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. CCCCLXXXII.

They have heard of the death of the brethren.

Oct. 29. Roche d'Andeli. R. rex Angliæ Gaufrido filio Petri. No. CCCCLXXXIV.

Ordering the justiciar to restore the convent property.

After Oct. 29. ——— H. archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCCLXXXV.

He has prevailed on the king to restore the property.

[The cause was heard before the pope, Oct. 21; sentence given, Nov. 6.]

After Nov. 6. Rome. G. priori et Conventui Cantuariensi, S. et R. fratres a curia.—No. CCCCXCVI.

Announcing the favourable sentence.

Nov. 20. Rome. Summus pontifex H. archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.—No. CCCCXCVIII.

The definitive sentence of the pope.

Nov. 20. Rome. Innocentius summus pontifex, omnibus suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ.—No. CCCCXCIX.

They are to refuse obedience to the archbishop if he does not obey the mandate.

Nov. 20. Rome. Innocentius summus pontifex, Lincolniensi et Eliensi episcopis et abbati Sancti Eadmundi.—No. DI.

Commissioning them to compel execution of the mandate.

Nov. 20. Rome. Innocentius papa Ricardo regi Anglorum.—No. DII.

Charging him to enforce the execution.

No. 20. Rome. Innocentius summus pontifex Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. DIII.

Asking their prayers in return for his favourable sentence.

1198.

About Nov. 20. Rome. Conventui Cantuariensi magister Hugo, eorum advocatus et domini papæ capellanus.—No. DIV.

Asking their prayers in return for his advocacy.

After Nov. 20. Pisa. G. prior Cantuariensis et fratres, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. CCCCXCVII.

They met the bearer of the mandate at Lucca.

After Dec. 11. Rome. Gaufridus prior et fratres qui cum eo sunt, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. DXI.

The prior reached Rome on the 11th December.

Dec. 11—Dec. 22. Rome. Gaufridus prior et socii, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. DX.

The prior has had an interview with the pope.

Dec. 22. Rome. Innocentius papa Ricardo regi Anglorum.—No. DXX.

Charging him to recall his order for enrolling the treasure, &c.

Dec. 22. Rome. Innocentius papa Walterio Rothomagensi archiepiscopo et Eustachio Eliensi episcopo.—No. DXIX.

Commissioning them to enforce by spiritual animadversion the redress of the wrongs of the convent.

1199.

After Jan. 2. ——— H. archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. D.

He received the pope's letter on the 2nd of January, and is prepared to obey.

After Jan. 2. ——— Magistro Radulfo de S. Martino.—No. DV.

The judge delegates summon him to Westminster on the morrow of *Jubilate*, May 10.

Jan. 2—27. Canterbury. H. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DVI.

Thank him for No. D., and begging him to proceed.

[The chapel at Lambeth destroyed, Jan. 27.]

After Jan. 27. Canterbury. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DVII.

The archbishop has destroyed the chapel.

After Jan. 27. Canterbury. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DVIII.

The archbishop has destroyed the chapel.

After Jan. 27. Canterbury. Conventus Cantuariensis magistro H. advocato suo.—No. DIX.

Answer to No. DIV. The archbishop has destroyed the chapel.

1199.

Jan. Rome. G. prior et socii, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. DXVII.
Desiring some news from home.

Jan. 27—Mar. 13. Canterbury. I. summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXXI.
They have not ventured to present No. DXX. to the king.

Before Mar. 13. ——— R. rex Angliæ, G. filio Petri.—No. DXII.
Ordering him to seize the possessions of the convent.

[The possessions were seized, Mar. 13.]

After Mar. 13. Canterbury. R. regi Angliæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXIII.
Complaining of the seizure of their estates.

After Mar. 13. Canterbury. H. archiepiscopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXIV.
Complaining of the seizure of their estates.

After Mar. 13. Canterbury. I. summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXV.
Complaining of the seizure of their estates.

After Mar. 13. Canterbury. P. cardinali et legato curiæ Romanæ, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXVI.
Asking for his intercession with the king.

[The king dies, Apr. 6, and the estates are soon after restored.]

After Apr. 6. Canterbury. I. summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXXII.
The estates were restored after the king's death.

May 19. Rome. I. summus pontifex, Lincolniensi et Eliensi episcopis et abbati Sancti Eadmundi.—No. DXXV.
Commission to examine into the whole case.

May 19. Rome. Innocentius papa omnibus ecclesiasticis et sæcularibus fidelibus.—No. DXXVI.
Charging them to support the convent.

May 23. Rome. Innocentius papa .—No. DXXVII.
Charging the justiciars to do justice.

[After the letters of May 19 had been sent out, the archbishop closed the courts of the convent. See No. DXXVIII.]

After May 19. Canterbury. H. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXVIII.
Complaining of the closing of the courts.

After May 19. Canterbury. I. summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXXIII.
The archbishop has proceeded to further aggressions.

1199.

After May 19. Canterbury. Sedis apostolicæ cardinalibus, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXXIV.

The archbishop has closed their court of justice.

July or August. ——— Lincolniensis et Eliensis episcopi et abbas S. Eadmundi, Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. DXXXI.

Summoning them to Westminster in obedience to the mandate of May 19.

Aug. 21. Rome. De omnibus ecclesiis.—No. DXLIV.

The pope charges the archbishop to give up all the churches of the monks.

Sept. 11. Rome. I. papa Lincolniensi et Eliensi episcopis et Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. DXXVIII.

Charging them to compel the archbishop to recall what he has done since May 19.

Sept. 11. Rome. I. papa Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. —No. DXXIX.

Charging him to avoid giving offence to the monks.

Oct. or Nov. Episcopi delegati Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. DXXXII.

They will visit Canterbury on Nov. 18, and summon the monks to Westminster on Nov. 26.

After Nov. 26. Idem episcopi delegati Conventui Cantuariensi.—No. DXXXIII.

Naming Jan. 26 as the *dies peremptorius* for hearing the cause.

After Nov. 18. Canterbury. Innocentio summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXXXIV.

Ostiensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXXXV.

P. presbytero cardinali, Conventus Cantuariensis. —No. DXXXVI.

Albanensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXXXVII.

Gratiano cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXXXVIII.

Quibusdam cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis. No. DXXXIX. to DXLI.

Magistro H. advocato suo, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXLII.

Veronensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXLIII.

Reporting what took place on the visit of the delegates to Canterbury.

1200.

After Jan. 26. I. papæ, Lincolniensis et Eliensis episcopi et abbas Sancti Eadmundi.—No. DXXX.

Reporting the appearance of the monks, and referring certain questions back to the pope.

May 21. Rome. Litteræ revocatoriæ super causa judicibus commissa.—No. DXLV.

Revoking the commission unless the case is settled before Martinmas.

Between July and October. Canterbury. Domino papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DXLVI.

The convent have received the letter of May 21, but hope to have the matter settled without it.

About Oct. 26. Canterbury. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.—No. DXLVII.

The choice of arbitrators.

Nov. 6. Westminster. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.—No. DXLVIII.

The final award.

[Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, died Nov. 16.]

After Nov. 16. ——— Innocentio summo pontifici, E. Eliensis episcopus, et abbas Sancti Eadmundi, et Rogerus decanus Lincolniensis.—No. DXLIX.

Transmitting the final award.

After Nov. 16. ——— I. summo pontifici, Hubertus archiepiscopus.—No. DL.

I. summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis.—No. DLI.

Praying him to confirm the award.

June 2. Rome. Litteræ I. papæ ad prædictos arbitros de executione arbitrii præfati.—No. DLIII.

The pope writes to the arbitrators ordering them to execute the award.

June 30. Rome. Arbitrium et confirmatio ejus.—No. DLII.

The pope to the convent confirming the award.

Aug. 8. Segni. [I. papa, H. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.]—No. DLIV.

Authorizing him to grant tithes.

LIST OF LETTERS, IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY STAND IN THIS VOLUME.

	Page
I. Litteræ Lucii papæ impetratæ a Baldewino archiepiscopo contra Conventum, suppressa veritate	4
II. Litteræ Urbani papæ ab eodem Baldewino eodem modo impetratæ	4
III. Litteræ impetratæ a Conventu post primam appellationem contra præcedentes	5
IV. Urbanus papa Baldewino archiepiscopo de eodem	6
V. Idem Lincolniensi et de Faversham et de Boxeleia abbatibus	
VI. Litteræ impetratæ a Baldewino, tacita veritate, pro canonia sæcularium erigenda	7
VII. Confirmatio Henrici regis canoniæ	7
VIII. Fraternitas quam instituit Baldewinus archiepiscopus pro canonia	8
IX. Appellatio secunda Conventus ne fieret canonia	
X. Philippo regi Franciæ Conventus Cantuariensis	10
XI. Frederico imperatori Conventus Cantuariensis	10
XII. P. Atrebatensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis	11
XIII. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui Clarevallensi	12
XIV. Idem Remensi archiepiscopo	13
XV. Idem Remensi decano	13
XVI. Conventui Cantuariensi abbas Cystercii	14
XVII. Idem abbas Cystercii Atrebatensi episcopo	15
XVIII. Baldewino archiepiscopo abbas Clarevallensis	15
XIX. Honorius prior et socii Conventui	16
XX. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis	16
XXI. Urbano papæ Henricus rex Angliæ	16
XXII. Baldewinus archiepiscopus suffraganeis suis	17
XXIII. Urbano papæ Gaufridus Ridel, Eliensis episcopus	18
XXIV. Baldewino archiepiscopo Exoniensis episcopus	20
XXV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi	21

Page

XXVI. Urbanus papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo - - - - - - - - - 22
XXVII. Idem abbatibus de Bello, de Faversham et S. Augustini - - - - - - - - 24
XXVIII. Urbano papæ Odo abbas de Bello - - 25
XXIX. Petrus Atrebatensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 26
XXX. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis - - 27
XXXI. Henricus rex Conventui Cantuariensi - - 27
XXXII. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Gaufrido suppriori Cantuariensi - - - - - - - 28
XXXIII. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - - 28
XXXIV. Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 29
XXXV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi - 30
XXXVI. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis - 31
XXXVII. Idem Hugoni Lincolniensi episcopo - - 32
XXXVIII. Idem magistro Alexandro Walensi - - 32
XXXIX. [Honorius prior et fratres Conventui Cantuariensi] - - - - - - - - 33
XL. [Urbanus papa Baldewino archiepiscopo Cantuariensi] 34
XLI. Idem omnibus prælatis Angliæ pro fraternitate quassanda - - - - - - - - 35
XLII. Idem Baldewino archiepiscopo - - - 35
XLIII. Idem de Bello, de Faversham et S. Augustini abbatibus - - - - - - - - 36
XLIV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi - 37
XLV. Urbanus papa Conventui Cantuariensi privilegia indulget - - - - - - - - 38
XLVI. Idem Conventui Cantuariensi - - - 39
XLVII. Idem Conventui Cantuariensi - - - 40
XLVIII. Idem Conventui Cantuariensi - - - 40
XLIX. Idem archiepiscopis, episcopis et cæteris prælatis Angliæ - - - - - - - - 40
L. Honorius prior Conventui Cantuariensi - - - 41
LI. Idem Gaufrido suppriori - - - - 42
LII. Urbanus papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo 42
LIII. Idem eidem - - - - - - - 43
LIV. Idem Henrico regi Angliæ - - - - 43
LV. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - - 44
LVI. Magistro Gratiano cardinali Conventus - - 45
LVII. Jacincto cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis - 46
LVIII. Conventus Cantuariensis, de Bello et de Favrsham et S. Augustini abbatibus - - - - 46
LIX. Randulfus de Glanvilla abbati de Bello - - 46

Page
LX. Randulfus de Glanvilla Conventui Cantuariensi - 47
LXI. Conventus Cantuariensis Randulfo de Glanvilla - 47
LXII. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis - - - 47
LXIII. Urbano papæ Henricus rex - - - 48
LXIV. Honorio priori Gaufridus supprior - - - 49
LXV. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - - 50
LXVI. Idem Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo - - - 52
LXVII. Idem magistro Meliori cardinali - - - 53
LXVIII. Idem Radulfo Sancti Georgii ad Velum Aureum cardinali - - - - - - - - 53
LXIX. Idem Honorio priori et sociis - - - 54
LXX. Amicus amico - - - - - - - 57
LXXI. Conventus Cantuariensis cuidam speciali amico suo 59
LXXII. Idem Ricardo Wintoniensi episcopo - - 60
LXXIII. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Gaufrido suppriori - - - - - - - 60
LXXIV. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - - 61
LXXV. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis - 62
LXXVI. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis - 62
LXXVII. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis - 64
LXXVIII. Honorius prior Conventui Cantuariensi - 65
LXXIX. Honorius prior Gaufrido suppriori - - 65
LXXX. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis - - 66
LXXXI. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis - - 69
LXXXII. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis - 69
LXXXIII. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 70
LXXXIV. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 71
LXXXV. Baldewino archiepiscopo Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - - 71
LXXXVI. Conventus Cantuariensis capitulo Cysterciæ - 72
LXXXVII. Capitulum Cysterciense Baldewino archiepiscopo - - - - - - - - 73
LXXXVIII. Conventus Cantuariensis Atrebatensi episcopo 74
LXXXIX. Honorio priori fratres de Verona - - 74
XC. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres de Verona - - 75
XCI. Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - 76
XCII. Idem Odoni abbati de Bello, et de Faversham et S. Augustini - - - - - - - 76
XCIII. Conventus Cantuariensis Honorio priori - - 76
XCIV. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - - 78
XCV. Domino Meliori cardinali Hugo Lucensis - - 79
XCVI. Conventus Cantuariensis Robertæ sacristæ, Rogero thesaurario, A. et R. monachis - - - - - 81

Page
XCVII. Conventui Cantuariensi Honorius prior - - 81
XCVIII. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis - - 83
XCIX. Henricus rex Conventui Cantuariensi - - 83
C. Conventus Cantuariensis Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo - - - - - - - - 84
CI. Idem Rothomagensi archiepiscopo - - - 84
CII. Idem Ricardo comiti Pictavensi - - - 85
CIII. Idem comitibus Willelmo de Mandavilla, Hamelino et Theobaldo - - - - - - - 85
CIV. Philippo regi Francorum Conventus Cantuariensis 86
CV. Urbano papæ Philippus rex Franciæ - - - 86
CVI. Honorius prior Gaufrido suppriori - - - 86
CVII. Conventui Cantuariensi, R. R. fratres sui - - 87
CVIII. Amicis amicus - - - - - 87
CIX. Conventui Cantuariensi R. decanus Remensis - 88
CX. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido, domini regis cancellario - - - - - - - - 88
CXI. Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus Gilberto Rofensi episcopo - - - - - - 89
CXII. Henricus rex eidem et Randulfo de Glanvilla - 89
CXIII. Urbano papæ Henricus rex - - - 90
CXIV. Rex Angliæ Honorio priori Cantuariensi et sociis ejus - - - - - - - - 90
CXV. Henrico regi Angliæ prior Cantuariensis et socii 91
CXVI. Baldewino archiepiscopo Conventus Cantuariensis 92
CXVII. Eidem Symon camerarius - - - 92
CXVIII. Eidem Robertus sacrista - - - 92
CXIX. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis - - 93
CXX. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - - 93
CXXI. Conventus Cantuariensis Honorio priori - - 94
CXXII. Amicus amico - - - - - 96
CXXIII. Conventus Cantuariensis Roberto sacristæ et sociis ejus monachis - - - - - 97
CXXIV. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis - - 98
CXXV. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis - - 98
CXXVI. Honorius prior Conventui Cantuariensi - - 99
CXXVII. Idem Gaufrido suppriori - - - 100
CXXVIII. Urbanus papa Baldewino archiepiscopo - 100
CXXIX. Idem Bathoniensi et Cicestrensi episcopis, et de Bello et de Faversham abbatibus - - - 102
CXXX. Urbanus papa Henrico regi - - - 104
CXXXI. Urbanus papa capitulo Cantuariensi - - 105
CXXXII. Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 105
CXXXIII. Randulfus de Glanvilla vicecomiti de Kent - 105

Page

CXXXIV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi de morte Urbani papæ - - - - - - 106
CXXXV. Baldewino archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Petrus archidiaconus Bajocensis et Willelmus præcentor de Welles - - - - - - - - 107
CXXXVI. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 109
CXXXVII. Honorio priori et fratribus Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 110
CXXXVIII. Gregorius papa archiepiscopis et episcopis et cæteris ecclesiæ prælatis - - - - 111
CXXXIX. Idem episcopis et episcopis Angliæ - - 112
CXL. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Roberto de Bechetun, et magistro Samsoni et aliis canonicis de Hakentun - 112
CXLI. Philippo regi Franciæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 112
CXLII. Idem Radulfo Remensi decano - - - 113
CXLIII. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 113
CXLIV. Honorio priori et sociis, Conventus Cantuariensis 116
CXLV. Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 118
CXLVI. Magistro Meliori cardinali, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 120
CXLVII. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis 121
CXLVIII. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi 122
CXLIX. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 123
CL. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi - 124
CLI. Honorio priori et sociis, Conventus Cantuariensis - 125
CLII. Omnibus filiis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, Conventus - 126
CLIII. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - - 127
CLIV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi - 128
CLV. Conventui Cantuariensi quidam fratrum a curia - 130
CLVI. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - - 131
CLVII. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis - - 132
CLVIII. [Henricus rex Angliæ Randulfo de Glanvilla] - 134
CLIX. Randulfus de Glanvilla dilecto sibi Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - 135
CLX. Honorio priori et fratribus, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 135
CLXI. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi de morte S. R. papæ - - - - - - - 136
CLXII. Honorius prior Gaufrido suppriori Cantuariensi - 137
CLXIII. Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 138
CLXIV. Gaufrido suppriori quidam fratres a curia - 138
CLXV. Conventui fratres missi ad curiam - - 139
CLXVI. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 140

Page
CLXVII. [Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis] - 143
CLXVIII. Henrico regi Anglorum, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 145
CLXIX. Clementi papæ Philippus rex Franciæ - - 146
CLXX. Clementi papæ Conventus Sancti Dionysii - 146
CLXXI. Willelmo Wigorniensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 146
CLXXII. Willelmo Herefordensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 148
CLXXIII. Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 150
CLXXIV. Odoni abbati de Bello et conventui, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 151
CLXXV. Abbati Sancti Albani et conventui, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 153
CLXXVI. Cuidam amico Gaufridus supprior Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 154
CLXXVII. Philippo Francorum regi Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 155
CLXXVIII. Philippo comiti Flandriæ, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 156
CLXXIX. Omnibus Sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - 157
CLXXX. Henrico duci Saxoniæ, Conventus Cantuariensis 158
CLXXXI. Amicus amico - - - - - 159
CLXXXII. Clementi papæ Henricus rex Angliæ - 160
CLXXXIII. Eidem rex Siciliæ et regina, filia Henrici regis - - - - - - - - 162
CLXXXIV. Eidem Conventus Cantuariensis - - 163
CLXXXV. Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 164
CLXXXVI. Honorio priori et sociis, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 166
CLXXXVII. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 170
CLXXXVIII. Clementi papæ Nicholaus suus alumnus et clericus - - - - - - - - 171
CLXXXIX. Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 172
CXC. Clementi Henricus papæ rex Angliæ - - 172
CXCI. Clementi papæ Baldewinus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 173
CXCII. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis - - 174
CXCIII. Clemens papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo - - - - - - - - 174
CXCIV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi 175

Page
CXCV. Gaufrido suppriori magister Humfridus monachus 177
CXCVI. Gaufrido suppriori magister Eadmundus monachus - - - - - - - - - 178
CXCVII. Gaufrido suppriori frater Johannes - - 181
CXCVIII. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 181
CXCIX. Domino Gratiano cardinali, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 182
CC. Domino Jacincto cardinali, Conventus Cantuariensis 183
CCI. Honorio priori et fratribus, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 184
CCII. Abbati et Conventui Cluniacensi, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 186
CCIII. Conventui Sancti Bertini, Conventus Cantuariensis 187
CCIV. Conventus Cantuariensis Radulfo decano Remensi 188
CCV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi - 188
CCVI. Conventui Cantuariensi frater Humfridus monachus a curia - - - - - - - - 189
CCVII. Conventui Cantuariensi magister Eadmundus monachus a curia - - - - - - - 191
CCVIII. Honorio priori et sociis, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 193
CCIX. Conventui Cantuariensi frater Johannes - - 193
CCX. Honorius prior Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori - 195
CCXI. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi - 196
CCXII. Honorius prior Gaufrido suppriori - - 197
CCXIII. Clemens papa priori de Faversham et magistro Farremanno - - - - - - - 198
CCXIV. Clemens papa Conventui Cantuariensi - - 198
CCXV. Clemens papa clero et populo Anglicano - - 199
CCXVI. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi 199
CCXVII. Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus priori de Faversham - - - - - - - - 200
CCXVIII. Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo, prior de Faversham - - - - - - - - 200
CCXIX. Honorio priori et sociis, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 201
CCXX. Baldewino archiepiscopo Conventus Cantuariensis 202
CCXXI. Gilberto Rofensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 203
CCXXII. Honorio priori et fratribus, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 203
CCXXIII. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 204
CCXXIV. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 205
CCXXV. Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 206

Page

CCXXVI. Honorio priori et sociis suis, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 207
CCXXVII. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 208
CCXXVIII. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 210
CCXXIX. Conventus Cantuariensis magistro Gwarnerio 211
CCXXX. Honorius prior Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori - - - - - - - - 211
CCXXXI. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 212
CCXXXII. Gaufrido suppriori frater Jchannes - - 213
CCXXXIII. Honorius prior Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori - - - - - - - - 215
CCXXXIV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 215
CCXXXV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi 216
CCXXXVI. Suo suus - - - - - 217
CCXXXVII. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui Radingensis ecclesiæ - - - - - - 218
CCXXXVIII. Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - 219
CCXXXIX. Radulfo decano Remensi, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 220
CCXL. Conventui fratres missi ad curiam regis - - 221
CCXLI. Philippo regi Francorum, Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus - - - - - - - - 222
CCXLII. Henrico regi Angliæ, Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus - - - - - - - - 223
CCXLIII. Henrico regi Angliæ, Conventus Cantuariensis 224
CCXLIV. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres R. et J. - 226
CCXLV. Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus R. et J. - 227
CCXLVI. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres Cantuarienses 227
CCXLVII. Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus Cantuariensibus - - - - - - - - 228
CCXLVIII. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres R. et J. - 229
CCXLIX. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres R. et J. - 231
CCL. Gaufrido suppriori frater J. - - - - 232
CCLI. Amicus amico - - - - - 233
CCLII. Gaufrido suppriori quidam amicus - - 234
CCLIII. Conventui Cantuariensi quidam amicus - - 234
CCLIV. Suo suus - - - - - - 235
CCLV. Conventui Cantuariensi Hugo clericus Lucenensis 236
CCLVI. Conventui Cantuariensi magister Humfridus monachus - - - - - - - - 238
CCLVII. Honorio priori quidam amicus - - - 239

Page
CCLVIII. Magistro Gerardo Hugo Leuensis - - 240
CCLIX. Amicus amico - - - - - 241
CCLX. Suo suus salutem in Domino - - - 242
CCLXI. Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - 243
CCLXII. Archiepiscopo Lugdunensi Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 244
CCLXIII. Archiepiscopus Lugdunensis Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 245
CCLXIV. Suo suus - - - - - - 246
CCLXV. Conventui Cantuariensi magister Hugo Lucensis 246
CCLXVI. Galterius Rothomagensis archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - 247
CCLXVII. Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - 248
CCLXVIII. Conventui Cantuariensi quidam amicus - 249
CCLXIX. Honorio priori quidam amicus - - - 251
CCLXX. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui Dovorum - 252
CCLXXI. Omnibus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ filiis, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - 252
CCLXXII. Honorius prior Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori - - - - - - - - 254
CCLXXIII. Conventui Cantuariensi quidam amicus - 255
CCLXXIV. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres Cantuarienses 256
CCLXXV. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres R. et J. - 257
CCLXXVI. Conventui Cantuariensi frater transmarinus - 259
CCLXXVII. Conventui Cantuariensi prior S. Bertini - 260
CCLXXVIII. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 262
CCLXXIX. Conventus Cantuariensis omni abbati quicunque vult salvus esse - - - - - 262
CCLXXX. Conventus Cantuariensis abbati et Conventui S. Eadmundi - - - - - - 263
CCLXXXI. Conventus Cantuariensis Hamelino comiti Warenniæ - - - - - - - 264
CCLXXXII. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui de Lewes 265
CCLXXXIII. Conventus Cantuariensis civibus Londoniensibus - - - - - - - - 266
CCLXXXIV. Omnibus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ filiis et amicis - - - - - - - - 266
CCLXXXV. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis - 267
CCLXXXVI. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui de Bello 268
CCLXXXVII. Hamelino comiti Warenniæ, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - 268
CCLXXXVIII. Gaufrido suppriori fratres a curia Romana 269
CCLXXXIX. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres missi Romam 269

Page

CCXC. Gaufrido suppriori Cantuariensi, fratres a curia Romana - - - - - - - - 271
CCXCI. Clemens papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo - - - - - - - - 273
CCXCII. Conventui Cantuariensi frater Johannes - 274
CCXCIII. Gaufrido suppriori et Conventui Cantuariensi, fratres transmarini - - - - - - - - 277
CCXCIV. Gaufrido suppriori et Conventui Cantuariensi, frater J. missus ad curiam - - - - - 278
CCXCV. Petrus cardinalis Conventui Cantuariensi - 279
CCXCVI. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres a curia - 279
CCXCVII. Gaufrido suppriori et Conventui Cantuariensi, frater R. - - - - - - - - 281
CCXCVIII. Henrico regi Angliæ, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - - 283
CCXCIX. Conventus Cantuariensis fratri G., magistro militiæ Templi - - - - - - - 284
CCC. Ricardo comiti Pictavensi, Conventus Cantuariensis 285
CCCI. Gaufrido suppriori frater Johannes - - 285
CCCII. Omnibus Christi fidelibus, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 286
CCCIII. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres a curia Romana 286
CCCIV. Johannes legatus Conventui Cantuariensi - 287
CCCV. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres a curia Romana - 287
CCCVI. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres H. et J. - - 289
CCCVII. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres H. et J. - 290
CCCVIII. Clemens papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo - - - - - - - - 293
CCCIX. Suo amico suus fidelis et amicus - - - 294
CCCX. Johannes Anagninus et legatus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 294
CCCXI. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres de transmarinis - 295
CCCXII. Henricus rex Conventui Cantuariensi - - 297
CCCXIII. Gaufrido suppriori Cantuariensi, quidam amicus 297
CCCXIV. Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus missis ad regem - - - - - - - - 298
CCCXV. Conventui Cantuariensi frater J. - - 300
CCCXVI. Conventui Cantuariensi, G. prior jam transmarinus - - - - - - - - 302
CCCXVII. Johannes Anagninus legatus, Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 303
CCCXVIII. Johannes Anagninus legatus, Baldewino Cantuariensi episcopo - - - - - - - 304
CCCXIX. Johannes legatus omnibus Cantuariensibus - 304
CCCXX. Philippus rex Franciæ, Ricardo duci Normanniæ 305

Page
CCCXXI. Regina Franciæ Ricardo duci - - - 305
CCCXXII. Gaufrido suppriori et sociis transmarinis, quidam frater - - - - - - - - 306
CCCXXIII. Gaufridus supprior Alano tertio priori - 307
CCCXXIV. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido priori et sociis ejus - - - - - - - - 308
CCCXXV. Johanni Anagnino legato, Ricardus rex Angliæ 310
CCCXXVI. Gaufrido suppriori et sociis, quidam frater Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 311
CCCXXVII. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori et sociis suis - - - - - - - 312
CCCXXVIII. Conventui Cantuariæ Gaufridus prior et socii - - - - - - - - 314
CCCXXIX. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido priori et sociis - - - - - - - - 315
CCCXXX. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi - 319
CCCXXXI. Johanni Anagnino et legato, Gaufridus supprior - - - - - - - - 320
CCCXXXII. Conventui Cantuariensi Gaufridus supprior et socii sui - - - - - - - - 320
CCCXXXIII. Clemens papa Johanni Anagnino et legato 321
CCCXXXIV. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori et sociis suis - - - - - - - 321
CCCXXXV. Ricardus rex Angliæ omnibus fidelibus - 322
CCCXXXVI. Johannes legatus omnibus Christi fidelibus 323
CCCXXXVII. Ricardus rex Angliæ omnibus Christi fidelibus - - - - - - - - 324
CCCXXXVIII. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Gilberto Roffensi episcopo - - - - - - - 324
CCCXXXIX. Conventui Cantuariensi Gilbertus Roffensis episcopus - - - - - - - - 325
CCCXL. Conventus Cantuariensis Gilberto Roffensi episcopo - - - - - - - - 326
CCCXLI. Conventus Cantuariensis Willelmo Eliensi episcopo et legato - - - - - - - 326
CCCXLII. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus et legatus, Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - 326
CCCXLIII. Omnibus prælatis Conventus Cantuariensis - 327
CCCXLIV. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus et legatus, omnibus Sanctæ Ecclesiæ prælatis - - - - - 327
CCCXLV. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 328
CCCXLVI. Conventui Cantuariensi capellanus archiepiscopi - - - - - - - - 328
CCCXLVII. Ricardus rex Angliæ Johanni fratri suo - 329

Page

CCCXLVIII. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - - 330
CCCXLIX. Johannes frater regis Ricardi, Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 330
CCCL. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - - 331
CCCLI. Ricardo regi Angliæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 331
CCCLII. Alianoræ Anglorum reginæ, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 332
CCCLIII. Cœlestino papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 332
CCCLIV. Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus J. et R. missis ad curiam - - - - - - 333
CCCLV. Conventui Cantuariensi Petrus Blesensis - 335
CCCLVI. Cœlestinus papa Conventui Cantuariensi - 335
CCCLVII. Cœlestinus papa suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ - - - - - - - - 336
CCCLVIII. Cœlestinus papa Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo - - - - - - - - 337
CCCLIX. Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 338
CCCLX. Conventus Cantuariensis abbati de Waltham - 338
CCCLXI. Herberto Cantuariensi archidiacono - - 339
CCCLXII. Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus, et de Radinges et de Waltham abbates, canonicis de Hakentune 339
CCCLXIII. Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo, et W. abbati de Waltham, abbas de Radinges - - - - 340
CCCLXIV. Omnibus Sanctæ Ecclesiæ filiis - - 340
CCCLXV. Priori de Faversham et magistro F. - - 341
CCCLXVI. Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus, de Radinges et de Waltham abbatibus - - - - 342
CCCLXVII. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 342
CCCLXVIII. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo, etc. - - - - - 343
CCCLXIX. [Idem eisdem] - - - - - 343
CCCLXX. Willelmo Eliensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 344
CCCLXXI. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 344
CCCLXXII. Godefridus Wintoniensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 345
CCCLXXIII. Seffredus Cicestrensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - 345
CCCLXXIV. Johannes comes, frater regis, Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - 346
CCCLXXV. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi 347

Page

CCCLXXVI. G. Rothomagensis archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - 347
CCCLXXVII. Ricardus rex Conventui Cantuariensi - 348
CCCLXXVIII. Johannes frater regis et Walterius Rothomagensis, Conventui Cantuariensi - - - 348
CCCLXXIX. Ricardus rex Angliæ, Conventui Cantuariensi 349
CCCLXXX. Ricardus Londoniensis episcopus Seffredo Cicestrensi episcopo - - - - - - 349
CCCLXXXI. Henricus Romanorum imperator Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - 350
CCCLXXXII. Philippus rex Franciæ Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 351
CCCLXXXIII. Cœlestino papæ Conventus Cantuariensis 352
CCCLXXXIV. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 352
CCCLXXXV. Reginaldo Cantuariensi electo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 353
CCCLXXXVI. Willelmo Eliensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 353
CCCLXXXVII. Gaufrido priori Cantuariensi, Rogerus clericus Cantuariensis electi - - - - 354
CCCLXXXVIII. Reginaldus Cantuariensis electus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - 355
CCCLXXXIX. Conventui Cantuariensi Gaufridus prior - 355
CCCXC. Omnibus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ amicis, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - 355
CCCXCI. Alano abbati de Theokesberi, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 356
CCCXCII. Willelmo Eliensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 357
CCCXCIII. Alienoræ reginæ Angliæ, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 358
CCCXCIV. Ricardo regi Conventus Cantuariensis - 358
CCCXCV. G. priori hospitalis Jerusalem, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 359
CCCXCVI. Cœlestinus papa, de Lamhee canonicis - 360
CCCXCVII. Cœlestinus papa Cicestrensi episcopo, et abbatibus de Radinges et de Waltham - - - 361
CCCXCVIII. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 361
CCCXCIX. Ricardus rex Angliæ Alienoræ reginæ, matri suæ - - - - - - - - 362
CCCC. Ricardus rex justitiariis suis in Anglia - - 363
CCCCI. Ricardus rex Angliæ priori et Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 364

Page
CCCCII. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi - 364
CCCCIII. Ricardus rex Angliæ Alienoræ reginæ matri - 364
CCCCIV. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi - 365
CCCCV. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi - 366
CCCCVI. Cœlestino papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 366
CCCCVII. Cœlestinus papa Huberto Cantuariensi electo - 366
CCCCVIII. Cœlestinus papa Huberto Cantuariensi electo 367
CCCCIX. Professio Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, quam fecit Cœlestino papæ - - - - 367
CCCCX. Cœlestinus papa Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo - - - - - - - 368
CCCCXI. Cœlestinus papa Eboracensi archiepiscopo et omnibus prælatis Angliæ - - - - - 369
CCCCXII. Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus abbati et Conventui S. Augustini - - - - 370
CCCCXIII. Cœlestinus papa Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo - - - - - - - 371
CCCCXIV. Omnibus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ amicis, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - 372
CCCCXV. Hugoni Lincolniensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 372
CCCCXVI. Johanni Wigorniensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - 373
CCCCXVII. Alano abbati de Teokesberi, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 374
CCCCXVIII. Cœlestino papæ Gaufridus prior Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 374
CCCCXIX. Gratiano cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis - 375
CCCCXX. Gerardo cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis - 376
CCCCXXI. Gaufrido priori et Conventui Cantuariensi, fratres Romam missi - - - - - 377
CCCCXXII. Allegatio monachorum coram papa Cœlestino 378
CCCCXXIII. Domino Petro cardinali, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 380
CCCCXXIV. Savarico Bathoniensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - 381
CCCCXXV. Conventus Cantuariensis Ricardo Londoniensi episcopo - - - - - - - 382
CCCCXXVI. Conventus Cantuariensis Eustachio Eliensi electo - - - - - - - 382
CCCCXXVII. Conventus Cantuariensis cuidam amico - 383
CCCCXXVIII. Conventus Cantuariensis abbati de Waltham - - - - - - - 384
CCCCXXIX. Innocentius papa electus omnibus prælatis in Anglia et in Scocia - - - - - 385

Page
CCCCXXX. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 387
CCCCXXXI. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 388
CCCCXXXII. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 389
CCCCXXXIII. Gaufrido priori Cantuariensi, S. et N., monachi ejusdem loci - - - - - - 390
CCCCXXXIV. Innocentius papa Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo - - - - - - 391
CCCCXXXV. Innocentius papa omnibus suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ - - - - - 393
CCCCXXXVI. Hubertus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Norwicensi episcopo - - - - - 394
CCCCXXXVII. Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, quidam cardinalis - - - - - - 396
CCCCXXXVIII. Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, G. presbyter cardinalis - - - - - 397
CCCCXXXIX. Johannes cardinalis et Tuscanensis episcopus, Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - 397
CCCCXL. Omnibus Christi fidelibus, J. presbyter cardinalis 398
CCCCXLI. Innocentius papa, de Lewes et de Faversham prioribus - - - - - - - - 399
CCCCXLII. Innocentius papa Ricardo regi Angliæ - 399
CCCCXLIII. Ricardo regi, Octavianus Ostiensis episcopus 400
CCCCXLIV. Ricardo regi, J. presbyter cardinalis - 401
CCCCXLV. Ricardo regi Petrus cardinalis - - 402
CCCCXLVI. Summo pontifici Ricardus rex Angliæ - 403
CCCCXLVII. Ricardus rex Angliæ, J. Witerbiensi et Thuscalensi episcopo et cardinali - - - 404
CCCCXLVIII. Conventui Cantuariensi, fratres a curia Romana - - - - - - - - 405
CCCCXLIX. Ricardus rex omnibus suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ - - - - - - 405
CCCCL. Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus in curia Romana - - - - - - - - 407
CCCCLI. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 411
CCCCLII. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 412
CCCCLIII. Johanni cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis - 414
CCCCLIV. Petro cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis - 415
CCCCLV. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui Sancti Bertini - - - - - - - - 415
CCCCLVI. Decano Remensi et capitulo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 416
CCCCLVII. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis - 417
CCCCLVIII. Octaviano Ostiensi episcopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 418
CCCCLIX. G. cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis - 419

Page
CCCCLX. Gratiano cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis - 419
CCCCLXI. Innocentio summo pontifici, suffraganei Cantuariensis ecclesiæ - - - - - - - 420
CCCCLXII. Innocentio papæ, Rievallensis, et de Boxeleia, et J. de Forda, et B. de Stradford et de Ponte Roberti, et de Stanlega, et de Basingeham abbates, totusque Cisterciensium abbatum de Anglia conventus - - 423
CCCCLXIII. Allegatio episcoporum Angliæ pro archiepiscopo Cantuariensi - - - - - - 425
CCCCLXIV. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 425
CCCCLXV. Hubertus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - 429
CCCCLXVI. Abbati et capitulo Sancti Remigii - - 430
CCCCLXVII. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis - 431
CCCCLXVIII. Cuidam cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis 433
CCCCLXIX. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 434
CCCCLXX. Ricardus rex Angliæ, Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - - 436
CCCCLXXI. Ricardo regi Angliæ, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 437
CCCCLXXII. Alianoræ reginæ Angliæ, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 437
CCCCLXXIII. Eliensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis 438
CCCCLXXIV. Ricardus rex Angliæ, Huberto archiepiscopo Cantuariensi - - - - - - - 439
CCCCLXXV. Hubertus archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 439
CCCCLXXVI. Conventui Cantuariensi justitiarius domini regis - - - - - - - - 440
CCCCLXXVII. Huberto archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - 440
CCCCLXXVIII. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - - 441
CCCCLXXIX. Papa, de Faversham et S. Augustini et S. Gregorii prioribus - - - - - - - 442
CCCCLXXX. Summus pontifex Conventui Cantuariensi - 443
CCCCLXXXI. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis 443
CCCCLXXXII. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis 444
CCCCLXXXIII. Ricardo regi Angliæ, Hubertus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis - - - - - - 445
CCCCLXXXIV. Ricardus rex Angliæ, Gaufrido filio Petri - - - - - - - - 446
CCCCLXXXV. Hubertus archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 446

Page
CCCCLXXXVI. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis 447
CCCCLXXXVII. Gaufridus prior Cantuariensis fratribus in curia Romana - - - - - - - 449
CCCCLXXXVIII. R. præcentori Sancti Quintini, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - 451
CCCCLXXXIX. Omnibus Christi fidelibus, Gaufridus prior Cantuariensis - - - - - - 451
CCCCXC. Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 452
CCCCXCI. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 452
CCCCXCII. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - - 453
CCCCXCIII. Gaufrido priori Conventus Cantuariensis - 454
CCCCXCIV. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis - 455
CCCCXCV. Innocentio summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 456
CCCCXCVI. Gaufrido priori et Conventui Cantuariensi, S. et R. fratres a curia - - - - - - 457
CCCCXCVII. Gaufridus prior et fratres Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 458
CCCCXCVIII. Summus pontifex Huberto archiepiscopo Cantuariensi - - - - - - - 459
CCCCXCIX. Innocentius summus pontifex omnibus suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ - - - - 465
D. Hubertus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - 466
DI. Innocentius summus pontifex Lincolniensi et Eliensi episcopis, et abbati Sancti Eadmundi - - - 468
DII. Innocentius papa Ricardo regi Anglorum - - 469
DIII. Innocentius summus pontifex Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - - 470
DIV. Conventui Cantuariensi magister Hugo eorum advocatus et domini papæ capellanus - - - 471
DV. Magistro Radulfo de Sancto Martino - - - 472
DVI. Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 473
DVII. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - - 474
DVIII. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis - 475
DIX. Conventus Cantuariensis magistro Hugoni advocato suo - - - - - - - - - 476
DX. Gaufridus prior et socii, Conventui Cantuariensi - 477
DXI. Gaufridus prior et fratres qui cum eo sunt, Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - 478
DXII. Ricardus rex Angliæ, Galfrido filio Petri - - 479
DXIII. Ricardo regi Angliæ, Conventus Cantuariensis - 479

Page

DXIV. Huberto archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 479
DXV. Innocentio summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - - 480
DXVI. Petro cardinali et legato curiæ Romanæ, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 481
DXVII. Gaufridus prior Cantuariensis et fratres, Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - 481
DXVIII. Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - 482
DXIX. Innocentius papa Walterio Rothomagensi archiepiscopo et Eustachio Eliensi episcopo - - - 483
DXX. Innocentius papa Ricardo regi Anglorum - - 484
DXXI. Innocentio summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 486
DXXII. Innocentio summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 487
DXXIII. Innocentio summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 488
DXXIV. Sedis apostolicæ cardinalibus, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 489
DXXV. Innocentius summus pontifex, Lincolniensi et Eliensi episcopis, et abbati Sancti Eadmundi - - 490
DXXVI. Innocentius papa omnibus ecclesiasticis et sæcularibus fidelibus - - - - - - - 492
DXXVII. Innocentius papa - - - - - - 492
DXXVIII. Innocentius papa Lincolniensi et Eliensi episcopis et abbati Sancti Eadmundi - - - 493
DXXIX. Innocentius papa Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo - - - - - - - - 494
DXXX. Innocentio papæ, Lincolniensis et Eliensis episcopi, et abbas Sancti Eadmundi - - - - - 494
DXXXI. Lincolniensis et Eliensis episcopi, Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - 496
DXXXII. Idem episcopi delegati, Conventui Cantuariensi 496
DXXXIII. Idem episcopi delegati, Conventui Cantuariensi - - - - - - - - - 497
DXXXIV. Innocentio summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - - 497
DXXXV. Ostiensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis - 500
DXXXVI. P. presbytero cardinali, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 501
DXXXVII. Albanensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis 502
DXXXVIII. [Gratiano cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis] 503

Page
DXXXIX. [Cuidam cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis] - 504
DXL. [Cuidam cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis] - 504
DXLI. [Cuidam cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis] - 505
DXLII. Magistro Hugoni advocato suo, Conventus Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 506
DXLIII. Veronensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis - 507
DXLIV. De omnibus ecclesiis - - - - 508
DXLV. Litteræ revocatoriæ super causa judicibus commissa - - - - - - - - 509
DXLVI. Domino papæ Conventus Cantuariensis - 510
DXLVII. In Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti - 511
DXLVIII. In Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti 512
DXLIX. Innocentio summo pontifici, E. Eliensis episcopus, et abbas Sancti Eadmundi, et Rogerus decanus Lincolniensis - - - - - - 514
DL. Innocentio summo pontifici, Hubertus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis - - - - - - 514
DLI. Innocentio summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis 515
DLII. Arbitrium et confirmatio ejus - - - 517
DLIII. Litteræ Innocentii papæ ad prædictos arbitros de executione arbitrii præfati - - - - - 581
DLIV. [Innocentius papa Huberto archiepiscopo] - 520
DLV. Incipit processus negotii super demolitione capellæ de Lamehe - - - - - - - - 520
DLVI. Hæc sunt capitula quæ obtulit Hubertus archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi pro canonia de Lamhee 530
DLVII. Allegationes Conventus Cantuariensis contra præcedentia capitula - - - - - - 532

APPENDIX.

DLVIII. Johanni Lugdunensi archiepiscopo, Alanus prior Cantuariensis - - - - - - 541
DLIX. Idem eidem - - - - - 542
DLX. Urbanus papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo 543
DLXI. Urbanus papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo - - - - - - - - 544
DLXII. Henricus rex Angliæ, Conventui Cantuariensi - 544
DLXIII. Abbas de Hida, et prior de Beremundeseia, omnibus Christi fidelibus - - - - - 545
DLXIV. Johanni Anagnino Conventus Cantuariensis - 545
DLXV. Conventio inter Baldewinum archiepiscopum et Gilbertum Roffensem episcopum - - - 547

Page

DLXVI. Walterio Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, Willelmus Eliensis episcopus - - - - - - - 548
DLXVII. Carta regis Ricardi de escambio de Lamhee - 549
DLXVIII. Carta regis Ricardi de excambio de Lamheia 549
DLXIX. Innocentius papa, S. Augustini et S. Gregorii prioribus - - - - - - - - 551
DLXX. Innocentius papa Ricardo regi Angliæ - - 551
DLXXI. Ad S. episcopum et abbates, Petrus Blesensis - 554
DLXXII. Extracta ex martilogio ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis - - - - - - - - 557

ERRATA.

Page 39, line 40, insert a comma after *fuerit*.
„ 63, margin, line 1, *for* July, *read* June.
„ 105, note 1, *for* clxxvii., *read* clxxvi.
„ 125, line 27, *for* Socii, *read* Sociis.
„ 373, line 23, *for* Johann, *read* Johanni.
„ 399, margin, line 20, *for* Salomon, *read* S.
„ 430, inner margin, *for* dlvii., *read* dlvi.
„ 439, line 7, insert a comma after N.

EPISTOLÆ PRIORIS ET CONVENTUS CANTUARIENSIS,

TEMPORE BALDEWINI ET HUBERTI ARCHIEPISCOPORUM.

EPISTOLÆ PRIORIS ET CONVENTUS CANTUARIENSIS,

TEMPORE BALDEWINI ET HUBERTI ARCHIEPISCOPORUM.

LIBER PRIMUS.

UNIVERSIS sacrosanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ filiis et fratribus, vitam monasticam professis, et in futurum, Domino favente, professuris, quidam ejusdem ecclesiæ filius et tribulationum socius salutem, et sereno tempore meminisse nubilosi. fo. 1.

Rerum gestarum notitia, et ea quæ præcesserunt in sæculis quæ fuerunt ante nos, nobis jampridem longa fuissent oblivione sepulta, et cum tempore transeunte pertransissent, nisi præcedentium prudentia posteritati suæ litterali beneficio prospexisset; ipsamque sui originem homo ignoraret, nisi scripta hominum vivaciora quam corpora, futuræ corruptioni consuluissent. Cœli et terræ, hominum et angelorum creationem, lucis et tenebrarum divisionem, aquarum ab arida separationem et cætera quæ fecit Deus valde bona, tot annorum millibus jam elapsis, quis vel hodie somniaret, nisi monumenta scripturarum mortalitatis nostræ defectui subvenirent, et nostrum supplentes defectum, præterita quasi præsentia memoriæ nostræ ministrarent? The advantage and importance of preserving the records of former times.

Hinc est quod ad futurorum non solum notitiam, verum etiam et ad cautelam, ea quæ gesta sunt tempore tribulationis, quæ per annos circiter quindecim in ecclesia Cantuariensi duravit, huic operi inserere The fifteen years' trials of the church of Canterbury.

utile visum fuit, ut videant qui venturi sunt, et viriliter agant eorum recordatione roborati; quæ conventus sustinuit pro libertate Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, temporibus summorum pontificum Urbani, Gregorii, Clementis, Cœlestini, Innocentii, et archiepiscoporum Baldewini, et Huberti, sub regibus Anglorum Henrico, Ricardo et Johanne, sicut ex eorum omnium epistolis, vario tempore scriptis, et in hoc opusculo in ordinem et unum corpus redactis, diligens lector poterit intueri.

A.D. 1185. Dec. 15. Baldwin seizes the presents paid to the monks from their manors. He seizes four churches appropriated for alms.

Hujus autem tribulationis prima causa fuit, quod jam dictus Baldewinus, ipso promotionis suæ anno,[1] exenia maneriorum quæ de jure antiquo ad conventum pertinebant; postmodum quatuor ecclesias quas decessor ejus Ricardus magna pietate qua pollebat, ad alendos Christi pauperes, eleemosynaria scriptura interveniente, assignaverat, procedentibus nihilominus domini Alexandri papæ tertii consecratoris sui confirmatione, et Lucii qui eidem Baldewino pallium direxerat, nescio quo spiritu repente subduxit. Unde capitulum Cantuariense coactum est supremæ sedis judicium per appellationem postulare. Crescente igitur semine jurgiorum, per quosdam venerabiles viros actum est, ut appellationi renunciaretur: nec tamen generaliter;[2] nam quidam fratrum constantiæ magnæ et fidei, multorum confratrum consilio suffultus, ad curiam Romanam profectus est, prædictorum spoliationem domino Papæ Urbano qui jam Apostolicæ sedi præsedit contestans, et litteras impetravit commissorias. Nondum enim secundum promissionem archiepiscopi fuerant ablata restituta. Interim inimico homine ampliorem seminante discordiam inter patrem et filios, tacita veritate, impetratæ sunt litteræ ab eodem Urbano, ut liceret archiepiscopo sub nomine capellæ, canonicorum sæcularium numero circiter sexaginta ecclesiam celeberrimam ædificare.

A.D. 1186. January 25. The monks' appeal, A.D. 1186. February 18. (Gervase, 1478.)

and are persuaded to renounce the appeal.

Baldwin gets a licence from Pope Urban to found a college of seculars.

[1] On the anniversary of the day of his election. Gervase, *Chron.* 1478.

[2] Gervase does not give the exact date of the renunciation of the appeal.

Primo igitur in ecclesia Sancti Stephani de Hakintune extra muros civitatis, canonicos instituit, volens eos ibidem certum domicilium habere, donec eis celebriorem et ampliorem fundaret ecclesiam. Quod cum conventui innotuisset, missis pluribus de fratribus ad locum, ipso archiepiscopo præsente, in aure totius populi qui ad hoc confluxerat, secundo etiam tunc solemniter appellatum est, tam super institutione canonicorum, quam super detentione ablatorum. Nitebatur autem archiepiscopus ecclesias in fundo conventus sitas sicut et suas appræbendare, unde et clericos jam ante jurare coegerat, quod canoniam illam foverent, et quamdiu viverent modis omnibus promoverent. Nam ante missis tribus ex fratribus provocatum fuerat, quos etiam idem archiepiscopus provocatus in diversa claustra retrusit. Qua in re conventus matricis ecclesiæ subversionem tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus conspiciens imminere, amplius cœpit formidare, animadvertens quod quantum illa cresceret, ista decresceret, quæ nihil habuit unde illa dotaretur, nisi quod matrici detraheretur. Prosecutionem igitur appellationis per priorem Honoriun et alios confratres nostros, et varios hinc inde rerum eventus qui acciderunt, epistolæ subsequentes latius prosequuntur.

He begins to build at Hakinton.

The monks appeal a second time. A.D. 1186. Dec. 8. (Gervase, 1184.)

Prior Honorius and others go to the Roman court.

Divisions of this book.

Sciendum sane quod liber iste tres continet distinctiones. Quarum prima exordium litis sub Baldewino et cursum usque ad mortem Urbani papæ comprehendit, cujus sententia definitum est, ut capella de Hakintune suis fundamentis æquaretur; locus etiam maledictus haberetur et profanus. Secunda causæ conflictus continet a pontificatu Gregorii, Clementis, et Cœlestini temporibus usque ad hujus Cœlestini excessum, cujus auctoritate prædicta capella tandem demolita est. Tertia continet suscitationem causæ ab archiepiscopo Huberto sub papa Innocentio, usque ad demolitionem capellæ de Lamhee, et causæ terminum per compositionem.

1. From Baldwin's appointment to the death of Urban.

2. From the death of Urban III. to that of Celestine III.

3. The cause revived by archbishop Hubert.

A.D. 1185. March 15.

I. Litteræ Lucii[1] papæ impetratæ a Baldewino archiepiscopo contra conventum, suppressa veritate.

Pope Lucius III. commissions archbishop Baldwin to reclaim the property alienated by his predecessor, and to reform the church of Canterbury.

Lucius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ad hoc te credimus ex divinæ providentia bonitatis honore ac dignitate majoris officii sublimatum, ut religionis et prudentiæ tuæ virtus tanto pleniorem sui præbeat in bonis operibus certitudinem, quanto majorem accepit divino munere potestatem. Ipsa quoque Cantuariensis ecclesia, quæ te in patrem et pontificem suum divina, sicut credimus, inspiratione vocavit, ut copiosius assequatur de tua probitate solatium, in corrigendis hujusmodi quæ prædecessor tuus incaute fecisse proponitur, esse te desiderat omnimode studiosum. Eapropter, venerabilis in Domino frater, nos ad hoc apostolicum præstantes debita benignitate favorem, discretioni tuæ per litteras præsentes injungimus et liberam damus auctoritate apostolica facultatem, ut ea quæ jam dictus prædecessor tuus contra tenorem præstiti juramenti, sive in possessionibus sive in consuetudinibus quas invenit, alienare aut in deterius mutare præsumpsit, in statum pristinum sine ullius appellationis obstaculo, nostra fultus auctoritate reducas; ita quod ex hoc et prudentia tua clarius enitescat, et ecclesia,[2] quam gubernandam suscepisti, per studium et prudentiam tuam continua crescentis jugiter [dona][3] consolationis assumat. Datum Veronæ, idus Martii.

A.D. 1185. Dec. 19.

II. Litteræ Urbani[4] papæ ab eodem Baldewino eodem modo impetratæ.

Urban III. commissions Baldwin to reclaim the possessions of his see,

Urbanus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, apostolicæ sedis legato, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ad hoc te confidimus in Cantuariensis ecclesiæ regimine constitutum, ut quod per

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[1] Lucius III. (Ubaldo) was elected pope September 1, 1181, and died November 24, 1185. Baldwin was elected archbishop by the bishops December 2, and accepted by the monks of Canterbury December 16, 1184. He received the pall May 19, 1185.

[2] *ecclesia*] ecclesiam, MS.

[3] *dona*] om. MS.

[4] Urban III. (Uberto Crivelli) was elected pope Nov. 25, 1185, at Verona, and died at Ferrara, Oct. 19 or 20, 1187.

negligentiam prædecessoris tui ejusdem ecclesiæ dignitas in temporalibus vel in spiritualibus amisisse dinoscitur, per prudentiam et sollicitudinem tuam, Deo in omnibus adjuvante, se recuperasse lætetur. Ut autem quod per te ipsum forte facere nequiveris favore nostro facilius prosequaris, liberam tibi concedimus auctoritate apostolica facultatem, ecclesias et alias res quas prædecessor tuus alienavit injuste, ad jus et potestatem ecclesiæ tuæ sine appellationis obstaculo ordine legitimo revocandi. Datum Veronæ, xiiii. kal. Januarii.

A.D. 1185. Dec. 19. and to redress the errors of his predecessor.

III. Litteræ impetratæ a conventu post primam appellationem contra præcedentes.[1]

A.D. 1187. Jan. 13.

Urbanus papa Cantuariensi archiepiscopo Baldewino. Quanto majoris religionis es. nominis et dignitatis, tanto propensiori studio iis teneris intendere, quæ ad honestatem pertineant et religionis augmentum. Sane sicut dilecti filii nostri fratres ecclesiæ tuæ transmissa nobis querimonia retulerunt, quod ecclesiæ de Estreia et de Munechetun eorum ecclesiæ ad usus pauperum provide deputatæ fuissent, et non solum a bonæ memoriæ Ricardo prædecessore tuo, sed etiam a felicis recordationis Alexandro et Lucio prædecessoribus nostris eisdem usibus confirmatæ, tu eas quibusdam clericis concessisti. Quoniam igitur omnimodis sicut venerabilem fratrem nostrum sinceræ caritatis brachiis amplexamur, per te corrigi malumus quam per alium, quod in præjudicium juris est in hac parte commissum, monemus fraternitatem tuam, consulimus et hortamur, quatenus si res ita se habet, hæc per te ipsum non expectata correctione alterius corrigas, et præscriptas ecclesias usibus illis restituas, quibus eas de prædecessoris tui et apostolicæ sedis constat auctoritate confirmatas. Si vero juxta consilium et exhortationem nostram id per te ipsum congrua non fuerit emendatione correctum, juri prædictorum fratrum aliter volumus providere, cum in eo loco simus et officio, licet insufficientibus meritis, providentia supernæ dispositionis assumpti, ut nemini nedum viris religionis apostolicum possimus suffragium denegare. Datum Veronæ, idus Januarii.

Urban III. admonishes Baldwin to restore the churches of Eastry and Monkton to the uses of the poor.

He threatens to compel him.

[1] As the churches in question were alienated on the 25th of January, and the first appeal of the monks was made on Feb. 18, 1186, it is clear that if the date of this letter is right, it belongs to the year 1187.

A.D. 1187.

IV. Urbanus papa Baldewino archiepiscopo de eodem.

Urban III. orders Baldwin not to oppress the monks on account of the appeal.

Urbanus papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. Cum dilecti filii nostri fratres ecclesiæ tuæ ad nostram se asserant audientiam appellasse, super eo videlicet, quod ipsis duas ecclesias quæ usibus pauperum deputatæ fuerant, et auctoritate prædecessoris nostri et apostolicæ sedis confirmatæ, non decet te propter hoc eis aliquam molestiam irrogare, quominus et appellationem prosequi possint, et suam justitiam obtinere. Inde est quod fraternitati tuæ mandamus, quatenus prædictis fratribus, illius appellationis intuitu, nullam molestiam inferas, nec ab alio inferri permittas. Et si per hoc in eos vel in aliquos eorum sententia lata est, ipsam dilatione et appellatione remota laxes. Datum Veronæ.

A.D. 1187. January 13.

V. Idem Lincolniensi episcopo[1] et de Faversham et de Boxeleia abbatibus.

Urban III. commissions the bishop of Lincoln and the abbots of Faversham and Boxley,

Urbanus papa Lincolniensi episcopo et de Favresham et de Boxelia abbatibus, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Dilecti filii nostri Cantuariensis ecclesiæ suam ad nos querimoniam transmiserunt, quod cum ecclesiæ de Estreia et de Munechetun eidem ecclesiæ ad usus pauperum rationabiliter deputatæ fuissent, et non solum a bonæ memoriæ Ricardo quondam Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, sed etiam prædecessorum nostrorum Alexandri et Lucii [auctoritate] confirmatæ, venerabilis frater noster Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, eas usibus ipsis ex sua voluntate subtraxit, et ipsas quibusdam clericis minus juste concessit. Unde quia juri prædictorum fratrum volumus ut debemus intendere, et si quid in præjudicium juris actum est in hac parte prout nobis ex officio competit emendare, discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus apud Cantuariam convenientes in unum, dilectos filios nostros de Bello et de Evesham abbates[2] ad vos convocetis, et tam ab eis quam a capitulo Cantuariensi et ab aliis, super jam dictis ecclesiis cognita veritate, si res ita se habere constiterit, memoratum archiepi-

in conjunction with the abbots of Battle and Evesham, to take cognizance of the case, and try to persuade the archbishop.

[1] Hugh of Avalon was consecrated bishop of Lincoln, Sept. 21, 1186. Gwerric, abbot of Feversham, was blessed by archbishop Richard in 1178, and died before September 1189. Cf. Gervase, 1445 and 1674. The name of the abbot of Boxley does not appear.

[2] Odo, abbot of Battle, 1175–1200. He had been prior of Canterbury, 1167–1175. Adam, abbot of Evesham, 1160–1190, was a Cluniac monk, and had been prior of Bermondsey, *Mon. Angl.* ii. 4, &c.

scopum auctoritate nostra monere curetis et diligenter inducere, ut præscriptas ecclesias usibus illis restituat, quibus deputatæ fuerunt et auctoritate apostolica confirmatæ. Si vero monitis vestris ad hoc induci nequiverit, privilegia et munimenta quæ jam dicti fratres duxerint præsentanda, et rationes etiam quas super hoc proponit idem archiepiscopus audiatis, et tam rescripta privilegiorum ipsorum quam allegationes hinc inde productas, sub sigillis vestris nobis mittatis, præfigentes partibus terminum competentem, quo cum ipsis apostolico conspectui repræsentent, ut per vos cognita veritate tutius procedere possimus in causa. Datum Veronæ, idus Januarii.

A.D. 1187. January 13.

If he will not comply, they are to send the documents used in the case to the Pope.

VI. Litteræ impetratæ a Baldewino, tacita veritate, pro canonia sæcularium erigenda.

A.D. 1186. October 1.

Urbanus papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. Significatum est nobis ex parte tua, quod cum beatus Thomas martyr Christi in vita sua propositum gereret et voluntatem haberet ecclesiam in honore beati Stephani ædificare, et præbendas in ea de ecclesiis parochialibus quæ ad ipsius donationem spectabant construere, de quibus clerici eidem ecclesiæ deservientes, in communi honeste possent et congrue sustentari; martyrio feliciter coronatus, non potuit quod intenderat in hac parte pro voto complere. Verum quia significasti ejus te in hac parte pietatis ostendere successorem, præsentium tibi auctoritate duximus indulgendum, ut liceat tibi ecclesiam illam in honore beatorum martyrum Stephani et Thomæ, sicut idem gloriosus martyr disposuerat in honore beati Stephani construere, et de idoneis personis ordinare, quibus beneficia ad sustentationem eorum constituens debeas canonice assignare. Ea tamen habita providentia, ut ecclesiæ illæ debitis obsequiis et necessariis stipendiis non fraudentur. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ concessionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem etc. Datum Veronæ, kalendis Octobris.

Urban III. having heard that S. Thomas had intended to found a college of clerks in honour of S. Stephen, and endow it with the churches in his gift, grants to Baldwin licence to carry out the design.

VII. Confirmatio Henrici regis[1] canoniæ.

A.D. 1187.

Henricus rex Angliæ &c. archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, et omnibus fidelibus suis salutem. Sciatis quod inspectis

The king has seen the licence

[1] Henry II. was in England from 1186, April 28, to 1187, Feb. 15. It is probable that this letter was issued as late as Aug. 28, 1187, when the king and archbishop were at Alençon. Cf. Diceto, 630, 634; Gervase, 1505. If this be so, the present letter cannot be the one referred to by Baldwin in No. viii. below.

A.D. 1187. of pope Urban III. (No. vi.)

litteris domini Urbani papæ tertii, quibus indulsit venerabili viro Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo construere ecclesiam in honore protomartyris Stephani et beati Thomæ martyris Anglorum, et conferre parochiales ecclesias, ad donationem archiepiscopi Cantuariensis pertinentes, eidem ecclesiæ in

and hereby gives his assent to the design.

præbendas; ego indulgentiæ illi a domino papa factæ benignum assensum præbui, et quod ei indultum est concedo et gratum et ratum habeo. Testibus Hugone Coventrensi electo, G. priore hospitalis Jerusalem in Anglia, Willelmo clerico de Cove; fratre Rogero eleemosynario, magistro Henrico de Norhamptun, magistro Silvestro; apud Alenzun.

A.D. 1186. VIII. Fraternitas quam instituit Baldewinus archiepiscopus pro Canonia.

Baldewinus Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, salutem in Domino. Cum igitur

S. Anselm and S. Thomas had purposed to found at Canterbury a church of clerks.

Christi confessor beatus Anselmus et postmodum successor ipsius Sanctus Thomas in desiderio animæ suæ habuissent ecclesiam clericorum in honore Sancti Stephani prope Cantuariam ædificare, alter felici in Domino pace quiescens, alter glorioso martyrio consummatus, pium propositum suum posteris suis adimplendum reliquerunt. Unde quoniam

S. Thomas ought to have a church in England dedicated to himself;

indignum nimis videri debet, quod, cum beatus Thomas ubique terrarum glorificetur et ecclesias habeat, in terra nativitatis suæ nullam habet; de consilio et assensu domini papæ, necnon et domini regis omniumque suffraganeorum nostrorum, et magnatum hujus terræ, novam in honore præfatorum martyrum clericorum ecclesiam per gratiam Dei ædificare

Baldwin has determined to build one, and for the purpose founds a fraternity for seven years, giving certain spiritual privileges to the contributors.

decrevimus. Cujus rei gratia hanc fraternitatem per provinciam Cantuariensem constituimus, ab hoc anno Dominicæ Incarnationis, M°C°LXXX°VI° in septennium duraturam. Omnibus itaque qui hanc fraternitatem ingredientur, et aliquid de suo annuatim ad præfatum opus miserint, vel in fine legaverint, si septennem vel majorem agunt pœnitentiam, vere confessis tertiam partem remittimus; si vero minorem, sexaginta dies eis relaxamus. Minuta etiam peccata et oblivioni tradita, offensæ quoque in parentes nisi in eos manus violentas injecerint, sub pœnitentia cæteris peccatis imposita colligantur. Iis etiam qui per pœnitentiam sunt extra ecclesiam toto anno præterquam in Quadragesima, liberum ecclesiæ ingressum concedimus. Adjicimus etiam quod omnes fraternitatis participes Christianam habeant sepulturam, quicunque fuerint morte præventi, nisi vel sibi ipsis manus injecerint, vel nominatim

excommunicati decesserint. Quod si ecclesia cujus parochianus frater vel soror est, in ipsius obitu fuerit interdicta, quousque frater vel soror sepeliatur solvatur interdictum, pulsentur signa, et exequiæ mortuo impendantur. Quod si soror aliqua in puerperio periclitata obierit, ad ecclesiam deferatur et Christianæ sepulturæ commendetur solemniter. Insuper omnes qui se huic fraternitati adjunxerint omnium missarum, orationum ac beneficiorum quæ in omnibus ecclesiis Cantuariensis provinciæ fiunt, participes esse concedimus, eorumque parvis et adolescentibus, minoribus quindecim annis, hujus fraternitatis beneficium indulgemus.

A.D. 1186. Privileges of the fraternity.

IX. Appellatio secunda Conventus ne fieret Canonia.

A.D. 1186. December 8.

(*Gervase*, 1484.)

Venerabili patri suo et domino, Baldewino, Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et apostolicæ sedis legato, Honorius prior et ejusdem ecclesiæ conventus, salutem et debitam cum summa devotione obedientiam. Satis meminit discretio vestra, pater sancte, qualiter erga nos filios vestros post promotionem vestram in archiepiscopum, quia in personam vestram non tam cito consensimus, animum vestrum obduraveritis, et faciem hilariorem excluseritis. Clamant hæc opera vestra quæ nobis immeritis nimis præpropere, ut ex conscientia loquamur, inflixistis; primo, exenia nostra de maneriis nostris auferendo, cum in possessione longa essemus; secundo, ecclesias quasdam de maneriis nostris, pauperibus et ægrotis per piæ memoriæ Ricardum archiepiscopum prædecessorem vestrum assignatas, et tam ipsius piæ recordationis, quam summorum pontificum Alexandri et Lucii munimine corroboratas, subito, prout placuit, non observato ordinis jure, invasistis. Pro quibus illatis decrevimus tunc appellare et appellavimus: et quia sperabamus asperitatem vestram per lenitatem nostram precibus et fletibus emollire, et hoc inductione quorundam abbatum qui ad hoc confluxerant, spe inani et verbis nudis seducti, illi appellationi renunciavimus; non tamen generaliter, quia aliqui fratrum maximæ constantiæ omnia summo Pontifici Urbano, et scripto et verbo præsentaverunt. Unde summus Pontifex vobis suas litteras direxit, ut ablata restitueretis. Immo manus vestras quotidie aggravastis in nostra oppressione. Hoc veraciter indicat opus et canonia sæcularis in fronte nostra, quam erigere proponitis ad subversionem matricis ecclesiæ et de bonis ejusdem. Ne autem sub silentio matrem nostram jugulari et in aliam familiam redigi, quod absit, aspiciamus, et ne canonia procedat et opus,

Second appeal of the prior and convent.

They complain of the loss of the presents and of the churches.

They had before appealed, and had been persuaded to abandon the appeal.

Some of the brethren had refused to renounce the appeal.

fo. 3 r°.

Now the archbishop is founding a secular college; the

A.D. 1186. December 8. monks appeal, and fix the term of appeal for Mid-Lent Sunday, (Mar. 8, 1187.)

præsentiam appellamus apostolicam, damna illata, personas omnes ecclesiæ, res et possessiones nostras, ubique sub eadem concludentes appellatione, terminum appellationi assignantes Dominicam qua cantatur *Lætare Jerusalem.* Valeat paternitas vestra in Domino, et Deus emolliat cor vestrum ad honorem Suum et profectum ecclesiæ et nostrum.

A.D. 1186. December.

X. Philippo regi Franciæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

The monks write to Philip king of France, complaining of the archbishop's oppressions,

Reverendo domino et in Christo carissimo, Philippo, Dei gratia illustrissimo Francorum regi, humilis conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, salutem, in Eo Qui dat salutem regibus. Frequens est ad eum in necessitate confugere, a quo speratur auxilium pervenire. Noverit itaque excellentia vestra quia pro statu ecclesiæ Cantuariensis conservando in augustia positi sumus et mœrore, et in hoc forte misericorditer nobiscum agit Deus, ut videlicet filii quamvis degeneres et indigni, de calice bibamus patrum nostrorum. Verumtamen hoc miserabile est, quod ab illo patimur, qui pater noster est, et protector esse debuit. Supplicamus itaque generositatis vestræ pedibus obvoluti, quatenus gloriosum martyrem Thomam, adhuc in membris suis laborantem, benignius excipiatis, et litteras domino papæ ad quem appellavimus, et jam priorem nostrum direximus, pro statu et honore ecclesiæ nostræ conservando, velitis dirigere; quatenus dum ejus quasi regnum terrenum diligentia vestra servatis, ipse meritis suis et intercessione vestrum temporale conservet et conferat sempiternum. Si ergo placet excellentiæ vestræ nos pro Dei et beati martyris amore, pro liberalitate vestra et salute exaudire, facite ut intelligat dominus papa petitionem quam pro nobis facietis ex affectu procedere. Scitote quod inter omnes mortales multum speramus de benignitate vestra, quem præ aliis carum habemus in cordibus nostris, et memoriam semper agimus in orationibus. Dominus protendat vitam vestram, et multiplicet dies vestros, et dilatet imperium.

Ps. cxliv. 10.

and beg him for S. Thomas's sake to intercede with the pope for them.

A.D. 1186. December.

XI. Frederico imperatori Conventus Cantuariensis.

Frederico, Dei gratia victoriosissimo Romanorum imperatori, semper Augusto, conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ et Sancti Thomæ Martyris, salutem et victoriam.

The convent begs the emperor Frederick to suffer

Noverit excellentia vestra quod prior noster et quidam de fratribus pro magnis ecclesiæ nostræ negotiis ad curiam domini papæ profecti sunt. Quocirca de generositate animi

vestri confisi, et fama notissima, majestati vestræ supplicamus, quatenus pro Dei amore et gloriosissimi martyris Thomæ reverentia, ipsi et fratribus nostris, et iis et illorum nunciis transitum per terram vestram et conductum securum præstare velitis. Misissemus vobis, domine, de relliquiis beati martyris, si certi essemus quod præsentium latores per vos transirent. Mittemus autem, Deo volente, per aliquem de nostris, vel de vestris, si quis ad nos veniret, de quo certi essemus quod eas fideliter ad vos proferret. Majestatem vestram Deus conservet et dilatet imperium.

A.D. 1186. December. their prior and his companions to pass safely through his countries. They would have sent him some relics of S. Thomas if they were sure to reach him.

XII. P. Atrebatensi episcopo[1] Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1186. December.

Venerabili patri et domino P. Atrebatensi episcopo, conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ salutem et sinceram in Christo dilectionem. Quæsivimus pacem et non venit, tempus curationis, et ecce turbatio. Post multa gravamina, et propter quædam ablatis graviora, quæ contra nos cognovimus subtilius procurata, maxime quia turrim dominus noster erigere intendit [contra] faciem Jerusalem, et clericorum ecclesiam juxta nos construere, unde secundum sapientum assertionem poterit Cantuariensi ecclesiæ in dignitatibus præjudicium provenire, audientiam domini papæ compulsi sumus appellare, nos et nostra omnia sub ejus ponentes protectione. Cæterum eo ipso quo cohiberi debuit, aggravata est manus patris nostri super nos, et quia gemuimus et vociferavimus, durius cæsi sumus. Prior siquidem noster suspensus est a prioratus officio; fratres vero quamplures, quia obviam ei perrexerunt supplicaturi pro loco mutando in quo fundare parat ecclesiam, a celebratione missarum. Virum etiam religiosum qui verbum appellationis proposuit a domo nostra expulit, et nunc demum omnium bonorum nostrorum nos potestate privavit. Satagat ergo sanctitas vestra [secundum] fiduciam quam de vobis habemus, dominum nostrum rogare, monere, et modis quibus potestis inducere, ut nostri misereatur et mitius agat nobiscum. Quæ enim gloria nos erit expugnare, cum quibus turpe est etiam dimicasse? Rogamus etiam tam confidenter quam devote, quatenus veritatis amore domino papæ supplicare velitis, litteris ad eum directis per harum bajulum, ut statum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ solitum et debitum diligentius studeat conservare, necnon abbati et conventui Cystersiensi, ut curent animum ejus ab hoc revocare proposito.

Jeremiah xiv. 19.

The monks tell their troubles to the bishop of Arras.

The archbishop has suspended the prior. (Dec. 17. *Gervase*, 1485.)

They entreat his influence with the archbishop, the pope, and the convent of Cîteaux.

fo. 3 v°.

[1] Peter, bishop of Arras, 1184 to 1203; he had been abbot of Cîteaux.

A.D. 1186. December.

XIII. Conventus Cantuariensis conventui Clarevallensi.

The monks inform the abbot and convent of Clairvaux how much they are disappointed with their Cistercian archbishop.

Abbati et conventui Clarevallensi salutem et se semper devotos. Nacti de sacro collegio vestro pastorem plurimum gavisi sumus, sperantes quod et ejus industria nobis in temporalibus incrementum afferret, et vitæ sanctitas recte vivendi præferret exemplum. Quippe amabilis videbatur dominus noster archiepiscopus super amorem mulierum, facies ejus quasi angeli degentis inter homines; eloquia oris ejus super mel et favum, membrorum motus et corporis qualitas virtutem mentis prædicabant, et abnegabant ineptias. Spopondit nobis in primo sermone, in cujus verba tutum putabamus jurare, quod nos diligeret, etiamsi non diligeretur a nobis, et nostro in agendis suis uteretur consilio. Cæterum in prima reversione sua ad nos, aversus est animus ejus a nobis, adeo ut quotiescunque ex tunc usque adhuc ecclesiam suam ingressus fuerit, conditio nostra in aliquo senserit. Post multa tandem gravamina, et maxime quia clericorum ecclesiam juxta nos construere intendit, quæ secundum assertionem sapientum poterit Cantuariensi ecclesiæ præjudicium generare; ne pro domo Israel ex adverso stare dissimulantes, nec nomen mereremur filiorum, subsidium apostolicum imploravimus, et quoniam jus nostrum ausi sumus protestari, priorem nostrum suspendit dominus noster archiepiscopus a prioratus officio; fratres vero quamplures, quia ei obviam de præcepto prioris processerunt supplicaturi pro loco mutando in quo fundare parat ecclesiam, a celebratione missarum. Virum etiam religiosum qui verba appellationis proposuit a domo sua expulit; et nunc demum omnium bonorum potestate privavit. In quibus omnibus non tam nostra lugenda est læsio, quam ordinis vestri et honoris injuria. Sæpe enim unius delictum solet licet indebite in contemptum[1] universitatis redundare.[2] Hæc itaque, venerabiles in Christo patres et domini, ideo vestræ nota facimus sanctitati, quatenus erga eum, si potestis, si minus, apud Deum, vestris nos juvetis orationibus; hoc solita devotionis instantia exorantes, ut Deus pacis et dilectionis inter ipsum et nos dilectionem reformare dignetur et pacem. Si autem placuerit vobis hac de causa ad patrem nostrum legationem mittere, credimus quia dominus Atrebatensis episcopus laborem hunc pro nobis libenter suscipiet et negotium efficaciter promovebit.

2 Sam. i. 26. Psalm xix. 11.

He has failed to keep his promise of friendship, and has oppressed them.

He has suspended the prior (December 17) and others of the brethren.

They entreat the intercession of the monks of Clairvaux.

Cf. No. lxxxvi.

In eundem modum Cystersiensi capitulo.

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[1] *in contemptum*] inotū, MS. | [2] *redundare*] refundare, MS.

XIV. Idem Remensi archiepiscopo.[1]

A.D. 1186. December.

Remensi archiepiscopo conventus Cantuariensis, salutem et semper paratum piæ dilectionis obsequium.

The monks entreat the help of the archbishop of Rheims for the sake of S. Thomas.

De benignitate vestra nos præsumere, non merita nostra sed piæ dilectionis affectus, et quam erga gloriosum martyrem Thomam geritis facit laudanda devotio. Sæpe enim filios quamvis degeneres reverenda patrum protexit auctoritas, et aditus faciliores præparavit ad gratiam. Hac itaque consideratione inducti et animati confidentia, excellentiæ vestræ necessitates nostras audacter exponimus; sperantes quod qui martyrem devote colitis, martyris causam pia affectione confovebitis. Noveritis itaque quia post multa et magna gravamina a domino et patre nostro nobis illata, quia juxta nos clericorum construere proponit ecclesiam, unde juxta seniorum sententiam Cantuariensis ecclesiæ dignitatibus poterit dispendium provenire; ad subsidium confugimus apostolicum, eo magis formidantes in hoc opere quod intendit, quanto eum omnia contra nos usque adhuc subtilius procurasse cognovimus. Quotiescunque enim ad nos reversus est, ecclesia nostra, quod et mirabile dictu est et miserabile, aliquid passa est detrimentum. Nos autem, ut coram Deo sit dicere, in nullo meminimus eum offendisse, nisi forte offensam vocet, quod jus ecclesiæ nostræ ausi sumus quamvis sero protestari. Hanc ergo martyris causam ideo diximus, quia ipsum quoque pro dignitatibus hujus ecclesiæ nulli dubium est dimicasse. In Dei igitur et ipsius paternitati vestræ supplicamus dilectione, quatenus apicibus vestris ad dominum papam per præsentium latorem directis, ipsi supplicare velitis ex affectu, ut jura et dignitates Cantuariensis ecclesiæ integras et illæsas curet conservare, et priorem nostrum et fratres qui cum eo profecti sunt, in justis petitionibus suis clementer exaudiat.

They have appealed to the pope against the tyranny of the archbishop.

They ask for his interest with the pope.

XV. Idem Remensi decano.[2]

A.D. 1187.

Decano Remensi et Suessionensi archidiacono salutem, et piæ dilectionis plenitudinem. Merito fidem vestram magni

fo. 4 r°. The church of Canter-

[1] William, archbishop of Rheims, son of Theobald, count of Blois, and nephew of king Stephen, was successively bishop of Chartres, archbishop of Sens, and archbishop of Rheims. He was made cardinal priest of S. Sabina, 1179.

[2] Ralph de Serra, or de Serris (Sarr in Kent), dean of Rheims, from about 1176–1194. He was an Englishman, and an old pupil of the monastery of Christ Church. Gervase, 1497, and Herbert of Bosham, vii. 1.

A.D. 1187. bury has found the dean of Rheims a faithful friend.

semper fecit Cantuariensis ecclesia, nec temere inter multos præelegit dilectionem. Ecce, enim, in angustiis circumspiciens et quærens adjutorem, vos invenit ex omnibus filium fidelissimum, patronum paratum, protectorem indefessum. Omnes amici ejus spreverunt eam inter angustias, vos vero magis diligere quanto gratiora novistis esse suffragia quæ in opportunitatibus præstantur in tribulatione. Gratias itaque referimus sanctitati vestræ de dilectione, de beneficiis universis, de honore, consilio, et auxilio quod priori nostro, quod fratribus impendistis. Reddet autem Deus in tempore tribulationis. Scimus quia gravamina quæ vel ante vel post appellationem, immo verius propter eam passi sumus, fidei vestræ fidenter enarraverunt et plene; sed aggravavit pater noster, quod dolentes dicimus, durior manum suam etiam nunc super nos, et bonorum omnium nos potestate privavit. Edicta præterea proponit quæ statum ecclesiæ nostræ observata subverterent, ut videlicet vel obedientes involvat, vel quasi inobedientes de contemptu condemnet. Nos autem, ut noveritis, cum in aliis rebus obedire parati simus, præceptum nullum admittere proposuimus quod ecclesiæ statum immutet, vel casset appellationem. Non dubitamus quin graviora nobis immineant. Vos interim orate pro nobis ut Deus poculum patrum nostrorum potum det nobis in mensura, et manum suam modificet quatenus possimus sustinere.

The monks thank him for his kindness to the prior.

Inform him of their resolution not to yield.

A.D. 1187.

XVI. Conventui Cantuariensi abbas Cystercii.[1]

The abbot of Citeaux acknowledges the receipt of the letter of the monks; and has written to the archbishop and to the bishop of Arras.

Dilectis in Domino dominis et amicis sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, frater W. dictus abbas Cystercii salutem et pacem. Susceptis amicabiliter ut decuit litteris et precibus vestris, scribimus domino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo studiose et affectuose pro vobis juxta formam vestræ petitionis. Et quoniam pacis et gaudii manipulos vobis affectu piæ caritatis optamus, scribimus nihilominus domino Atrebatensi episcopo, supplicantes humiliter, ut et ipse nacta opportunitate operam et piam sollicitudinem impendat pro vestra et ecclesiæ vestræ pace. Interim oramus Deum ut illam vobis conferat pacem quæ exsuperat omnem sensum. Valete. Phil. iv. 7.

In eundem modum conventus Clarevallensis.

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[1] William II., 13th abbot of Cîteaux, 1184–1192.

XVII. IDEM ABBAS CYSTERCII ATREBATENSI EPISCOPO.[1] A.D. 1187.

The abbot of Citeaux begs the bishop of Arras to use his influence to make peace between the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury.

Domino et patri in Christo carissimo, P. Dei gratia venerabili Attrebatensi episcopo, frater W. dictus abbas Cystercii salutem, et promptam ad obsequium voluntatem. Scripsit nobis conventus ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, et ecce litteras ipsas sub sigillo nostro venerationi vestræ dirigimus; quoniam vestra non ignorat sanctitas, ut credimus, sinceræ dilectionis affectum quem conventus ipse, sicut dicitur, ordini nostro gratanter et gratis exhibuit, usque ad præsens tempus. Quoniam autem orta est contentio inter venerabilem patrem nostrum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem et conventum jam dictum, sicut ex latione litterarum ipsius potestis agnoscere, supplicamus humiliter reverentiæ vestræ ut si forte vos contigerit transfretare, operam detis, si vobis non displicet, et piam sollicitudinem impendatis pro reformanda pace. Valete.

XVIII. BALDEWINO ARCHIEPISCOPO ABBAS CLAREVALLENSIS.

Reverendo domino et patri Baldewino Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, G. Clarevallensis[2] dictus abbas modicum id quod est totum.

The abbot of Clairvaux, after expressing his regard for the archbishop,

Licet incomprehensibile divinæ dispositionis examen, defuncto patre sanctissimo piæ memoriæ domino Petro, in nostram extremitatem regimen Clarevallense devolverit, et ad tanti ponderis gravitatem minus simus idonei, tamen ex injuncto ministerii nostri officio, venerabili nunc paternitati vestræ cui antecessores nostri jugiter exstitere devoti, reverentiæ et devotionis plenitudinem præsentamus, quicquid volemus in Domino vestris plenarie obsequiis exhibentes. Venerabilis autem conventus ecclesiæ vestræ, transmissa nobis conquestione, monstravit quod in cujusdam constructione capellæ quam in damnum publicum sibi æstimat affuturam, eum contra id quod de vobis sperare potuit, fatigatis. Quapropter dignationi vestræ humiliter supplicamus, quatenus ita sub æquitatis moderatione quæ agitis disponatis, ut commisso vobis gregi justam adversum vos querimoniæ occasionem omnimodis auferatis.

and the complaints of the convent of Canterbury, begs Baldwin to be just with them.

Eodem modo conventus Cisterciensis. Cf. No. lxxxvii.

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[1] This letter was received by the bishop of Arras on the 4th of June: see No. xxix.

[2] Garnier de Rochefort, ninth abbot of Clairvaux, had just succeeded abbot Peter, who died 1186, Oct. 29. Garnier had been abbot of Hauterive, and afterwards became bishop of Langres.

A.D. 1186.

XIX. Honorius prior[1] et socii Conventui.

The prior informs the convent that on December 22 he landed in Flanders.

Honorius prior Cantuariensis ecclesiæ et socii, conventui Sanctæ Trinitatis, salutem in Domino.

Noverit dilectio vestra nos per Dei gratiam die Lunæ proxima ante Natale Domini, in Flandria littus tetigisse.[2] Per tres enim dies in mari laboravimus, et fere naufragium pertulimus, prout præsentium lator vobis proponet. Quæ omnia vel quamcunque corporis molestiam sustinere[3] possimus effectui mancipare. Estote constantes et state viriliter, et sine intermissione nos Deo in orationibus commendate, et statum vestrum et si quid circa appellationem fuerit innovatum, nobis seriatim significetis, et quicquid ecclesiæ nostræ et vobis fuerit necessarium. Litteras abbatum extra pendentes cum vestris appellationem protestantibus nobis transmittite, et litteras ratihabitionis cum sigillo nostro. Bene valete.

fo. 4 v°.

He exhorts to firmness, and begs for news and letters of authority, full powers.

A.D. 1186. December.

XX. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis,

The convent inform the pope that the prior and his companions have full powers to act for them, and entreat for justice.

Reverendo in Christo patri et domino, U. Dei gratia summo pontifici, humilis conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis salutem, et promptam in omnibus obedientiam.

Noverit sanctitas vestra nos causam pro qua ad audientiam vestram appellavimus, H. priori nostro et fratribus quos ad vos direximus commisisse, et quicquid super ea fecerint, ratum habere. Paternitati itaque vestræ filiali supplicamus affectione quatenus defectum eorum plenitudo vestra supplere dignetur, ne justitiam causæ nostræ adversariorum deprimat potentia. Sed ecclesiam quam primam in Anglia Romana construxit pietas, illæsam et integram vestra in Dei gloriam conservet auctoritas. Valeat sanctitas vestra semper in Domino.

A.D. 1187.

XXI. Urbano papæ Henricus rex Angliæ.

Sanctissimo patri et domino U., Dei gratia, summo pontifici, Henricus eadem gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ et comes Andegaviæ, salutem, et devotissimæ subjectionis obsequium.

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[1] Honorius, who had been chaplain to archbishop Baldwin and cellarer of the convent, was made prior, 1186, July 13.

[2] The prior sailed on the eve of S. Thomas the apostle. Gervase, 1485.

[3] Some words are here omitted, or are wanting to complete the sense, which requires *parati sumus, dummodo causam nostram* possimus effectui mancipare.

Gratias Deo et vobis refero quantas possum, quia a primo tempore promotionis vestræ in omnibus precibus et petitionibus et maxime in iis quæ me vel venerabilem patrem meum Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum contingebant, benigne semper voluistis et efficaciter exaudire. De vestra itaque gratia et benignitate certissimus, paternitati vestræ supplico et humiliter peto, quatenus in causa quam monachi Cantuarienses excitavere adversus archiepiscopum suum, ei favorabiliter et benigne velitis assistere. Testificor enim coram Deo quod secundum conscientiam meam, justissimam causam fovet, et a monachis suis injustissime molestatur. Sanctitatem itaque vestram in spiritu humilitatis affectuosissime precor, ut ipsum in præfato negotio et maxime in ædificatione novæ ecclesiæ ad honorem beati Thomæ martyris, sanctam ipsius devotionem fovere ac promovere velitis. Certissime enim didici ex testimonio episcoporum et abbatum, priorum et baronum terræ, totiusque fere cleri ac populi, hoc opus pium ac sanctum esse, sanctosque Cantuarienses archiepiscopos hoc ipsum olim habuisse in desideriis, et Deum effectum istius operis hujus archiepiscopi temporibus reservasse. Experiar igitur quæso, in hujus meæ petitionis effectu, quod adhuc perseverat apud vos probatissimæ in nobis vestræ benignitatis effectus. Vitam et incolumitatem vestram conservet nobis Deus per tempora longa.

A.D. 1187. The king thanks Urban III. for his kindness to the archbishop; he begs him to show the same in the present cause between the archbishop and the convent, especially regarding the new church. He has good evidence that it is a pious and holy work.

XXII. Baldewinus archiepiscopus suffraganeis suis.

Baldewinus, Dei gratia, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, suffraganeis suis salutem.

Sicut plurium et fide dignorum virorum certiori relatione didicimus, sancti patres et prædecessores nostri Anselmus, beatus Thomas martyr, et alii in proposito habuerunt non solum pro sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ utilitate, verum etiam ad totius regni et Anglicanæ ecclesiæ firmamentum et munimen, ecclesiam quandam construere, ubi parochialibus ecclesiis Cantuariensis archiepiscopatus, quæ ad ipsorum pertinebant donationem, in præbendas conversis, clerici in communi viverent, et ad obsequium sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ parati ibidem Deo deservirent. Nos autem tam sanctum et tam pium patrum nostrorum propositum in Domino gratanter amplectentes, habita sanctissimi domini et patris nostri Urbani papæ super hoc opere indulgentia, requisito quoque et plenius habito illustris et victoriosissimi domini nostri Henrici regis Angliæ consilio et assensu, venerabilibus etiam fratribus coepiscopis nostris, quorum copiam tunc temporis habere potuimus, huic

Archbishop Baldwin informs his suffragans, that as S. Anselm and S. Thomas had intended to found a college of clerks at Canterbury, he is determined to carry out the design. He has the consent of the pope, the king, and the bishops.

A.D. 1187. rei prompta benignitate assensum præbentibus, ecclesiam in honorem Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ, prope Cantuariam, locum passionis suæ, invocata Sancti Spiritus gratia, de meritis et opere ejusdem martyris confisi, jam fundare incepimus, ab Eo sperantes auxilium, Qui sanctis patribus nostris prædictum inspiravit propositum. Et quia filii nostri monachi ecclesiæ Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ tam pium sanctorum propositum modis omnibus impedire, et ne ad honorem Dei et martyris opus inceptum procedat, nostris votis obviare conantur; fraternitatem vestram, de qua plene confidimus, sollicitamus in Domino, rogantes obnixe, quatenus transcriptis indulgentiæ domini papæ, et formæ litterarum domini regis, quas pro nobis domino papæ dirigit inspectis, summo pontifici litteras vestras dirigatis, quibus secundum tenorem litterarum Domini regis, si melius expedire videritis, propositum nostrum commendetis. Movere quoque debet ad hoc devotionis vestræ, quam ad martyrem nostrum habetis, sinceritatem, quod in provinciis et fere ubique terrarum ad Dei honorem, ipsius nominatim et specialiter ecclesiæ multiplices erigantur, ipse in terra nativitatis suæ, et in ea potissimum provincia quam martyrio suo triumphaliter illustravit, adhuc tanquam hospes altaria in ecclesiis alienis habet, ecclesiam autem nullam. Sit igitur de benignitate vestra de litteris benignissimi principis nostri in scribendo pro nobis exemplum suscipere, et pro causa nostra, immo gloriosi martyris, ita efficaciter scribere, quatenus in effectu operis doceatis quam pium, quam sincerum ad sæpedictum martyrem habeatis dilectionis affectum. Cum autem litteras vestras scribi feceritis, easdem sigillo vestro signatas cum transcripto illarum nobis mittatis. Valete.

The monks of Christ Church oppose him.

fo. 5 r°.

He asks for letters to the pope in his behalf,

on the pattern of the letter of the king. (No. xxi.)

XXIII. Urbano papæ Gaufridus Ridel Eliensis episcopus.[1]

Reverendissimo domino et patri U. Dei gratia summo pontifici, G. permissione divina Eliensis ecclesiæ minister, suæ sanctitatis servus, salutem et devotissimæ subjectionis obsequium.

Animavit me sanctæ paternitatis vestræ præminens discretio, et quam geritis in universalis ecclesiæ dilatatione pia devotio, majestatem vestram precibus fiducialiter convenire, super his quæ ad honorem Dei et Anglicanæ ecclesiæ provectum non ambigo provenire. A viris quidem notæ religionis et probatæ fidei plurimis accepi, quod etiam ad vestræ sublimitatis

The bishop of Ely informs the pope that he has heard that S. Anselm intended to found a college for

[1] Geoffrey Riddell, bishop of Ely, 1174–1189. He had been archdeacon of Canterbury, 1162–1174.

audientiam credo pervenisse, bonæ recordationis Anselmum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum firmiter in votis habuisse ecclesiam quandam fundare, et in ea clericos in communi viventes, Dei ministerio deputare. Novi quoque gloriosum martyrem Thomam, cui familiariter tunc temporis ejus archidiaconus adhæsi, sicut eo dicente et mecum super hoc deliberante didici, totis desideriis ad id agendum anhelare. Quod ne desiderato fine consummaret triumphalis ejus passionis interventus prohibuit. Suscitavit vero nostris temporibus Deus Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, circumspectionis et honestatis exquisitæque litteraturæ virum, non solum tam sancti propositi successorem, sed et strenuum futurum, Deo propitio, prosecutorem. Indulgentiæ namque vestræ auctoritate ad tam præclarum opus roboratus, victoriosissimi quoque regis Angliæ Henrici consilio, provinciæque totius episcoporum, abbatum, cleri, populique benigno favore provocatus, incepit ecclesiam in honorem Dei et beati Thomæ martyris ædificare, et in ea canonicos singulares, non ad solius Cantuariensis ecclesiæ sed ad regni totius utilitatem, majorisque consilii firmitatem, proposuit ordinare. Verum non desinit bonis actibus vetus hostis invidere, qui proprios filios Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ monachos adversus sanctum Domini, ne debitus ei honor exhiberetur, spiritu malignitatis commovit, cum potius de filiali dilectione celebrique tanti patris veneratione eos impedientibus in facie resistere deceret. Hi jam sedem apostolicam dicuntur adiisse, non modo archiepiscopo suo sed et sancto martyri toto conamine obviantes, cum nihil in præjudicium Cantuariensis ecclesiæ vel ipsorum statuere moliatur; quoniam tantum parochiales ecclesias quæ ad ejus spectant donationem, secundum tenorem propositi sanctorum prædecessorum suorum, in præbendas convertere disposuit, ad usus clericorum quos honestiores et prudentiores et ad ecclesiæ Cantuariensis obsequium noverit utiliores, in ea Deo perenniter militantium. Proinde sanctitati vestræ summa devotione, toto mentis affectu supplico, quatenus ob Dei reverentiam et gloriosi martyris quem Deus tot virtutibus mirificavit, humilitatisque meæ precibus, causam archiepiscopi, qui justitiæ et pietati dinoscitur inniti, fovere misericorditer et promovere velitis, petitionis illustris regis Anglorum Henrici, devotissimi filii vestri, super eodem negotio non immemores, nec callidi tentatoris versutia prævaleat, quominus indulta sibi a sanctitate vestra prosequendi propositum permissione gaudeat. Postremo moveat pietatem vestram, quod in terra nativitatis suæ, quam suæ triumpho passionis illustravit, propriæ domus digno munere nusquam donatur, cum in novissimis terrarum partibus, quas sui nominis aura perflavit, ecclesiæ plures in ipsius memoria specialiter erigantur.

A.D. 1187. priests at Canterbury;

and remembers that S. Thomas expressed to him the same intention.

The archbishop has begun a church, to be dedicated to S. Thomas.

But the monks of Christchurch oppose him, and have appealed to the apostolic see.

He begs the pope, for the sake of S. Thomas, to support the archbishop,

fo. 5 v°.

and to let S. Thomas have a church in his native land.

A.D. 1187. XXIV. BALDEWINO ARCHIEPISCOPO EXONIENSIS EPISCOPUS.

Reverendo patri et domino Baldewino, Dei gratia, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primati et apostolicæ sedis legato, Johannes[1] eadem gratia Exoniensis episcopus, salutem et debitum obedientis affectum.

The bishop of Exeter sends to the archbishop a copy of his letter to the pope.

Sanctitatis vestræ preces caritate plenas benigne suscepimus. Quas juxta rei seriem et tenorem propositi, prout sanius duximus, pro posse nostro secuti sumus. Litteras itaque paritatis nostræ summo pontifici ex parte nostra pro vobis dirigendas cum earum transcripto paternitati vestræ transmittimus in hanc formam.

"Sanctissimo patri et domino Urbano, Dei gratia, summo "pontifici, Johannes, divina miseratione, Exoniensis ecclesiæ "minister humilis, tam devotum quam debitum subjectionis "obsequium, cum salute.

He reminds the pope of the reformation that followed the death of S. Thomas.

"Scitis, pater sanctissime, quomodo in Anglicana ecclesia "diebus nostris per mortem beati Thomæ martyris pacem "populo suo et salutem operatus est pacis Auctor et "salutis. In cujus memoriam recens devotio et rei novitas "in ecclesiis altaria super numerum et capellas in compitis "erexit innumeras, in quibus fervente quæstu fervebat ob-

A reaction has set in, and devotion to S. Thomas has cooled.

"sequium. Sed processu temporis tepescente causa effectus[2] "intepuit, adeo ut martyrem gloriosum hactenus non usque-"quaque debito veneremur obsequio, qui in remotis mundi "partibus apud exteras, ut accepimus, nationes, propriarum "ecclesiarum honore gaudet et patrimonio, cum in gente "sua et patria locum non habebat præterquam in alieno, "adhuc hospes in suo. Merito itaque in gloriosi martyris "honore et nomine specialis ecclesia apud suos construi "debuit, dotata uberius, et venerabilibus personis ditata "plenius, unde velut a latere domini Cantuariensis totius "Anglicanæ ecclesiæ et regni consilium procederet et pru-"dentia. Commodius autem prope Cantuariam, gloriosi "martyris nativitatis locum, hoc fieri potuit, ubi ob honorem "et libertatem ut gregi suo parceretur, pastor capiti non

The archbishop is founding a new church in his honour.

"pepercit. Hinc est quod venerabilis patris B. nunc Can-"tuariensis archiepiscopi propositum approbantes, desiderium "ejus desideranter amplectimur et commendamus; non solum "Anglicanæ ecclesiæ sed toti regno, in Christo loquor, profu-"turum. Eo etiam favorabilius est facti propositum, quod

[1] John the Chantor, bishop of Exeter, 1186–1191.

[2] *effectus*] defectus, MS.

" prædecessores ejus, sanctos patres Anselmum scilicet et A.D. 1187.
" Thomam, adhuc in carne Cantuariæ præsidentes, idem in
" desideriis habuisse didicimus. Verum gloriosus proto-
" martyr Stephanus quod in honorem ejus præconceperant,
" adscito sibi beati martyris Thomæ consortio, opus maluit
" inchoari, ut in commune factus honor magis eluceat, 'dimi-
Ovid, Fasti, v. 718 " 'dium toto munere majus habens.' Hujus autem de benig-
" nitate et misericordia propositi pendet executio. Nec apud
" sanctitatem vestram monachorum Cantuariensium patens The bad spirit of the monks of Canterbury.
" improbitas locum inveniat, qui martyri suo et patrono invi-
" dent et locum et honorem, quem potius sanguine suo, si de
" pari vices responderint, comparasse debuerant. Nunc autem
" simplices prudentium consiliis, soli omnium votis, obviare
Ps. xiv. 9. " non verentur, timore trepidantes ubi non est timor: in
" nullo enim venerabili collegio procurari scimus dispendium,
" nisi forte detrimentum vocent sinistri interpretes religionis
" augmentum. Nec clementiæ vestræ auditu dignum ducimus,
" quod majores nostri in clero, optimates in populo, quod
" ipse regni princeps opus velit et approbet, quod sanctæ
" Cantuariensi ecclesiæ juri præjudicet, deroget dignitati,
" statum subvertat aut immutet. Paternitati igitur vestræ He begs for the pope's countenance for the new college.
" obnixe supplicantes universi rogamus attentius, quatenus
" tam sancto proposito, utili, dato desuper, vestra, venerande
" pater, patrocinetur auctoritas. Et quod concurrentibus
" votis clerus prædicat, principi placet, populus probat, vobis
" ecclesiæ Dei feliciter præsidentibus, in honore gloriosorum
" martyrum, in opus transiens, per vos et a vobis incremen-
" tum habeat et profectum. Valeat sanctitas vestra in per-
" petuum."

In eundem modum alii episcopi.

XXV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi. A.D. 1187. March.

Amicis et fratribus in Christo dilectissimis, G. suppriori et conventui ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, H. prior et socii sui, salutem et sinceræ dilectionis constantiam. The prior informs the convent that he has reached the papal court and been kindly received.

Quantæ benignitatis eventibus in itineris cœpti processu nobis arriserit divina clementia, singula namque succedebant
Rom. viii. 28. in proficiscendo ad votum, singula cooperantur nobis ad bonum; scripto ad præsens commendare supersedemus. Cum igitur læti et hilares ad locum pervenissemus optatum, in primis a domino papa et cardinalibus vultu gratioso et placido suscepti sumus, uberiorem de die in diem favorem et gratiam in illorum conspectu hactenus consecuti. Quæ omnia magis meritis sanctorum nostrorum et orationibus vestris ascribere quam

A.D. 1187. March. fo. 6 r°.

humanæ possimus industriæ vel velimus. Vestræ laudabilis unitatis constantia totius curiæ faciem jocundavit, nosque de acceptis acceptiores, de commendatis reddidit et effecit commendatiores. Sicut igitur debitæ libertatis privilegio gaudere desideratis, state viriliter, et Deo et sanctis Ejus indesinenter causam vestram et vos commendate. Spem siquidem bonam super promotionem negotiorum vestrorum concepimus, in quibus effectui mancipandis eam quam poterimus curam adhibebimus et diligentiam. Litteras quas vobis transmittimus indulsit nobis dominus papa ante diem appellationi præfixum, postmodum de causa plenius cogniturus, cum nuncii domini Cantuariensis apparuerint. In omnibus siquidem agendis nostris cum ea, annuente Deo, sagacitate et modestia procedere curabimus, quod jus et dignitatem domini Cantuariensis absque cujusque scrupulositatis figmento illæsa conservabimus. Expedit vobis ut cum summa celeritate per fratres vestros ad hoc magis idoneos et alios, litteræ domini papæ tam judicibus quam domino Cantuariensi dirigantur, et quid super hoc facere decreverint nobis quantocius renuncietur. Cæterum si quid adversitatis, si quæ tribulationes vos in hujus temporis nequitia comprehenderint patienter sustinete, quoniam potens est Oriens ex alto ut Suos visitet in proximo. Nos vero in illius S. Luke i. 7
stabilitatis scabulo anchoram nostram collocavimus, quod neque terrores neque augustiæ ab ecclesiæ nostræ caritate vel vestra nos aliquatenus poterunt separare. Valete et orate instanter pro nobis.

He encloses letters from the pope.

He advises them to send on the letters to the archbishop, and to the nominated judges.

A.D. 1187. March 1.

XXVI. Urbanus papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.[1]

Urban III. is very sorry to hear that the archbishop is acting inconsistently with his dignity.

Urbanus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri B. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, apostolicæ sedis legato, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Dum ad mentem reducimus religionis tuæ fervorem et locum regiminis quem in ecclesia Dei ad procurandam salutem fidelium suscepisti, non possumus non dolere si quid nobis de tuæ fraternitatis actibus proponatur, quod gravitati tuæ et pontificali officio contradicat. Dignum siquidem est et consonum rationi, ut sicut te, speciale videlicet membrum ecclesiæ, sincera in Domino caritate diligimus, ita de conversatione tua et moribus specialem sollicitudinem habeamus, quia nostram[2] crederemus non modicam læsionem, si laudabilis tuæ religionis opinio occasione qua-

[1] This letter is given by Gervase, 1491. The various readings below are from this version.

[2] *nostram*] vestram, G.

libet, quod avertat Dominus, læderetur. Sane veniens ad præsentiam nostram dilectus filius noster, prior ecclesiæ tuæ, cum quibusdam ex fratribus suis, diligenti[1] nobis insinuatione monstravit, quod post promotionem tuam in qua sui conventus statum crediderunt ad honorem Dei omnimodis augmentandum, a te enormia gravamina sint perpessi et quotidie sustineant graviora. Pro quibus cum ad sedem apostolicam appellassent, ut ad præsens cætera transeamus, Dominica qua cantatur *Lætare Jerusalem*, terminum præfigentes, tu, quod mirabile gerimus et indignum, ipsi appellationi non deferens, in executione ipsius quendam ex fratribus suspendisti, qui etiam de præcepto tuo postmodum, sicut dicitur, ab ipsa ecclesia est remotus. Post eandem etiam appellationem, licet prior et fratres se et sua sub apostolica protectione posuerunt, priorem nihilominus suspendisti, objiciens ei quod unum ex fratribus suis ad præsentiam nostram venire permisit, et quendam alium qui appellaverat in ecclesia et consortio fratrum suscepit. Postquam autem ob prædicta gravamina iter arripuit ad sedem apostolicam veniendi, in basilica quam in ipsorum gravissimum detrimentum construxisse proponeris, quosdam sæculares canonicos, appellantibus et reclamantibus fratribus, diceris statuisse, eisque ecclesias ipsorum assignasse, et universos qui appellaverant ab altaris officio suspendisse. Quia vero, licet super principalibus quæstionibus in termino appellationi præfixo tuos responsales et nuncios expectemus, ea tamen quæ tam manifeste in contemptum sedis apostolicæ peracta dicuntur, quantumcunque tuæ velimus fraternitati deferre, relinquere nolumus incorrecta, auctoritate tibi apostolica mandamus atque præcipimus, quatenus prædictarum suspensionum sententias, tam in priorem quam in alios fratres ejusdem ecclesiæ, post appellationem ad nos interpositam promulgatas, infra decem dies post susceptionem præsentium publice denuncies non tenere, et quod post primam appellationem in juris eorum præjudicium attentasti, in statum pristinum reducere non omittas, sciturus quod si infra præscriptum terminum exsequi distuleris quod mandamus, nos nequaquam super hoc poterimus injurias ecclesiæ sustinere. Jamque dictis filiis nostris de Bello, de Faversham et Sancti Augustini abbatibus dedimus in mandatis, ut id appellatione remota auctoritate apostolica exsequantur. Datum Veronæ kal. Martii.[2]

A.D. 1187. March 1. The prior and brethren have complained of his oppressions, and have fixed their appeal for Mar. 8.

The pope is astonished that the archbishop should have suspended the prior after appeal,

and should have instituted canons in his new chapel in spite of it.

The principal charges he will leave to the term of appeal,

but insists that the sentence against the prior be rescinded within ten days, and all things restored as before.

fo. 6 v°.

[1] *diligenti*] reverenti, G.

[2] This letter was delivered to Archbishop Baldwin at Otford on the 25th of March. Gervase, 1493.

A.D. 1187. March 1.

XXVII. Idem abbatibus de Bello, de Faversham et Sancti Augustini.[1]

Urbanus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis de Bello, de Faversham et Sancti Augustini abbatibus, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

The pope rehearses the complaints of the monks,

Veniens ad apostolicam sedem dilectus filius noster prior Cantuariensis ecclesiæ cum quibusdam ex fratribus suis, diligenti nobis insinuatione monstravit, quod a venerabili fratre nostro B. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, apostolicæ sedis legato, post promotionem suam enormia gravamina sint perpessi et quotidie sustineant graviora. Pro quibus cum ad sedem apostolicam appellassent, Dominicam qua cantatur *Lætare Jerusalem* terminum præfigentes, idem archiepiscopus appellationi non deferens, in executione ipsius quendam ex fratribus suspendit, qui etiam postmodum de præcepto suo, sicut dicitur, ab ipsa ecclesia est remotus. Post eandem etiam appellationem, licet prior et fratres se et sua sub protectione apostolica posuerint, nihilominus priorem suspendit, objiciens ei quod unum ex fratribus suis ad præsentiam nostram venire permisit, et quendam alium qui appellaverat in ecclesia et consortio fratrum suscepit. Postquam autem dictus prior ob prædicta gravamina iter arripuit ad sedem veniendi, præfatus archiepiscopus in basilica quam in eorum gravissimum detrimentum dicitur construxisse, quosdam sæculares canonicos, appellantibus et reclamantibus fratribus, dicitur statuisse, eisque ipsorum ecclesias assignasse, et universos qui appellaverant ab altaris officio suspendisse. Quia vero, licet super principalibus quæstionibus in termino appellationi præfixo responsales et nuncios ipsius archiepiscopi expectemus, ea tamen quæ tam manifeste in contemptum sedis apostolicæ sunt peracta relinquere nolumus incorrecta, eidem archiepiscopo præcepimus, quatenus suspensionum sententias tam in priorem quam in alios fratres ejusdem ecclesiæ, post appellationem ad nos interpositam promulgatas, infra decem dies post susceptionem litterarum nostrarum, publice denunciet non tenere, et quod post primam appellationem in eorum præjudicium factum est, in statum pristinum reducere non omittat. Ideoque discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus atque

(Mar. 8.) and the contumacy of the archbishop.

He has deferred the principal charges until the term of appeal.

He has charged the archbishop to rescind his act within ten days.

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[1] Odo, abbot of Battle, and late prior of Christ Church; Gwerric, abbot of Faversham; Roger, abbot of S. Augustine's, 1173–1212; he had been a monk of Christ Church and keeper of the altar in the Martyrdom. This letter is in Gervase, *Chron.* 1492.

præcipimus, quatenus si memoratus archiepiscopus infra præscriptum terminum exequi distulerit quod mandamus, vos id omni dilatione et appellatione postposita executioni mandetis, nullis litteris veritati et justitiæ præjudicantibus, si quæ apparuerint ab apostolica sede impetratæ. Quod si omnes his exequendis nequiveritis interesse, duo vestrum ea nihilominus exequantur. Datum Veronæ kal. Martii. A.D. 1187. March 1. If the archbishop fails to obey, the abbots are to execute the mandate.

XXVIII. Urbano papæ Odo abbas de Bello. A.D. 1187. April.

Reverendo patri et domino Urbano, Dei gratia, summo pontifici, Odo dictus abbas de Bello, salutem et se semper obedire paratum.

Præcepit sanctitas vestra de Faversham et Sancti Augustini abbatibus cum quibus et meæ parvitati apicibus directis, quatenus sententiam suspensionis in priorem Cantuariensem et fratres a domino archiepiscopo post appellationem ad vos interpositam, promulgatam, publice denunciaremus non tenere, omni dilatione et appellatione postposita, si id dominus archiepiscopus, cui idem injunxeratis, infra decem dies post susceptionem litterarum vestrarum non faceret. Quibus elapsis et adhuc infecto quod mandastis, sicut alias sanctitati vestræ significavimus, directis tribus ad eum monachis etiam tunc cum potestas ejus in hac parte videretur exspirasse, rogavimus quatenus mandatum vestrum ipse compleret, alioquin nos in ejus executione utpote obedientes non posse non procedere. Redeuntibus qui missi fuerant, et de adimplendo quod jussistis nihil certi reportantibus, juxta formam mandati vestri ad jam dictorum fratrum instantiam denunciavimus publice sententiam [1] post appellationem ad vos interpositam, in priorem et fratres promulgatam non tenere; monachis ipsis sufficienter edocentibus sententiam ipsam post appellationem prolatam. Qui cum de multis quererentur, alia in litteris vestris contenta, quia ambigue dicta videbantur, ad discretionem vestram retulimus. Cæterum aliquanto tempore interjecto, jam dicti archiepiscopi clerici, magister H. Pigun et magister Silvester, me contumeliis et minis affecerunt, non aliter obedientiam quam paternitati vestræ exhibui punientes, quam deberent si contemptorem comprobassent. Alii etiam duo ejusdem archiepiscopi clerici me postea propter eandem causam appellaverunt. Hæc ideo

The abbot of Battle acknowledges the receipt of the pope's mandate. (No. XXVII.)

At the end of ten days, as the archbishop would not act, we sent to warn him that we must proceed.

(April 11.)

As his answer was doubtful, we pronounced his sentence against the prior, &c., invalid, reserving all other points.

The conduct of the clerks on the occasion.

[1] The execution was promulgated on the eighteenth day after the reception of the papal mandate, April 11th. The month is wrongly printed in Gervase, 1494, as February.

A.D. 1187. April.

excellentiæ vestræ significare curavi, ut si res forte ad audientiam vestram prolata fuerit, indemnitati meæ prospicere

fo. 7 r°.

velitis et paci, ne quæ præmium mereri debuit obedientia, pœnas exsolvat, et ne cæteri terreantur, quatenus mandatum apostolicum audeant adimplere. Vitam vestram conservet Deus in tempora longiora.

A.D. 1187. June.

XXIX. Petrus Atrebatensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi.[1]

Venerandis patribus et dominis in Christo carissimis, G. suppriori et universo sancto conventui Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ, Petrus divina patientia Atrebatensis ecclesiæ minister humilis, salutem et se totum in Domino ex hilari corde et animo devoto.

The bishop of Arras assures the monks of Canterbury of his sympathy.

Grave nobis est pariter et molestum, quod illius dilectionis maxima teneritudo qua vobis arctius copulamur, non potest ex mutua visione simul et colloquio frequens suscipere solatium, ut Spiritus ille Qui ubi vult spirat caritatis faculam flatibus accenderet redivivis, dum nos tam sedulo congregatos cerneret in nomine Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis. Verum illud indissolubile vinculum quod nunquam caritatem permittit excidere, per Dei gratiam, nullum ex absentia corporali suscipiet detrimentum, dum inter nos jugis et illæsa sancta manebit affectio, amica, congaudens vicissitudine prosperis et compassionis affectum semper exhibens in adversis. Novit igitur Omnipotens Qui renes scrutatur et corda, quam moleste, quam ægre, noster fert animus, quod unquam inter venerabilem patrem nostrum dominum Cantuariensem et vos inimicus homo zizania potuerit seminare, quos invincibilis et perseverans dilectio deberet ad invicem jugiter copulare. Noverit proinde carissima nobis in Christo paternitas vestra, quod quinta feria tertiæ post Pentecosten hebdomadæ litteras domini Cysterciensis nobis obtulit quidam de vestro collegio, persona veneranda, quibus dominus Cysterciensis nos attentius monuit, ut ad vos celerius accedentes ad reformationem pacis, divina præcedente gratia, studium et operam omnimodam impendere deberemus. Verum quia vester nuncius dixit nobis dominum archiepiscopum se in remotas partes recepisse, præsentes ad vos litteras duximus destinandas, ut vestrarum recursu litterarum hujus rei certitudo vobis innotescat, quoniam statim post festum Sancti Johannis, omissis omnibus aliis, ad vos donante Domino disposuimus transfretare, si dominum archiepiscopum circa vos poterimus invenire. Et quia dominus

. John iii. 8

1 Cor. xiii. 8

Rev. ii. 23.

S. Matt. xiii 25.

He has received the letter of the abbot of Citeaux. (No. XVII.) June 4.

He intends to visit Canterbury after S. John's day, if the arch-

[1] Between the 4th and the 24th of June.

Cantuariensis non parum parvitatem nostram videtur diligere, nostro forsitan citius adquiesceet consilio, bonumque pacis, Sancti Spiritus procedente[1] consilio, melius precibus et monitis rationabilibus amicabiliter partibus propositis poterit provenire, quam variis hinc inde discursibus simul expensis, qui solent animos duros et inflexibiles reddere, et pacem turbare potius quam eam promovere. Valete, et orate pro servo sanctitatis vestræ, qui totus vester est, obsequiisque vestris ex toto dedicatus; et super his omnibus per latorem præsentium vestram mihi rescribite voluntatem. Quia vero in Assumptione Beatæ Virginis in ecclesia nostra tenemur adesse, si dominus archiepiscopus usque tunc circa vos fuerit, et præsentiam nostram in aliquo vobis necessariam æstimetis, adeo tempestive mittite pro nobis, ut in prædicta festivitate ad ecclesiam nostram possimus remeare.

A.D. 1187. June. bishop is there. He hopes that the archbishop will listen to his mediation, He must be at home before the 15th of August.

XXX. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis.

Henrico, Dei gratia, illustri regi Anglorum, humilis conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, salutem et ubique divina protectione defendi.

Audistis, domine carissime, ut credimus, quas molestias, quæ gravamina pater noster et dominus nobis fecerit, cui nos postquam eum recepimus, nec semel fecerimus unde deberet irasci, nisi forte ideo motus sit, quod de injuria nobis illata tandem conquesti sumus, et jus nostrum petimus. Quia ergo nunc post ea omnia novam vult juxta nos facere clericorum ecclesiam, et quasi castellum juxta nos erigere, unde poterit secundum assertionem sapientum damnum ecclesiæ nostræ provenire; supplicamus generositati vestræ omnes ad pedes, quatenus pro Deo et honore vestro mandetis domino archiepiscopo per breve vestrum, quatenus tractet nos benignius, nec faciat aliquam rem unde ecclesia Cantuariensis possit honorem suum amittere, vel civitas Cantuariensis hostilitatis tempore, quod Deus avertat, periculum formidare. Valete in Domino semper, domine carissime.

The monks of Canterbury lay their complaint before the king, and beg him to use his influence with the archbishop.

In eundem modum Ricardo comiti Pictaviæ.

XXXI. Henricus rex Conventui Cantuariensi.

Henricus, Dei gratia rex Anglorum, toti conventui ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et sinceræ dilectionis constantiam.

Audita querimonia vestra moti sumus et molestati, et plurimum perturbaremur si dominus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus

The king has heard with pain o

[1] *procedente*] procedentes, MS.

A.D. 1187. the harshness of the archbishop.

manum suam aggravaret super vos, et aliter quam deceret, vel deberet, adversum vos ageret; cum bene memores simus quid de eo in capitulo vestro vobis promiserimus. Nunc autem noveritis ipsum archiepiscopum venturum in proximo, et cum præsentiam ejus habuerimus, curabimus satagere quod ad pacem et honorem ecclesiæ vestræ et utriusque partis res procedet, et quod ipse archiepiscopus geret se erga vos paterno affectu, et prout decuerit se habebit. Vos autem debitam reverentiam curetis ei exhibere, sicut patri vestro spirituali, ita quod honori Dei et ecclesiæ et ipsius et vestro actiones vestræ congruæ dinoscantur. Teste Huberto decano Eboracensi apud Geldeford.[1]

fo. 7 v°.

He will treat with him on the subject.

XXXII. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Gaufrido suppriori Cantuariensi.

Baldewinus, Dei gratia, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et apostolicæ sedis legatus, dilecto filio Gaufrido subpriori ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, salutem et benedictionem.

The archbishop forbids two of the monks to leave the convent or to take part in the management.

Mandamus tibi atque præcipimus, quatenus Radulfo de Orpintun et Johanni de Bochinge auctoritate nostra firmiter inhibeas, ne a claustro aliquatenus exeant, nec aliquam sibi administrationem in ecclesia nostra assumere præsumant. Valete.

A.D. 1187. April.

XXXIII. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

Reverendo patri et domino Urbano, Dei gratia, summo pontifici, humilis conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et devotum debitæ subjectionis famulatum.

The convent thanks the pope for his kind reception of the prior, and for his letters.

Gratias agimus sanctitati vestræ, qui priorem nostrum et nos in ipso suscepistis, qui necessitatibus nostris aurem tam humiliter inclinastis, qui cum rerum momenta non simus, tamen inter pressuras et amaritudines nostras pro sponsa Christi amarissimas, etiam nos apicibus vestris visitastis. Cæterum cum harum bajulus a nobis exiret, et jam tempus decem dierum indultum, infra quod dominus noster et pater quæ post appellationem ad vos interpositam, in præjudicium juris nostri facta fuerant, de mandato vestro correxisse debuerat, elapsum esset, nihil reformavit ex omnibus. Abbates vero quibus mandata est, si ipse non faceret, executio, juxta formam mandati vestri sententiam in priorem et fratres post appellationem factam promulgatam, publice denunciaverun non tenere, alia in litteris vestris contenta ad discretionem

The archbishop has not obeyed, but the abbots have executed the mandate. (April 11.)

[1] The king kept Christmas at Guildford in 1186, and left England on the 15th of February 1187. Gervase, 1491.

vestram quasi dubia, cum tamen de rei evidentia non dubitarent, referentes. Ipse autem archiepiscopus post litterarum vestrarum susceptionem, oleum et chrisma contra consuetudinem prædecessorum suorum Londoniis confecit, et exinde ad Cantuariensem ecclesiam quasi ad vacantem transmisit. Et cum pro universo ecclesiæ nostræ statu ad majestatem vestram appellatum sit, qui in hoc maxime articulo visus est immutari, et officii sui debitum omisit,[1] et appellationi minus detulisse videtur. Insuper cum adhuc redditus quos Londoniæ percipere consuevimus nobis dari prohibeat, etiam pro fratribus manerierum nostrorum procuratoribus, ne administrationem suam implere exeant, interdixit. Similiter ne pro necessitatibus nostris et præcipue pro causa ecclesiæ nostræ construendæ, de rebus ecclesiæ pignus ponere audeamus, inhibuit. Edicta præterea proponit nova et negotio suscepto contraria, ut nos quasi comprehendat in inobedientia; in quibus omnibus majus est quod timeamus quam quod patimur. Quæ enim erit forma in rebus ecclesiasticis, quis rigor disciplinæ, si contemnitur auctoritas sedis apostolicæ? Verum adversarii nostri qui magnitudinis suæ mole nos premunt, quibus Deus Sui nominis timorem incutiat pariter et amorem, de virtute sua confidunt et de nostra nihilominus imbecillitate, qui utique utpote alia habemus studia, in disceptatione causarum minus instructi sumus, exercitati minime. Opus ergo habemus,[2] pater venerande, et ab officii vestri non discrepat qualitate, ut ad vos causa pauperum ingrediatur, cui tanto favorabilius et aurem inclinetis et animum, quanto qui humilitatem nostram vident et tribulationem, contemnere videntur potestatem. Supplicamus igitur sanctitatis vestræ omnes genibus provoluti, quatenus priorem nostrum et fratres in justis petitionibus exaudire velitis, et Cantuariensis ecclesiæ statum indemnem conservare, pro qua et in qua gloriosus martyr Thomas sanguinem suum dignum duxit effundere. Valeat sanctitas vestra semper in Domino.

A.D. 1187. April. The archbishop has consecrated the chrism at London. (March 26 *Gervase* 1493.)

He has stopped their London rents, forbidden their brethren, the stewards of the manors, to quit the convent, (No. XXXII.) and forbidden them to raise money on loan.

They represent their helplessness and needy state.

XXXIV. Theobaldo Ostiensi[3] episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

Reverendo patri et domino T., Dei gratia Ostiensi episcopo, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinali, humilis conventus ecclesiæ

[1] *omisit*] commisit, MS.

[2] *habemus*] habeamus, MS.

[3] *Ostiensi*] Hostiensi, MS. *passim*. Theobald, bishop of Ostia, a monk of Cluny, and abbot of Cluny in 1179. He was made cardinal by Alexander III., and succeeded Lucius III. as bishop of Ostia in 1181. See R. de Monte. p. 936.

A.D. 1187. Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et paratum semper piæ dilectionis obsequium.

The convent of Canterbury were much depressed by the absence of the bishop of Ostia from the Roman court.

Cum propter enormia et multa gravamina subsidium apostolicum implorare compulsi sumus, audientes vos in partibus remotis injuncta fungi legatione, plurimum desolati sumus, et visa est nobis quasi manus dextera pugnaturis aruisse. Nunc vero postquam de reditu vestro rumores certiores accepimus, reversus est spiritus in viscera nostra et reddita est nobis spes salutis. Rogamus ergo omnes et singuli sanctitatis vestræ genibus obvoluti, quatenus oppressioni nostræ, in priore nostro et fratribus quos cum eo direximus, patrocinium vestrum velitis impendere, et negotia Cantuariensis ecclesiæ quæ vobis exponent, quantum cum Deo potestis et Cantuariensem ecclesiam diligitis, immo et Romanam, efficaciter promovere. Neque enim adversarii nostri statum ecclesiæ nostræ tantum commutare, aut ordinis nostri sperant honestatem subvertere, sed etiam sedis apostolicæ gravitatem ad omnem voluntatem suam se jactant inclinare. Valeat sanctitas vestra semper in Domino.

fo. 8 r°. They are thankful for his return, and recommend the prior to his protection.

A.D. 1187. March.

XXXV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.[1]

Dominis suis et fratribus carissimis, Gaufrido suppriori et conventui ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, Honorius prior et socii sui, salutem et verām in Domino consolationem.

The prior informs the convent of his increasing favour at the Roman court.

Hactenus Pater misericordiarum in nobis misericordiam Suam declaravit; hactenus iter et actus nostros pro votis nostris laudabiliter prosperavit; tantum namque gratiam et favorem omnium qui sunt in curia nobis per Dei gratiam alleximus, quod una nobiscum stant, nobiscum agunt, ultro se martyris Thomæ servitio et nostro ingerunt, tanquam eis divinitus esset inspiratum. Hoc itaque vestræ dilectioni scribimus ad consolationem, quatenus qui tribulationum et laborum nostrorum indesinenter estis participes, simul sitis et gaudiorum. Expedita sunt negotia nostra, Deo gratias, pro parte, quæ per aliquem fratrum nostrorum ad vos quam citius transmittemus, qui vos vivæ vocis colloquio plenius de statu nostro poterit certificare. Nihil adhuc actitatum est super causa principali; expectamus enim domini Cantuariensis responsales, qui quoniam nondum comparuere sufficientes, præfixit nobis dominus papa diem Veneris proximam post *Quasi modo geniti*, quatenus

2 Cor. i. 3.

As the archbishop's agents have not appeared, the pope has fixed the

[1] The date of this letter must fall between the 8th of March, the original term of appeal, and the 10th of April, the new day fixed by the pope.

ipso die coram eo et cardinalibus, querelæ nostræ et gravamina publice proponerentur. Quoniam igitur ambigua sunt fata causarum, et res tam ardua quem sortiatur effectum incerti sumus, nihil lite pendente certitudinis, nihil adhuc firmitatis vestræ possumus significare fraternitati. Verumtamen quia curiam Romanam æquitate debita jurisque gloria florere comperimus, cum eadem sit oppressis subsidium, personis miserabilibus solatium, pro verisimili præsumptionis argumento cepimus, quod sinum clementiæ suæ nobis solum non subtrahet, quæ quibuslibet suum præstare patrocinium, et in justitia sua exequenda hactenus solet subvenire; præsertim cum nos, sicut ab omnibus prædicatur, causam rationi consentaneam et æquitati consonam videamur confovere. Cum autem super causæ nostræ ventilatione certitudinem reportaverimus, nuncium nostrum ad vos cum summa celeritate transmittere curabimus, per quem rei series vobis plenius innotescet. Bene valete, et indesinenter orate pro nobis.

A.D. 1187. 10th of April for hearing the cause.

He has confidence in the equity o the court.

XXXVI. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis.

Venerabili domino Honorio, priori Cantuariensi, et fratribus, Gaufridus supprior et totus ejusdem ecclesiæ conventus, salutem et orationum suffragia.

Lætificastis animas nostras in verbo spei quod mandastis, nec singulariter in spe constituistis nos, sed etiam in timore. Quamdiu enim res desiderata speratur, timore quoque suspenditur desiderium, et donec rem consequatur, formido semper denigrabit gaudium. Hoc autem inter mundi desiderabilia nos maxime noveritis affectare, ut constructio novæ præter nos ecclesiæ, si fieri potest, in nihilum redigatur, quam non ambigimus, si facta fuerit, et nobis in detrimentum esse, et posteritati nostræ posse præjudicium generare. Vos ergo in negotio arduo quod suscepistis altiori utentes consilio, quamvis minus necessarium putemus ultro currentibus[1] calcar subdere; viriliter agite, et vigilanter semper, quasi præ oculis habentes appensum quod salus nostra in manibus vestris est, et vestra erit gloria, si stamus, vestra nihilominus confusio si occidimus. Sicut enim victoriam nostram nemo vestræ non attribuet virtuti, sic, quod Deus avertat, si secus acciderit, non deerit qui incuriæ vestræ imputet aut tarditati. Nos autem, per Dei gratiam, ad omnia quæ possumus pro honore ecclesiæ nostræ perferenda paratos invenietis. Valete.

In answer to No. XXXV., the convent thanks the prior for his news,

and urges him to persevere.

[1] *currentibus*] quærentibus, MS.

A.D. 1187.

XXXVII. Idem Hugoni Lincolniensi episcopo.

Hugoni Lincolniensi episcopo, humilis conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et piam semper dilectionem.

The convent informs the bishop of Lincoln that it hopes for better times,

Licet damna et gravamina a venerabili patre nostro nec pauca nec parva perpessi simus, minus tamen gravat rerum minoratio quam læsæ jactura caritatis. Quia tamen pax mala sæpe causam fovet jurgiorum, et iræ amantium redintegratio amoris esse dicuntur, speramus quod divina dispensatio fulgura in pluviam faciet, et quod nunc afflicti pertimescimus, Ps. cxxxv. 7. in securitatem convertet. Cæterum scientes viscera vestra super fratribus vestris commoveri, caritati vestræ supplicamus Gen. xliii. 30.

fo. 8 v°.

and asks his good offices with the king.

attentius, quatenus quantum cum Deo potestis, partes vestras erga dominum regem pro nobis interponere velitis, ut nostri misereri dignetur, et si miseriis nostris remedium ferre non placet, saltem super dolorem vulnerum nostrorum non addat. Verumtamen quod significamus præsentium bajuli fratres nostri paternitati vestræ plenius poterunt intimare. Satagat ergo filii fides laudabilis et devotio, matris ruinam non in se suscipere, sed ne cadat procurare. Valeat sanctitas vestra semper in Domino.

XXXVIII. Idem magistro Alexandro Walensi.[1]

Amico in Christo carissimo, Alexandro Walensi, conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et dilectionem.

The convent requires of Alexander the Welshman, a proof of affection, under the cruel betrayal of their friends,

Hactenus discretioni tuæ satis fuit nos dilexisse; nunc autem opus est etiam dilectionem exhibere, et quod gessistis in cordis affectu in effectu operationis ostendere. Ecce enim Cantuariensem ecclesiam qui pro ea pugnare debuerant expugnant, et dominus noster Cantuariensis archiepiscopus castrum erigit contra eam. Persuasisti quondam pacem, et pollicitus es patris nostri benevolentiam adepturos et gratiam. Ecce quo fine suas et tuas concluserit promissiones; sed nondum S. Luke xxi. 9. statim finis. Præripuit quidem nobis multa, sed adhuc manus Isaiah v. 25. ejus extenta. Novimus enim eum multa in detrimentum nostrum quæ nondum palam facta sunt subtilius procurasse, unde et in hoc opere quod intendit magis formidamus. Legisti quod "in Lucan, Pharsalia, i. 92. "se magna ruunt, omnisque potestas impatiens consortis erit."

and requests his good offices.

Nunc ergo si virtus est in corde, si veritas in sermone, si qua beati martyris fides aut devotio, illud oris tui solitum

[1] Alexander Llewelyn, the Welshman, had been cross-bearer to archbishop Thomas.

laxes eloquium, et qui pro adhuc passibili decertasti, causam alleges jam immortalis et glorificati, operam dans ut ecclesiæ Cantuariensis dignitas, quam sanguine suo sanctificavit, nullum patiatur detrimentum. A.D. 1187.

XXXIX. [Honorius prior et fratres, Conventui Cantuariensi.][1]

A.D. 1187. May.

Si simplices et minus discreti, sicut ex vestrarum serie litterarum concepimus, reputari debeamus, eo quod quædam ambiguitates verborum in domini papæ litteris, tam in facti narratione, quam in ipso mandato, inseri videbantur, judices delegati, cæterique juris periti ad hoc convocati nimiæ simplicitatis et remissionis sunt redarguendi, qui murorum constructionem, non canonicorum cœtum et institutionem, pro ecclesia sunt interpretati, vel saltem ad illius loci eruderationem et inchoationem oculos deflexissent, ubi suum dominus archiepiscopus propugnaculum intendit ædificare. Cæterum si de prima hæsitaverint appellatione, quare quod post secundam, et tertiam et etiam quartam in juris nostri præjudicium est attentatum, in nullo sunt executi? sed bene novimus sicut et vos, quo pede claudicant, et qua omiserint ratione quod de jure fecisse debuerunt. Quod igitur circa fratrum saltem absolutionem ex hoc mandato est effectum, laudandus est Dominus; de reliquis posterum cautius negotiandum. Cum coram domino papa et cardinalibus, quadraginta diebus post appellationem elapsis, querelas nostras opportune importune pluries proponeremus, tandem pro nobis dominus papa in parte habita deliberatione cum fratribus solemniter sententiavit, sicut ex tenore litterarum quæ domino Cantuariensi diriguntur potestis conjicere. Adjecit etiam et quasi consulendo præcepit, quatenus super restitutionem ablatorum et aliis, aliquamdiu adversarios expectaremus. Nos vero sic eorum præstolamur adventum, quod nunquam otiosi sed semper nostris intenti negotiis, aliquid novum, aliquid nobis in posterum profuturum, non sine studio et difficultate adquirimus. Sive venerint adversarii, sive non, in brevi nos credimus expediendos, et ad vos cum gaudio reversuros, nisi, quod Deus avertat, aliquid inopinatum emerserit, quare moram in curia diutius facere nos

The prior is not to be blamed for the insufficiency of the papal mandate, but the abbots for their incomplete execution of it.

The cause was heard by the pope forty days after the appeal, and he has written to the archbishop.

[1] Omitted in MS. The letter is in answer to one from the convent, which does not occur, giving an account of the execution of the mandate on the 11th of April, and complaining of its inadequateness.

A.D. 1187. The archbishop will get severe treatment if he does not comply.

oporteat. Nisi dominus Cantuariensis sententiæ apostolicæ in hac parte, quod non credimus, obtemperare voluerit, aliquid in eum severius statuetur. Itaque ab inceptis cum pudore penitus desistet, et ea quæ male sunt inchoata principio, fortasse funditus demolientur. Satis in hac parte dictum est sapienti. Et pro ecclesia nostra nobiscum debitam habeatis sollicitudinem. Bene valete, et orate pro nobis.

A.D. 1187. May 9.

XL. [URBANUS PAPA BALDEWINO ARCHIEPISCOPO CANTUARIENSI.

Urbanus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, apostolicæ sedis legato, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.][1]

The pope has heard the complaints of the prior and convent about the new church.

Dilecti filii nostri prior et quidam fratres ejus monachi ecclesiæ tibi commissæ, ad nostram præsentiam venientes, de ecclesia quam ædificare cœpisti tantum sibi et eidem ecclesiæ proposuerunt dispendium proventurum,[2] quod nisi fuerit ab ejus constructione cessatum, præscripta ecclesia suæ honestatis[3] et status miserabile[4] suscipiet detrimentum. Sane cum per Dei gratiam litteratus sis et in religione diutius conversatus, ignorare [non debes, sicut nec te credimus ignorare][5] quomodo propter scandalum a bonis est interdum operibus abstinendum.

fo. 9 r°.

Nos autem sollicite providere volentes, ne inter te et fratres tuos remaneat materia jurgiorum, cum non possint convenienter obsequiis divinis intendere, qui sunt contentionibus dediti, de consilio et deliberatione fratrum nostrorum, monemus fraternitatem tuam, mandamus et districte præcipimus, quatenus donec causa cognita statuamus quid de ipso [ædificio][6] fieri debeat, occasione, contradictione et appellatione postposita, ab illius novæ ecclesiæ constructione et canonicorum institutione desistas, et etiam ab exactione fraternitatis quam ob favorem ipsius diceris statuisse, litteris aliis non obstantibus ab apostolica sede impetratis. Si quid autem contra hanc prohibitionem nostram fuerit attentatum, nos apostolica auctoritate irritamus. Datum Veronæ, vii. idus Maii.

He orders the archbishop to stop the building, the institution of canons, and the carrying out of the fraternity.

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[1] *Urbanus . . . . benedictionem*] Omitted in MS.; supplied from Gervase, 1318 and 1496. This letter was delivered to the archbishop at Bredon, near Tewkesbury, June 10th. See below, No. LXXX.

[2] *proventurum*] profuturum, G., 1496.

[3] *honestatis*] dignitatis, G., 1496.

[4] *miserabile*] miserabilem, MS.

[5] *non . . . ignorare*] Om. MS.; supplied from G.

[6] *ædificio*] Om. MS.; supplied from G.

XLI. IDEM OMNIBUS PRÆLATIS ANGLIÆ PRO FRATERNITATE QUASSANDA.[1]

A.D. 1187. May 9.

Cum dilecti filii nostri prior et fratres Cantuariensis ecclesiæ de constructione novæ ecclesiæ quam venerabilis frater noster Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, de novo extra Cantuariam incepit, gravia se querantur dispendia subituros, nos eorum juri volentes, prout tenemur[2] providere, ex deliberatione fratrum nostrorum ipsi archiepiscopo districte præcepimus,[3] ut in constructione præscriptæ novæ ecclesiæ vel institutione canonicorum, donec causa cognita statuamus quid ex ipso ædificio fieri debeat, non procedat. Mandamus itaque universitati vestræ atque præcipimus, quatenus fraternitatem aut prædicationem quam, occasione illius ecclesiæ, prædictus archiepiscopus de novo constituit, usque ad decisionem causæ in parochiis vestris nullatenus admittatis, nec prædicatores si qui ad hoc destinati fuerint in ipsis parochiis patiamini prædicare, vel a fidelibus beneficia quærere, sed eos potius ab his desistere, sublato appellationis obstaculo, auctoritate nostra ecclesiastica districtione cogatis. Datum Veronæ, vii. idus Maii.

The pope informs the prelates of England that he has charged the archbishop to stop the work of the new church and orders them to have nothing to do with the archbishop's new brotherhood.

XLII. IDEM BALDEWINO ARCHIEPISCOPO.[4]

A.D. 1187. May 9.

Quanto majoris es religionis, honestatis et nominis, tanto amplius tuæ detrahitur gravitati, si quando apostolicæ dignitati[5] resistis, cui teneris in omnibus prompta devotione deferre. Cum enim per alia scripta tibi dederimus in mandatis, ut si quid contra statum ecclesiæ tuæ in personis vel rebus, in præjudicium dilectorum filiorum nostrorum prioris et fratrum ejusdem ecclesiæ, post appellationem ab ipsis ad nos interpositam, vel postquam idem prior cum quibusdam fratrum suorum iter arripuit ad sedem apostolicam veniendi, fecisti, in statum pristinum revocares,[6] non sine ratione miramur, quod, sicut nobis innotuit, mandatum nostrum exequi noluisti, cum

The pope expresses to the archbishop his astonishment that he has not

[1] This letter is given by Gervase, 1318 and 1496, with the following superscription: "Urbanus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus episcopis et dilectis filiis abbatibus et aliis ecclesiarum prælatis per Angliam constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem."

[2] *tenemur*] ex officio, add. G.

[3] *præcepimus*] præcipimus, MS.

[4] Gervase, 1494, gives this letter with the proper salutation. This letter was delivered to the archbishop at Shrewsbury on the 23rd of June. See below, No. LXXX.

[5] *dignitati*] jussioni, G.

[6] *revocares*] revocare, MS.

A.D. 1187. May 9. executed the mandate of March last. (No. xxvi.)

He orders him to restore all things as they were before the appeal.

non ignores quomodo et ii qui appellant et qui ad Romanam ecclesiam veniunt, donec de controversia cognoscatur, nullum sui status sentire debeant detrimentum. Credentes autem quod hac vice facere debeas quod alia vice debuisti,[1] fraternitati tuæ per iterata scripta mandamus et districte præcipimus, quod quicquid circa statum[2] prioris et fratrum ipsius ecclesiæ, in personis vel rebus in eorum præjudicium commisisti, postquam ad nos appellarunt, vel per eundem priorem vel quosdam[3] de suis, aggressi sunt iter ad nostram præsentiam veniendi, dilatione et appellatione postposita, in pristinum statum reducere non postponas, eosque in personis vel rebus contra juris ordinem desinas amodo fatigare. Si vero id exequendum distuleris,[4] dilectis filiis nostris de Bello, de Faversham et Sancti Augustini abbatibus id appellatione remota commisimus exequendum; ita ut si omnes his exequendis interesse noluerint vel nequiverint, duo ex ipsis ea nihilominus exequantur. Datum Veronæ, vii. idus Maii.

A.D. 1187. May 9.

XLIII. Idem de Bello, de Faversham et Sancti Augustini abbatibus.[5]

The pope is sorry to hear that the archbishop has not executed the mandate of Mar. 1. (No. xxvi.)

He gently rebukes the lukewarmness of the abbots in executing it.

Grave admodum gerimus et molestum, quod venerabilis frater noster Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, quæ[6] adversus dilectos filios nostros priorem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ et fratres suos post appellationem, reverentia sedis apostolicæ prætermissa, commiserat, nec ad mandatum nostrum, nec ad commonitionem vestram voluit, sicut accepimus, revocare. Quod autem in executionem mandati[7] quod super hoc vobis dedimus, licet nimis tepide, processistis, gratum nobis est; sed nobis gratius esset si tenorem mandati nostri taliter[8] fuissetis executi, quod non cogeremur super eodem vobis iteratas litteras destinare. Verum quia super gravaminibus et molestiis ipsius prioris et fratrum suorum non possumus non moveri,[9] nos incorrectum sustinere nolentes quod in eorum præjudicium non sine contemptu sedis apostolicæ constat esse commissum, memorato archiepiscopo mandatum iteratum dedimus et præceptum, ut quicquid contra statum prioris et fratrum suorum in personis vel rebus in eorum præjudicium attentavit,

He has sent a new mandate to the archbishop

[1] *alia vice debuisti*] hactenus neglexisti, G.

[2] *circa statum*] contra, MS.

[3] *per . . . quosdam*] postquam idem prior vel quidam, G.

[4] *id exequendum distuleris*] id infra xv. dies post harum susceptionem non expleveris, G.

[5] Gervase, 1495.

[6] *quæ*] qui, MS.; om. G.

[7] *mandati*] om. MS.

[8] *taliter*] om. MS.

[9] *non moveri*] immoveri, MS.

postquam ad nos appellaverunt, vel per eundem priorem et quosdam de suis, aggressi sunt iter ad nostram præsentiam veniendi, in statum pristinum, dilatione et occasione cessante, reducat, eosque contra juris ordinem in personis vel rebus desinat amodo fatigare. Ne igitur frustra toties super eodem scribere videamur negotio, discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus et districte præcipimus, quatenus si præfatus archiepiscopus infra quindecim dies post susceptionem litterarum nostrarum non impleverit quod mandamus, vos omni gratia et timore postposito, contradictione quoque, dilatione et appellatione cessante, id efficaciter exequamini, provisuri ne plus ei videamini quam nobis in hac parte deferre, quia non possemus adversus vos non moveri, si alicujus gratia vel obtentu mandatis neglexeritis apostolicis obedire, et ad corrigendam inobedientiam vestram manum nostram extendere cogeremur. Cæterum si omnes his exequendis nequiveritis interesse, duo vestrum ea nihilominus exequantur. Datum Veronæ, vii. idus Maii.

A.D. 1187. May. to restore all things as before the appeal.

fo. 9 v°.

If the archbishop shall not obey within a fortnight, the abbots are to execute it.

XLIV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.

A.D. 1187. May.

Exod. xvii. 11, 12.

Quamdiu Moyses legislator pro populo sibi credito, elevatis manibus, Dominum interpellabat, vincebatur Amalech, dirumpebatur exercitus iniquorum. Quanto etiam unitas fidelium pullulabat uberius, et gratiori vigeret incremento, tanto magis conventus pravorum dissolvitur et ad sui dispendium declinet ignominiosum. Cum igitur Deus omnipotens, tum orationum nostrarum interventibus, tum per unitatis vestræ constantiam, nobiscum per omnia usque in præsens egit misericorditer; monemus fraternitatem tuam, rogantes attentius, quatenus quod laudabiliter incepistis laudabiliori indesinenter concludatis effectu. Confidenter itaque per Dei gratiam, nostrorum patrocinio sanctorum, et orationum vestrarum securi devotione, adversariis quibuscunque in nostræ modicitatis humilitate resistemus, in Eo confidentes et spem ponentes, Qui exaltat humiles et abjectos, elatos deprimit et potentes. Quid super ecclesiæ novæ destructione inpræsentiarum a domino papa sententialiter est pronunciatum, ex litteris quæ domino Cantuariensi diriguntur satis manifeste poteritis perpendere. Quid autem benignitatis et gratiæ super operis demolitione et aliis consecutivis, sive venerint adversarii sive non, nobis dominus papa, habita cum fratribus deliberatione, indulgere voluerit, videat Deus in excelsis, quia nos ignoramus. Sed hoc tam ipsius rei evidentia, quam certis rerum argumentis cognovimus, quod dominus papa causam nostram non videtur contemnere, sed quasi verus pastor gemitibus nostris et doloribus humaniter condolere.

The prior exhorts the convent to patience and unity.

The pope is very well affected towards them.

A.D. 1187. May.

Super negotiis nostris quæ pro parte per Dei gratiam perfecte, ut credimus, sunt effectui mancipata, Deo gratias referatis, et ut ea quæ restant debitum consequantur effectum, Deum indesinenter precibus exorate. De reditu nostro nihil vobis certitudinis possumus significare. Adversariorum namque præsentiam præstolamur, quatenus parte præsente altera, lis suo marte discurrat, et fine perpetuo, vel saltem temporaliter conquiescat. Cæterum quidam fratrum nostrorum qui ad vos dirigetur in proximo, statum nostrum et quæ penes nos aguntur, vobis viva voce plenius intimabit. Bene valete, et orate pro nobis.

The prior can settle nothing about his return.

A.D. 1187. March 13.

XLV. Urbanus papa Conventui Cantuariensi privilegia indulget.

Cum ecclesia vestra dono divini muneris celebris habeatur, et prærogativæ gaudeat dignitatis, ejus aurem meritis tanto studiosius intendere volumus, quanto per sanctorum merita quorum corpora in ea requiescunt, amplius eam venerari dinoscitur laudabilis devotio populorum. Quapropter, dilecti in Domino filii, vestris justis petitionibus inclinati, ad exemplar piæ recordationis Alexandri prædecessoris nostri, omnes oblationes et obventiones, quas affluentes populi ecclesiæ vestræ obtentu beati Thomæ martyris, et aliorum sanctorum quorum relliquiæ in ipsa continentur ecclesia, contulerint, sicut a tempore bonæ memoriæ Theobaldi, quondam archiepiscopi vestri, ex quo idem sacristariam vestram cum oblationibus ecclesiæ vestræ et cæteris pertinentiis suis vobis resignavit, et post eum a tempore beati Thomæ martyris, ejusdem Theobaldi successoris, easdem oblationes et obventiones usque in præsens habuistis, et nunc pacifice habere noscimini, vobis integre auctoritate apostolica confirmamus, sicut etiam piæ memoriæ Lucius prædecessor noster postmodum confirmasse dinoscitur, in perpetuos usus luminarium, sacrorum vestimentorum et restaurationis ipsius ecclesiæ, et in usus hospitum et infirmorum, si forte aliquid contigerit residui remanere: statuentes ne in posterum aliquis archiepiscopus vel alia ecclesiastica sæcularisve persona vobis super his molestiam inferat aut occasionem malignandi; eo quod obtentu beati martyris Thomæ majus ipsarum oblationum et obventionum pervenire dinoscitur incrementum. Sed omnes, prout diximus, oblationes et obventiones ecclesiæ vestræ et vobis in posterum vestrisque successoribus firmæ sicut nunc habetis illibatæque permaneant. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ confirmationis et constitutionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si

The church of Canterbury has desired the pope's indulgence.

He grants that the oblations and obventions of the church shall be applied according to the will of the monks,

excluding the interference of the archbishop.

fo. 10 r°.

quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum Ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Veronæ, iii. idus Martii. A.D. 1187. March 13.

XLVI. Idem Conventui Cantuariensi.

A.D. 1187. March 25.

The pope grants to the monks of Canterbury that they shall not be tried for offences except in their own chapter-house, nor be forced to swear that they will not appeal to the pope against the archbishop.

Sicut nobis imminet ex officio profectui religionis intendere, ita et nihilominus ex eodem officio cogimur iis quæ statuta regularis ordinis impedire videntur, studio pastoralis sollicitudinis obviare. Eapropter, dilecti in Domino filii, dignitatem ecclesiæ vestræ studiosius attendentes, et reputantes indignum, ut cum sitis in Domino monasticæ professionis adstricti, debeatis alibi quam in capitulo vestro si quandoque exceditis conveniri, præsentibus litteris indulgemus, ne quis fratrum vestrorum si quandoque deliquerit ab archiepiscopo vestro cogi possit, ut extra capitulum vestrum judicio sistat, super iis maxime quæ contingunt beati Benedicti regulam, et vestri ordinis disciplinam. Sed vos omnes ab eodem archiepiscopo regulariter et honeste tractari statuimus, prout antiqua et rationabilis ecclesiæ vestræ consuetudo requirit. Illud etiam arctius interdicimus, ne prædictus archiepiscopus aut alia quælibet ecclesiastica sæcularisve persona a vobis vel ab aliquo vestrum juramentum extorqueat, aut vobis aliquod impedimentum præstet, quominus aliquos de vestris pro negotiis ecclesiæ vestræ possitis ad apostolicam sedem libere destinare. Sed quoties necessitas vel utilitas postulaverit, mittendi unum vel plures de fratribus vestris ad Romanam ecclesiam liberam vobis concedimus facultatem. Indulgemus etiam vobis ut secundum Deum ad profectum capituli libere possitis rebus et quiete disponere, et sigillum vestrum sine contradictione cujuslibet retinere. Nec idem archiepiscopus nec alia quævis persona dispositioni vel administrationi possessionum aut aliarum rerum vestrarum, contra privilegia quæ vobis apostolica sedes indulsit, et contra ecclesiæ consuetudinem se audeat immiscere. Prohibemus insuper ne quis vestrum, non requisita prioris et conventus licentia, septa ipsius ecclesiæ exire præsumat, sed quoties archiepiscopus absens fuerit, priori et conventui, juxta ecclesiæ ipsius consuetudinem, fratribus exeundi licentiam, cum necessitas imminet vel cum propter negotia vestra laborare ipsos oportet, sit liberum indulgere. Ad hoc nihilominus per hujus scripti paginam interdicimus, ne archiepiscopus priorem vestrum, cum institutus fuerit contra statuta Lateranensis concilii et consuetudinem ecclesiæ vestræ, a prioratus administratione sine manifesta et rationabili causa removeat, vel ab officii executione suspendat. Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc

He gives them power to appeal.

The archbishop is not to interfere in the management of their estates.

The prior and convent may give leave of absence.

The archbishop may not remove the prior without good reason.

A.D. 1187. March 25.

paginam nostræ constitutionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum Ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Veronæ, viii. kalendas Aprilis.

April 8.

XLVII. Idem Conventui Cantuariensi.

The pope quashes all former decrees on the subject of the oblations, made by himself, contrary to those of his predecessors.

Quanto nobis estis vinculo majoris devotionis adstricti, et attentius divinis obsequiis dediti, tanto libentius statui ecclesiæ vestræ prospicimus, et quieti vestræ sollicitius providemus. Ideoque præsentibus litteris duximus statuendum, ut si qua scripta super oblationibus sancti Thomæ a nobis,[1] contra scripta authentica sedis apostolicæ a prædecessoribus nostris vobis indulta, veritate tacita sunt obtenta, viribus careant, et scripta prædecessorum nostrorum in hac parte habere decernimus firmitatem. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ constitutionis infringere vel ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum Ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Veronæ, vi. idus Aprilis.

XLVIII. Idem Conventui Cantuariensi.

The pope quashes all grants made by him to the prejudice of the convent on partial representations.

Etsi nobis sit studio pastoralis sollicitudinis providendum, ne cui videamur indebitum gravamen inferre, vestræ tamen indemnitati tanto specialius præcavere tenemur, quanto devotius estis divinæ subditi servituti. Eapropter, dilecti in Domino filii, vestris justis postulationibus annuentes, scripta si qua per venerabilem fratrem nostrum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, apostolicæ sedis legatum, vel per alium, super dispositionem rerum vestrarum, contra consuetudinem ecclesiæ vestræ ac tenorem scriptorum quæ vobis apostolica sedes indulsit, veritate tacita, a nobis sunt impetrata, viribus carere censemus, nec aliquo tempore vobis obesse quominus et rationabilis consue-

fo. 10 v°.

tudo ipsius ecclesiæ, et privilegia prædecessorum nostrorum super dispositionem rerum ipsarum habeant firmitatem. Datum Veronæ.

A.D. 1187. April 10.

XLIX. Idem archiepiscopis, episcopis et cæteris prælatis Angliæ.

The pope charges the clergy of

Non modicum videretur auctoritati sedis apostolicæ detrahi, si contingeret ab ea privilegia indulta debito firmitatis robore

[1] See Diceto, 631.

vacuari. Quapropter universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus atque præcipimus, quatenus privilegia quæ Cantuariensi ecclesiæ ab apostolica sede noscuntur indulta, servetis, nec contra ea quisquam vestrum temere venire præsumat; quod si quis ausu temerario præsumpserit, ecclesiasticæ se noverit animadversionis laqueum incursurum. Datum Veronæ, iiii. idus Aprilis. A.D. 1187. April 10. England to observe these indulgences.

L. Honorius prior Conventui Cantuariensi.

A.D. 1187. May.

Vanum videtur et vacuum vento viscera commendare. Ridiculosum etiam, ut cum una nobiscum matris vestræ languorem deploretis, sermonem vobis exhortationis prætendere debeamus. Vestrum namque laudabile usque in hodiernum diem principium feliciori semper exitu, annuente Domino, concludetur. Verum quia "nil nocet admisso subdere calcar "equo," in vestræ sinceritatis constantia, fratres nostros, si qui fuerint in hac parte debiles, quod Deus avertat, vel infirmi, unanimes efficite et constantes, et ad debitæ unitatis indesinenter redigite perseverantiam, et bonus Deus, Qui nos sicut et vos de die in diem in causa ista lætiores reddit et ferventiores, hoc, quod Dei solius intuitu et libertatis obtentu feliciter hactenus incepimus, felicius velit consummare. Scribimus in nube vobis et conventui, nolentes omnibus exprimere vel denodare, quia non expedit, quæ dominus papa vestræ ecclesiæ ad nostram instantiam indulsit, sicut ex litteris transcriptis quæ vobis transmittimus perpendere potestis, quæ ab omnibus sepulta teneatis, præterquam illis solis quibus noveritis ea communicanda. Circa privilegium vestrum innovandum ita votis vestris respondimus, quod antequam assensum vestrum super hoc reciperemus, prout volebatis, effectui fuerat mancipandum. De oblationibus Sancti Thomæ ita nobis per Dei gratiam, videtur esse cautum, quod nullam super hoc in posterum quæstionem formidare poteritis. Constructio novæ ecclesiæ vel in nihilum ut speramus redigetur, vel si fiat, ita mutilabitur, quod nostræ futuris temporibus ecclesiæ non debeat aliquatenus præjudicare. Restitutionem ecclesiarum et omnium ablatorum per litteras comminatorias, Deo providente, habebimus; si possit constare judicibus vos juris ordine non observato fuisse spoliatos. In hoc enim articulo de jure nobis aliter nequaquam poterit subveniri. Illa igitur quæ pro votis vestris sunt expedita negotia, non sine laboribus, sumptibus et expensis effectum suum sunt consecuta, sicut vero ea quæ restant expedientur. Sed quam felix est illa pecunia, quam feliciter ille thesaurus evacuatur, per quæ et quod suum est

Ovid. Ep. ex Ponto, II. vi. 38.

The prior, although he thinks it unnecessary, exhorts the convent to unity and patience.

He encloses copies of the privileges which the pope has granted (Nos. xlv.–xlix.) to be kept private:

the oblations are safe:

on the new church he has good hopes,

as also on the restitution of the estates.

Their money has been well spent.

A.D. 1187. May. si quis retinet, et perpetuam consequitur libertatem! Talibus vero nulla valent comparari, cum res hujusmodi sint incomparabiles nec capiant æstimationem.

A.D. 1187. May.

LI. Idem Gaufrido suppriori.[1]

The prior exhorts the subprior to patience and energy.

Viri sapientis est et discreti et præcipue religiosi in tribulationibus gaudere, in persecutionibus consolari. Illi enim soli beati reputantur, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam. Cum igitur Omnipotens Deus nostram sicut et vestram humilitatem hujus temporis tempestati reservavit, quod capita nostra pro domo Israel ponere possumus, quibuslibet felicibus nos feliciores reputare debemus. Quanto enim pœna sive tribulatio vehementior fuerit et immanior, tanto magis erit apud Deum meritoria, et apud homines cumulo cedet honoris et gloriæ. Præliemur ergo fortiter prælia Dei nostri, et posteritati nostræ sanæ doctrinæ relinquamus exempla, in illius constantiæ perseverantia pedem ponentes, quod neque mors, nec vita nos ab unitate ecclesiæ nostræ valeat separare. Unicum verbum vobis certissime proponimus, quod quamdiu unanimes fuerimus in causa inchoata et constantes, quorumlibet potentum adinventiones vel machinationes in nostram depressionem minime poterunt prævalere: cæterum etsi vobis inpræsentiarum graves videantur et molestæ, omnes injuriæ et depressiones de novo vobis illatæ, causam vestram ea videntur ratione extollere, quod quæ modica videbatur, jam præ sui magnitudine Monti Jovis possit comparari. Dominus sit vobiscum, et actus vestros secundum Suam disponat voluntatem. Rescribatur domino papæ et nobis diligenter quid judices delegati super mandato domini papæ executi fuerint. Si quid etiam novum penes vos postea emerserit, nobis significate. Nihil ergo domino papæ vel nobis significetis super quo plenam non habeatis certitudinem, et quod bene, si necesse fuerit, doceri possit et probari. Iterum et semper bene valeatis in Domino.

S. Matt. v. 10.

fo. 11 v°.

He must inform the pope and the prior of the execution of the mandate of May 9.

LII. Urbanus papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.[2]

The pope entreats the archbishop

Licet adversus dilectum filium nostrum priorem ecclesiæ tuæ rancorem forte conceperis, pro eo quod super novæ

[1] Geoffrey subsequently became prior, 1191, May 10. Gervase, 1570.

[2] This and the two following letters were probably issued to the prior and his companions when they left Verona, about May or June.

ecclesiæ constructione quam cœpisti, a te cum aliis fratribus dissentire videtur, sustinere tamen nolumus nec debemus ut propter hoc sui honoris vel status quodlibet sustineat detrimentum, cum præesse inutiliter videretur, si ecclesiæ suæ dispendium sub dissimulatione transiret. Inde est quod nos eum cum omni plenitudine officii sui et cum gratia nostra ad suam ecclesiam remittentes, monemus fraternitatem tuam attentius et mandamus, quatenus ipsum sicut priorem ecclesiæ tuæ benigne recipias, et paterna mansuetudine tractes, eique favorem tuum tribuas, ut et ipse prioratus officium possit melius exequi, et nos providentiam suam ex hoc debeamus non immerito commendare.

A.D. 1187. to lay aside his anger against the prior,

whom he is sending home.

LIII. Idem eidem.

Licet dilecti filii nostri prior et Haymo et Eadmundus et Humfridus monachi ecclesiæ tuæ, pro causa novæ ecclesiæ quam cœpisti et aliis ecclesiæ suæ negotiis, ad nostram præsentiam accessissent, ita tamen modeste super his suam proposuerunt in audientia nostra querelam, quod dicto vel facto tuæ non detraxerunt quomodolibet honestati. Ipsos itaque ad suam ecclesiam remittentes, monemus fraternitatem tuam attentius et mandamus, quatenus eis pro eo quod ad nostram præsentiam accesserunt, nullum gravamen vel molestiam inferas, sed eos sicut ecclesiæ tuæ filios et religiosos viros paterna benignitate pertractes, et in interventu nostro taliter habeas commendatos, ut de mansuetudine tua gaudere merito debeant, et vinculo tibi reddantur majoris devotionis adstricti. Datum Veronæ.

The pope begs the archbishop not to bear malice against the prior and the monks Haymo, Humphrey, and Edmund.

LIV. Idem Henrico regi Angliæ.

Cum Cantuariensis ecclesia inter alias regni tui multæ sit dignitatis et nominis, decet regiam magnitudinem ipsius jura protegere, eique temporibus tuis pacem debitam providere. Inde est quod dilectos filios nostros, priorem et conventum præscriptæ ecclesiæ, tuæ celsitudini commendantes, rogamus regiam excellentiam, monemus et hortamur in Domino, atque in remissionem peccatorum tibi injungimus, quatenus eos et ipsorum ecclesiam divino intuitu et propriæ salutis obtentu, necnon etiam ob reverentiam beati martyris Thomæ, cujus corpus habetur in ipsa, prout hactenus laudabiliter et bene fecisti, foveas et defendas, et eorum libertates et jura custodias illibata, nec ipsos indebitis aliquorum patiaris vexationibus fatigari, ita quod ex hoc ab Omnipotenti Deo præmium possis

The pope charges the king to defend the prior and convent.

A.D. 1187. indeficiens consequi, et eorundem fratrum assiduis orationibus adjuvari.

In eundem fere modum Ricardo nobili viro Pictavensi comiti.

A.D. 1187. June.

LV. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent has delivered the letters of pope to the archbishop (June 10).

Apices sanctitatis vestræ domino et patri nostro archiepiscopo porreximus. In quibus de consilio fratrum districte præcepistis, ut ab illius novæ ecclesiæ constructione, a canonicorum institutione, fraternitatis etiam quam hujus operis causa instituit exactione cessaret, donec quid de ipso ædificio fieri deberet auctoritas vestra statueret. Verumtamen quia a tempore illo opus ipsum magis fervere vidimus, adeo ut capella ibidem post prohibitionem et appellationem erecta, prius lignea, opere surgeret cementario, misimus ad locum de fratribus nostris cum aliis multis, quatenus rei certitudinem, quam pure ad paternitatem vestram referre possemus, oculis suis perviderent, et quamvis adhuc nobis minus profuerit appellatio, de contemptu vestro appellarent. Quærentibus ergo fratribus, quomodo operi insisterent, a quo auctoritas apostolica cessari jussisset, ita etiam ut quod contra prohibitionem ejus attentaretur in irritum revocasset, responderunt clerici qui aderant, voce jam mutata, quod nomine archiepiscopi nihil agerent sed suo. Dominus enim archiepiscopus, ut dicebant, ex quo mandatum accepit, se nullatenus intromisit, ipsi vero libere et licite ecclesiam suam faciebant et faciunt. Intelligit dilectio vestra, pater sancte, verbum hoc ad elidendum quod mandastis adinventum, et cavillatorias nobis, immo et vobis, proponi exceptiones. Vestra etenim res agitur, ubi Sanctæ Romanæ sedis majestas illuditur. De cætero causam ecclesiæ Christi et gloriosi martyris Thomæ, in sua namque, non in aliena, martyrio consummatus est, in manus vestras commendamus, sperantes quod nos tandem Deus sive per vos sive quo placuit modo respiciet, et labor labiorum ipsorum operiet adversarios. Sicut namque in sanctis impie vituperatur veritas, ita et majori fortassis scelere in eisdem laudatur falsitas. Hoc idcirco diximus, pater sancte, quod dicunt beatum Anselmum, sanctum etiam martyrem nostrum, de opere hujusmodi cogitasse. Et revera non omnis cogitatio sanctorum, sed relliquiæ cogitationis diem festum agunt Domino. Cæterum et paci nostræ uterque studuisse dinoscitur, non perturbationi. Alter enim pro pace Cantuariensis ecclesiæ quinquennio exulavit, alter pro eadem sui prodigus, post sex annorum exilium, septimo sanguinem suum impendit: et quidem martyr gloriosus qui etiam de minoribus nobiscum tractatum in capitulo habere consuevit,

As he is building his new church more actively than ever, the convent sent to ask how he could proceed against the pope's prohibition.

The clerks reply that they are acting for themselves, not for the archbishop.

fo. 11 v°.

The monks trust that the pope will not give in to lies about S. Anselm and S. Thomas.

Ps. cxl. 9.

Ps. lxxvi. 10.

Their treatment of the convent was very different.

quod utinam hic pater noster vel semel fecisset in magnis, de domo quadam hospitali ad receptionem peregrinorum et pauperum extra Cantuariam in loco qui dicitur Blen facienda, quem locum ei, cum noster prius esset, petenti concessimus, tractavit, sed de ecclesia nunquam. Videat sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum, pater sancte, ne decor Cantuariensis ecclesiæ depereat, vel tempore vestro dignitas imminuatur: immo nec occasionem præstet unde lædi possit in posterum. Nobis autem qui in locis istis sedimus sub protectione apostolica ferme septingentis annis, a beato Augustino per beatum Gregorium instituti, bonum est hodie hinc migrare, quam perpetuum debite dispendium incurrere. Per omnia tamen benedictus Deus, Qui nobis propinat de calice patrum nostrorum. Dominus vitam vestram conservet ad honorem ecclesiæ Suæ in tempora longa.

A.D. 1187. June. S. Thomas consulted the convent about the foundation of a hospital at Blean.

Cor. xi. 28.

LVI. Magistro Gratiano cardinali Conventus.[1]

Quoties epistolas gloriosi martyris Thomæ ad vos quondam directas leginus, quantam de virtute vestra habuerit confidentiam, et quam sincera amplexus vos fuerit caritate, possimus liquido intueri. Cum enim consuetudinem habeat sic scribendi, "Gratiæ filio Gratiano, Thomas exul salutem," et certissimum in vobis dat veritatis indicium, et quem ad vos propensius caritatis habuerit ostendit affectum. Hinc est proculdubio quod de generositate animi vestri fiduciam pleniorem reportantes, et audacter petimus et confidenter, quatenus Dei et gloriosi martyris intuitu, causam ecclesiæ Cantuariensis quæ in præsentia domini papæ actitatur, quantum parti nostræ justitia suffragatur, efficaciter fovere velitis, ne adversariorum potentia deprimatur. Certo enim certius habeatis, quod non nostrum agitur, sed totius Anglicanæ ecclesiæ, sed martyris ipsius negotium. Qui utique, quamvis in pace positus sit, et flagellum non appropinquat tabernaculo ejus in cœlis, in membris tamen suis persecutionem etiam hodie patitur graviorem in terris, et revera si aliquando manifestius impugnatus est, sed subtilius nunquam. Verumtamen hæc et alias et aliter innotescent. Valete.

The convent reminds cardinal Gratian of the love S. Thomas had borne him,

and is confident that he will support the cause of the church of England in the Roman court.

Psalm xci. 10.

[1] Gratianus, cardinal deacon of S. Cosmas and S. Damian. He had been a papal envoy to Henry II. in 1169, being then sub-deacon of the Holy See. He was made a cardinal in 1178. Four letters from S. Thomas to Gratian are extant (xxxviii—xli., ed. Migne), but the superscription referred to in this letter does not occur in any.

A.D. 1187. LVII. JACINCTO[1] CARDINALI[2] CONVENTUS CANTUARIENSIS.

The convent has heard of cardinal Hyacinth's kindness to the prior,

Pertulit ad nos commeantium assertio, quod priori nostro et fratribus aurem favorabiliter inclinatis, et causam Cantuariensis ecclesiæ partes vestras pro nobis interponendo benignius confovetis, Dei proculdubio intuitu, sed quod agitis de gratia procedit puriore. Gratias agimus excellentiæ vestræ pro gratia quam se prior et fratres nostri in oculis vestris gratulantur invenisse, generositatisque vestræ genibus obvoluti, obnixius supplicamus omnes et singuli, quatenus in quo cœpistis pro meritis causæ perseverare velitis, ut honor vobis accedat, amplius præstetur et gratia, et nos ope vestra a negotio hoc in tenebris perambulante salvati, vobis semper et vestris devoti debeamus et officiosi permanere. Si autem quod in tenebris dicimus dici posset in lumine, et omnes omnia providerent, nemo esset qui non succurreret. Cæterum hæc alias et aliter innotescent. Pia vota vestra Deus promoveat.

and begs for a continuance of his favour.

Psalm xci. 6.

S. Luke xii. 3.

A.D. 1187. July. LVIII. CONVENTUS CANTUARIENSIS, DE BELLO ET DE FAVERSHAM ET SANCTI AUGUSTINI ABBATIBUS.

The convent informs the abbots that the archbishop has not executed the mandate of May 9, and prays them to proceed to execution.

Speravimus quod dominus et pater noster archiepiscopus, quamvis mandatum apostolicum circa nos implere distulerit, saltem hac vice, sicut edoctus dinoscitur, voluntati propriæ obedientiam anteponens, juxta quod in mandatis accepit, quæ circa locum illum scandalorum aut statum nostrum post appellationem interpositam innovata sunt, reformaret. Verum quia jam spatio temporis indulti elapso, nec unum ex iis quæ ei injuncta sunt, vel fecit vel facturus videtur, paternitati vestræ supplicamus attentius, quatenus quæ fecisse debuit juxta formam jussionis apostolicæ executioni mandare velitis, ut de bono obedientiæ, zeloque justitiæ, cum justitia convertetur in judicium, justitiæ mercedem reportetis. Pia vota vestra Deus promoveat.

Psalm xciv. 15.

fo. 12 r°.

A.D. 1187. July. LIX. RANDULFUS DE GLANVILLA ABBATI DE BELLO.

Ranulf Glanvill forbids the

Præcipio tibi ex parte domini regis, per fidem quam ei debes, et per sacramentum quod ei fecisti,[3] ut nullo modo procedas in

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[1] *Jacincto*] Incincto, MS.

[2] Hyacinthus Bobo, cardinal deacon of S. Mary in Cosmedin: he was made cardinal either by Lucius II., or by Celestine II., about 1144, and became pope, as Celestine III., in 1191. He also was a correspondent of S. Thomas.

[3] *fecisti*] debes, MS. This and the following letter are in Gervase, 1503.

causa quæ vertitur inter monachos Cantuarienses et dominum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, donec [inde] mecum locutus fueris. Teste Willelmo de Glanvilla, per præceptum domini regis de ultra mare. Et omni dilatione et occasione remota sis ad me apud Londonias proxima die sabbati post festum Sanctæ Margaretæ virginis, mecum inde locuturus. Teste eodem apud Westmonasterium. A.D. 1187. abbot of Battle to execute the pope's mandate, and summons him to London by July 25.

In eundem modum abbati Sancti Augustini et de Favresham.

LX. Randulfus de Glanvilla Conventui Cantuariensi.

Prohibeo vobis ex parte domini regis, ne aliquo modo utamini contra dominum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum aliqua perquisitione quam contra eum quæsistis, donec mecum inde locuti fueritis. Et tu, supprior, absque occasione et dilatione sis Londoniis in festo Sancti Jacobi, cum consilio conventus tui, auditurus et facturus quod tibi dicetur ex parte domini regis. Et ibi tunc tecum habeas perquisitiones quæ quæsitæ sunt contra Cantuariensem archiepiscopum. Teste Willelmo de Glanvilla, per præceptum regis de ultra mare per ipsum Willelmum. Ranulf Glanvill forbids the monks to use the mandate, and summons them to London on July 25, and to bring the mandate with them.

LXI. Conventus Cantuariensis Randulfo de Glanvilla. July.

Suppriorem nostrum quem mandastis ideo sciatis non venisse, quia corporis sui infirmitate detentus venire non potuit. Mittimus autem ad vos præsentium latores fratres nostros, audire voluntatem domini regis, parati facere pro ipso quicquid possumus secundum Deum. Venissent autem cum consilio quale Deus nobis dedit, si expressum esset unde deberemus capere consilium. Perquisitiones vero noveritis nos nullas quæsisse, nisi pro conservando statu ecclesiæ quæ commissa est venerabili patri nostro domino archiepiscopo. Quarum alias ipse recepit, aliæ episcopis, abbatibus, archidiaconis et aliis personis porrectæ sunt, ad quas missæ fuerant. Et eas utique nunquam quæsissemus, nisi pater noster suis perquisitionibus in damnum et diminutionem ecclesiæ suæ nimis dure usus fuisset prius. Valete. The monks inform Ranulf Glanvill that the subprior is too ill to attend him. The mandates have been forwarded to their proper recipients.

LXII. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis.

Suggestum est vobis, sicut accepimus, quod per priorem et fratres nostros in curia Romana perquisitiones fecimus contra excellentiam vestram, et quod idcirco erga nos moti estis. Verumtamen indubitatum sciat dominus noster, quod nunquam ut hoc facerent in corda servorum suorum ascendit, ut gloriam July. (Gervase, 1504.) The monks having heard that the king is offended by their deal-

A.D. 1187. ings with the court of Rome, assure him that they have done nothing against him.

vestram, quam Deus augeat, vellemus in aliquo diminui. Indulgeat eis Dominus qui sinceritatis vestræ auribus verbum hoc ausi sunt intimare. Aliud est quod intendimus, et hoc ipsum pro timore Dei omittere non audemus, ut ecclesia in qua sub protectione vestra divino officio deputati sumus, et de munere gratiæ vestræ semper in pace viximus, possit in statu suo et integritate persistere, et ad honorem Dei et vestrum, dignitatem debitam conservare. Hinc est, domine, quod in constructione novæ ecclesiæ quam juxta nos dominus archiepiscopus fundare vult, nullo modo possumus consentire, quia scimus istam per illam futuris temporibus in dignitatibus et possessionibus lædendam, et hodie videmus læsam esse. Ad hæc noverit excellentia vestra, domine, quod dominus archiepiscopus nos maneriis nostris et possessionibus ad quas nunquam manum misistis, spoliavit. Ideo majestati vestræ supplicamus quatenus, ad honorem vestrum et salutem, in statu in quo nos semper gratia vestra conservavit faciatis si placet permanere. Vitam vestram Deus conservet in tempora longiora.

But they cannot consent to the building of the new church.

LXIII. Urbano papæ Henricus rex.

The king is surprised that the pope does not grant his request,

Cum antecessores vestri, qui nostris sederunt temporibus, consueverint nos diligere, et lenitate paterna in ecclesiæ Romanæ devotione fovere, vos quoque illud idem multis nobis litteris promiseritis; miramur quod vos in nostris petitionibus, licet sint justissimæ, tam difficilem invenimus; cum in conscientia nostra non sit quod in aliquo gratiam vestram demeruerimus. Ut autem de negotiis quæ nos specialiter contingunt interim taceamus, probat hoc negotium viri sancti et venerabilis, patris nostri Baldewini, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, pro quo vobis sæpissime scripsimus, quantum obnixe et devote potuimus. Sed nostris supplicationibus minus admissis, ipsum, immo nos in ipso, ad talium personarum suggestionem quæ apud gravitatem vestram nullatenus essent audiendæ, graviter molestatis. Utinam sciretis quæ nos dolentes audivimus, et quæ volumus ad tempus sub silentio præterire. Ipsa enim, ut timetur, experientia, quod tamen Deus avertat, docere vos poterit, quam necessarium vobis sit amorem et devotionem principis retinere. Manifeste etiam per dominum Albertum cancellarium[1] probatæ discretionis et religionis virum scire pot-

especially in the matter of the archbishop,

Experience will teach him the value of the king's friendship.

fo. 12 v°.

[1] Albert, cardinal priest of S. Laurence in Lucina, and chancellor of the apostolic see, was made cardinal deacon and cardinal priest by Hadrian IV., and chancellor by Alexander III. He was legate to absolve Henry for the murder of archbishop Thomas, in 1172. He became pope Gregory VIII. in 1187.

eritis, quam devotos nos in sua quondam perturbatione ecclesia Romana invenerit. Nec minus nos devotos vestris quoque temporibus inveniret, si nos juxta morem decessorum vestrorum gratia vestra respiceret. Illud autem pro vero noveritis, quod non sustinebimus, nec vos sustinere debetis, quod antiquæ dignitates temporibus nostris imminuantur, vel quod thesauri Cantuariensis ecclesiæ quos ei progenitores mei sive magni principes et populi contulerunt, propter rebellionem monachorum et inordinatos eorum discursus, in vestram pariter et nostram infamiam et in subversionem ecclesiæ principalis regni nostri, dissipentur. Sed nec deceret apostolicam dignitatem tanti viri tam laudabili proposito quod auctoritate vestra, assensu quoque nostro, et totius regni roborato, contraire, maxime cum pro certo sciamus illud non in damnum et depressionem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, sicut falso vobis suggestum esse audivimus, sed ad honorem potius et commoditatem ipsius multipliciter pertinere. Adhuc ergo pro eadem preces paternitati vestræ semel offerimus, volentes et hac vice certius experiri, quantum de vestra gratia sperare possimus.

A.D. 1187.

He reminds the pope of the proofs and of the importance of his friendship; he will not allow the rights of the archbishop to be transgressed by the monks.

The pope ought to be ashamed to contravene so good a work of so good a man.

In eadem forma cardinalibus.

LXIV. Honorio priori Gaufridus supprior.[1]

A.D. 1187. After July 25.

.Matt. x.27. Quod hactenus dictum est "in tenebris dicite in lumine, et "quod in aure auditis, prædicate super tecta."

's. xci. 6. Negotium hucusque perambulans in tenebris, in incursum versum est et dæmonium meridianum. Ecce enim ex parte domini regis prohibemur mandatis uti apostolicis. Præcipimur in exteris regionibus privilegia nostra domino regi exhibere, ut quæ voluerit teneant, et evacuentur quæ jusserit. Nihilominus ex parte ejusdem interdicitur nobis, ne in maneriis monachos ponamus aut ministros, nisi per archiepiscopum: quæ utique omnia ipsum procurasse, nemo qui dubitet, ad emolumentum temporale domino regi, et ecclesiæ Dei subversionem et detrimentum. In primo namque capitulo auctoritas domini papæ eliditur; in secundo, domino regi confertur. In tertio status ecclesiæ nostræ subvertitur; ut decedente archi-

The subprior informs the prior that the king has forbidden him to use the mandates. (No. lx.)

The archbishop is betraying the church to the king.

[1] This letter, with probably all the rest down to LXXII., was evidently written after the convent supposed Honorius to have returned to Verona, and should, therefore, follow No. LXXXII. The compiler appears to have grouped the letters here rather with a view to their subjects than to the exact sequence.

A.D. 1187. July.

episcopo omnia in manus regis devolvantur. Hoc ergo domino papæ ostendite, et quam citius potestis, consilium ejus super his et voluntatem rescribite. Nos autem interim, quicquid nobis accidat, per Dei gratiam, nihil faciemus, unde Cantuariensis ecclesia periculum possit incurrere, vel nos domini papæ indignationem promereri debeamus. De cætero, verbo opus non erit nec litterarum missionibus. Unum expetimus e duobus, ut vel in justitia exsurgat dominus papa et dissipentur inimici ejus, aut ecclesiam Dei det in direptionem. Quod si mandatum hoc modicitatis nostræ citra curiam vos invenerit, nulla ulterius occasione progressum remoremini, sed quam citissime illuc properetis. Nos enim in arcto positi sumus, et consilium expectamus suspensi. Gravia enim sunt quæ nos premunt, sed quæ imminent graviora. Minantur namque nos bonis omnibus spoliatos includere, et ne quis aliquando exeat vigilanter observare; pane nos tribulationis et aqua angustiæ macerare, si voluntati domini regis aliquatenus præsumpserimus contraire, et fortasse dum legitis, omnia hæc in nos fecerunt, in promissis hujus[modi] veriores. Scitis quod abbatibus indictum est ex parte domini regis ne in executione procedant. Quin et subsistunt omnes formidantes præter abbatem de Bello, quem quantum potestis excusetis.

He is determined not to yield, but the pope must show firmness.

Ps. lxviii. 1.

He wants advice.

1 Kings xxii. 27.

See No. lix.

After July 25.

LXV. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

The monks assure the pope of their determination.

Sicut vestræ jam pridem innotuit sanctitati, videntes ecclesiæ in qua divino officio deputati sumus subversionem imminere, cum non esset qui pro nobis ex adverso ascenderet, ipsi elegimus aut malitiæ quæ operatur resistere, aut certe nos objicere adversariis. Detrimentum itaque rerum passi et diminutionem, quia honestatem quoque ecclesiæ nostræ, nisi subventum esset, prævidimus perituram; audientiam vestram appellavimus, frivolam satis arbitrantes possessionum amissionem ad jacturam dignitatum. Extunc et modo de die graviora perpessi sumus, nec nos reverentia protectionis apostolicæ, sub qua nos et nostra omnia posuimus appellantes, aliquatenus defendere, vel jussionis vestræ virtus in statum quo tempore appellationis fuisse dinoscimur, potuit reformare. Nos tamen gratiam vestram multiplici prosequimur gratiarum actione, quia necessitatibus nostris clementer intendistis, nec defuit qui juberet, sed non erat qui faceret. Verum quoties apices pro nobis directi sunt, toties manus patris nostri contra nos aggravata est, et conditio nostra in aliquo facta deterior. Nunc autem demum cum de Bello, de Favresham et Sancti Augustini abbates mandatum vestrum, ut videbatur, mandare vellent

Ever since they appealed they have been persecuted.

They thank him for his favour, but it has increased their troubles.

executioni, et secundum tenorem litterarum vestrarum, quæ post appellationem ad vos interpositam, in præjudicium nostrum facta sunt, in statum pristinum reducere, justitiarius domini regis nobis scripsit in hæc verba. "Randulfus de Glanvilla, et cætera," *ut supra*. Quo accepto Londonias misimus ad dominum archiepiscopum, tunc temporis Londoniis positum, volentes ei, tanquam sedis apostolicæ legato, mandatum hujusmodi ostendere, et quid faciendum esset edoceri. Ipse vero nec videre voluit nec audire, dicens nihil ad eum pertinere, cum ipse non mandasset. Ad justitiarium ergo domini regis venientibus [1] indictum est ex parte domini regis, ut revocaremus priorem nostrum, aut suppriorem cum quinque vel sex fratribus mittamus ad ipsum regem in partibus transmarinis longe agentem, privilegia nostra exponere, ut videat et judicet. Inhibetur similiter ne res nostræ administrarentur nisi per archiepiscopum, nihilominus ne vel privilegiis utamur vel mandatis apostolicis, nisi domino rege requisito, alioquin ecclesia nostra bonis omnibus spoliabitur. Videt itaque discretio vestra et intelligit, quia jam res in eminenti est, quam miserabiliter opprimamur quibus nec sua suffragari permittitur justitia. Cum enim dominus archiepiscopus quocunque modo impetratis a sanctitate vestra in læsionem nostram utatur, etiam prohibitus, nos nullo modo mandatis vestris uti permittimur, et abbates nihilominus quod jubetis exequi prohibentur. Hoc sane est, pater sancte, quare ecclesia nova construitur, quare rerum nostrarum administratio aufertur, et alia multa contra nos subtiliter procurantur, ut in possessionibus et dignitatibus ecclesia Cantuariensis conteratur. Nunc ergo, domine, et pater reverende, utroque gladio percutimur, undique ferimur, et qui, si patrum suorum vestigia observaret, in capitis sui periculum oves sibi creditas tueri deberet, videt et dissimulat, immo, sicut dicunt et sentiunt, ipse omnia operatur. Filiis itaque in arcto positis, si auxilium impendi non potest, saltem consilium pietas paterna non deneget, ne animarum nostrarum detrimentum faciamus, certum habentes quoniam quantumcunque potestas instet et urgeat, nihil per Dei gratiam in hac parte faciemus, unde vel Dei indignationem incurrere debeamus, vel sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ fecisse injuriam comprobemur. Pia vota vestra, pater sancte, pietas divina promoveat. Ideo paginam hac vice tetendimus, quia nos in proximo credimus observandos arctius, ne vel nuncium vel litteras ad sanctitatem vestram dirigere valeamus.

A.D. 1187. July.

fo. 13 r°.

The justiciar has forbidden the abbots to execute the mandate. (No. lix.)

The archbishop refused to have anything to do with the mandate as legate.

The justiciar ordered them to recall the prior, or to send the subprior to the king in Normandy with their charters.

The archbishop is allowed to use the privileges granted him by the pope, but the convent is not.

[1] This is an account of the interview with Ranulf Glanvill, to which the monks were summoned on July 25. See No. LX., and Gervase, 1504.

A.D. 1187. After July 25.

LXVI. Idem Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo.

The monks rely on the favour of the bishop of Ostia.

Sedentes in valle plorationis et miseriæ, et nostræ Syon desolationem jugi lamentatione protestantes, tanto securius licet immeriti auribus vestræ benignitatis necessitates nostras intimamus, quanto specialius de vestræ dilectionis sinceritate fiduciam accepimus uberiorem. Cum igitur in vestræ devotionis constantia robur et anchoram sibi causa nostra defixerit, licet de vobis tanquam de nobis plenissimam reportemus confidentiam, vestris tamen universi et singuli provoluti genibus, tam super impenso, quam impendendo priori et fratribus nostris patrocinio, quas scimus et possumus vestræ referimus paternitati gratiarum actiones; humiliter et attentius exorantes, ne a fervore dilectionis quam erga Cantuariensem ecclesiam laudabiliter concepistis, aliquorum versutiis detrahentium velitis desistere; sed quod solius Dei intuitu et meræ liberalitatis præconio inchoare decrevisti, feliciori concludatis exitu, majori circa nos moti pietate, quia veniunt super nos mala de die in diem urgentiora, adeo ut quæ solet oppressos relevare appellatio, nobis solis accidat in cumulum doloris et incrementum: et quod mirabile est, et supra modum miserabile, litteræ domini papæ quantamcunque continentes æquitatem, si pro nobis facere videntur, statim ita annullantur, ut nullas penitus vires habeant, nec invenitur qui secundum eas velit vel audeat judicare. Ultimæ vero litteræ nostræ super novi ædificii prohibitione, quæ de communi cardinalium deliberatione et consilio emanaverant, ita suum consecutæ sunt officium, quod opus ligneum conversum est in lapideum, et qui prius fuerant ligni vectores, facti sunt lapidicæsores. Et ut completa sit omnis iniquitas, nobis publica potestas inhibet ne aliquo mandato domini papæ utamur aliquo modo nisi rege consulto, nec abbates quibus data est mandati apostolici executio, secundum tenorem litterarum procedant nisi similiter per regem. Nos quoque jubemur instrumenta nostra domino regi exhibere, ut quæ voluerit firmitatem obtineant, quæ autem decreverit, evacuentur. Ecce initium apostasiæ in Anglia. Dominus archiepiscopus quasi manus suas a sanguine nostro lavans coram populo, manu laica quod intendit operatur. Miseremini itaque, domine, miseremini nostri, et si nostra contemptibilis videtur parvitas, saltem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ non vilipendatur auctoritas. Valeat sancta paternitas vestra in Domino.

They thank him for it, and pray for its continuance.

The pope's mandate is without effect.

The last mandate has turned the archbishop's wooden church into stone.

The king's prohibition,

the beginning of apostasy in England.

fo. 13 v°.

S. Matt. xxvii. 24.

LXVII. Idem magistro Meliori cardinali.[1] A.D. 1187.

The monks thank cardinal Melior for his kindness to the prior,

Insigne bonitatis vestræ præconium in nostrorum promotionem negotiorum, sicut per priorem et fratres nostros nobis innotuit, resplenduit efficaciter, et vestri nominis etymologia[2] suum in causa miserorum officium realiter voluit, nullis meritis præcedentibus, adimplere. Unde non quas tenemur, sed quas possumus, vestræ liberalitati referimus gratiarum actiones, flexis genibus et voce lacrymosa supplicantes, quatenus solius Dei intuitu, pietate solita priori et fratribus nostris adesse dignemini, et in agendis suis patrocinium vestrum et consilium, ob reverentiam beati Thomæ martyris, diligenter velitis impendere, et quanto uberioris gratiæ de vestra concepimus devotione plenitudinem, tanto fiducialius deprecamur et audacius, ut sic vestræ protectionis gratia nos munitos experiamur, ne libertas ecclesiæ nostræ vestris patiatur diebus occasum, vel tantæ persecutionis immanitas adversus eam prævalere possit, aut impunita prætereat, quatenus ab Omnipotenti Deo præmium æternæ retributionis expectare debeatis, et nos de devotis omni tempore vestræ sinceritati devotiores existere teneamur et obligatiores.

and beg him to continue his favour.

LXVIII. Idem Radulfo Sancti Georgii ad Velum Aureum cardinali.[3]

The monks feel the cardinal's kindness to the prior.

Quam pio mentis affectu nostris pressuris et angustiis vestra compatiatur paternitas, non solum visibili præsumptionis argumento, verum etiam ipsius rei experti sumus evidentia. Certo certius siquidem per priorem et per fratres nostros intelleximus, ad vos opportune importune recurrentes, quod vos de die in diem recentiori studio alacrius insistentem, et in suis necessitatibus præcipuum experti sunt coadjutorem et patronum specialissimum. Quamvis igitur gratiæ impensæ minus simus sufficientes respondere, quia tamen nunc maxime opus est, genibus vestris inclinati obnixius supplicamus, quatenus ob gloriosi martyris Thomæ reverentiam, miserabilium causam personarum oculo benigniore respiciatis, et priori et fratribus nostris cum ad vos venerint, more solito vestrum diligenter et efficaciter impendere velitis consilium et

They ask for his advice and assistance.

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[1] Melior, cardinal priest of S. John and S. Paul, titulo Pammachii, made cardinal by Lucius III. in 1185.

[2] *etymologia*] ethimologia, MS.

[3] Radulfus Nigellus, made cardinal deacon of S. George ad Velum Aureum, by Lucius III., in 1184, and cardinal priest of S. Praxedes, by Clement III., in 1188.

A.D. 1187. auxilium, certum habentes, quod litteræ Romanæ sedis pro nobis urgentissimæ vel etiam sententiales, suum in nullo consequuntur vigorem, vel his diebus, ut credimus, consequentur. Opus namque novum quod prius erat ligneum erigitur lapideum, et ut subtilius et argumentosius mandatum elidatur apostolicum, non nomine archiepiscopi sed canonicorum, consurgit Damascus contra Jerusalem. Certatim affluunt canonici ad ædium suarum constructionem. Adversarii nostri de jure diffidentes ad sæcularem se conferunt potestatem, adeo ut, quod in injuriam redundat generalis ecclesiæ, nullo domini papæ mandato uti permittamur. Nunc ergo pro Deo et gloriosi martyris Thomæ reverentia, necessitati nostræ, immo et honori vestro intendite, quia vobis est titulo proprietatis accommodatum, personas confovere miserabiles, et depressos in suis angustiis potentiæ divitum et magnatum auferre. Valete.

The archbishop has shifted the burden of his new church on his clerks.

The enemy has betaken himself to the secular power.

In eundem modum aliis cardinalibus.

After July 25.

LXIX. Idem Honorio priori et sociis suis.

A negotio hactenus in tenebris perambulante, ad incursum et dæmonium pervenimus meridianum, cujus rei seriem expedit ut agnoscatis. Sicut domino priori significavimus, archiepiscopus, receptis litteris super operis cessatione, usque ad sententiam causæ, et aliis quibusdam capitulis, ut solet, obtemperavit, adeo ut opus ipsum etiam auctoritate apostolica prohibitum opere majore surgat quam prius. Capella prius ligneа ex lapidibus et cemento construitur. Clerici a tempore inhibitionis prædictæ domos suas certatim erigunt, cum nulla prius in loco fuisset. Litteræ vero domini papæ de non exigenda fraternitate causa illius operis, et prædicatoribus non admittendis, reverenter fere ubique receptæ sunt, et firmius, ut dicunt, servatæ. Qua de re dominus archiepiscopus vehementer commotus, conceptionem litterarum domino regi contra nos misit, satis, sicut dicitur et supra, malitiosam; petens ut vel eum a monachorum suorum infestatione liberaret, vel a terra sua exire permitteret. Circa tempus idem rumor erat redeuntium a curia, quod magistro Petro Blesensi instante, quasi nomine regis, quatenus novam illam ecclesiam fieri permitteret, dominus papa respondisset, "Quid hoc ad "regem?" Quem sermonem idem Petrus domino regi seriatim dicitur demandasse. Ex hoc verbo et litteris archiepiscopi de quibus præmisimus, dominus rex occasionem nactus, manifeste incanduit. Redeunte itaque nuncio domini regis, cum abbates dati executores diem ipsi archiepiscopo præfixissent quo mandatum apostolicum exequi deberent, litteras hujusmodi acce-

The monks inform the prior that the archbishop is proceeding with his new church

Ps. xci. 6.

The pope's letter on the brotherhood has been generally obeyed.

The archbishop has written to the king against the monks.

Peter of Blois has made the king more angry by repeating a speech of the pope.

fo. 14 r°.

pimus ; "Randulfus de Glanvilla," *ut supra*,[1] et cætera. Nos autem minus tutum arbitrantes suppriorem illuc mittere, vel eos quorum consilio conventus nititur, aut etiam instrumenta nostra potestati laicæ exhibere ; audivimus enim nos in omnibus vim passuros, personas scilicet alio transferendas et instrumenta tollenda : misimus duos fratres, Symonem thesaurarium et R. quondam beati Thomæ martyris similiter capellanum, rescribentes in hunc modum : "Carissimo domino "Randulfo de Glanvilla," et cætera, *ut supra*.[2] Sic ut supra videtis inhibitum est ne mandato uteremur apostolico. Sic ex parte domini regis abbatibus qui dati sunt executores interdictum est, ne in executione procederent, per fidem quam debent et sacramentum quod domino regi fecerunt : et mandatum est ipsis ut essent Londoniis in festo sancti Jacobi apostoli, et profecti sunt illuc domini regis voluntatem audire, cum mandatum domini papæ in vigilia ipsius apostoli exequi debuissent. Hæc dominum archiepiscopum procurasse nemo qui dubitet. Hoc sane est quod alicui ex fratribus quondam præostensum fuit. Duplici enim gladio manifeste nititur in subversionem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, et utroque funesto. Justos injusta ligat excommunicatione. Justitiam impedit laica potestate. Ecce cujus consilio et qua intentione fundata fuerit nova illa ecclesia, ut videlicet ibi sint episcopi quasi cardinales, archiepiscopus sedeat quasi papa, et ibi omnis causa subsistat, vel ad curiam regis procedat, et ibi terminetur, sicut in primo capitulo pro quo passus est beatus Thomas martyr. Hoc est quod archiepiscopus intendit, rex conatur efficere, episcopi approbant ; ideo proculdubio ut possit de sub jugo sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ collum excutere. Idcirco omnes episcopi et rex ipse, ut ipsi dicunt, debent ibi canonizari. Caveat ergo dominus papa Cantuariensi ecclesiæ ; caveat Romanæ, caveat sibi, quia ecce auctoritas ejus in Anglia evacuata est. Præcepit enim dominus rex privilegia nostra ei exhiberi, ut quæ placuerint teneant, quæ voluerit robur amittant. Ergo de voluntate regis domini papæ pendebit auctoritas ; administrationem rerum nostrarum nos habere prohibet, et domino archiepiscopo cedere jubet omnia, ut omnia in manus ejus devolvantur. Ad summum, interdicit ne aliqua perquisitione domini papæ utamur, donec cum eo locuti fuerimus ; et cum loquemur, præcipiet quod vult, cui si non obtemperaverimus, actum est de nobis ; si audierimus, dominus papa, quoad nos, potestate privatus est. Absit autem ut Deo vel domino papæ faciamus

A.D. 1187. July. We have been forbidden to use the mandate.

Our answer to this.

The mandate ought to have been executed on the 24th of July.

(Fulfilment of a vision. Gervase, 1482.)

The real tendency of Baldwin's measures is to carry out the Constitutions of Clarendon. (*Const.* i. Gerv. 1386.)

He wants to escape the yoke of the Roman church,

He and the king are playing into one another's hands.

The pope must be on his guard.

[1] Nos. LIX., LX.

[2] No. LXI.

A.D. 1187. July.

injuriam. Si jusserit dominus papa, privilegia exhibebimus inspicienda domino regi et corrigenda. Videat ipse. Certissimum habemus, quod nisi citius ab Anglia urgentissimo mandato archiepiscopus evocatus fuerit, ecclesia Anglicana periclitabitur, quia jam fit discessio. Si meruit Stigandus deponi quia consensit in schisma, quid faciendum ei qui schisma inchoat? Quid enim apertius? De fratrum consilio jussus est cessare a constructione ecclesiæ: fortius insistit per clericos. Indictum est ne nos indebite vexet. Per principes tyrannidem majorem exercet, et possessiones invadit; dignitates ecclesiæ nostræ per novam illam de facili ablaturus, quo et jam possessiones ipsas transtulit ex parte, ut xenia et ecclesias; et oblationes dare conatur, et alia similiter. Ecce, quis auctor et quæ utilitas structuræ illius: nondum lapis unus in ædificio positus est, et jam ista in possessionibus et dignitatibus suis est dejecta, et jam palam asserit archiepiscopus, quoniam de possessionibus ecclesiæ totum ad regem pertinet, ad ecclesiam nil. Nam cum legatione fungeretur, omnes qui de prædiis alienatis vel ablatis conquerebantur, misit ad regem, dicens ad ipsum solum hujusmodi pertinere. Revera si quid virtutis habet dominus papa modo apparebit. Nisi enim vel modo gladium Petrus eduxerit, Christus captus est, et ab Anglia proscriptus. Non timeat nimis dominus papa regem, jam marcidum et in peccato suo morientem. Ne discat filius ejus et hæres ex ipsa patris impunitate peccare, et ecclesiam Dei conculcare. Si sermo fuerit de libera rerum nostrarum administratione, rogate ut inquirat dominus papa rei veritatem per eos abbates[1] qui priores fuerunt in ecclesia Cantuariensi, quid consuetudinis fuerit in ipsa. Si enim jussi fuerint veritatem dicere et in virtute obedientiæ, non tacebunt, et valentiora erunt eorum testimonia requisita quam oblata, alioquin misissemus vobis ea. Testimonia autem abbatum de operis illius, quod nostræ ecclesiæ fiet præjudicio, habere non possumus, quia regem timent, operis auctorem. De cætero negotium nostrum domino papæ committendum erit, quia suum factum est, et ipsius est morbo venienti, immo jam præsenti, occurrere et mederi. Si executio facienda est, vel in aliquem ferenda sententia, de abbate de Bello confidite, dummodo ei quod facturus est injungatur expresse, et virtute obedientiæ. In abbate de Favresham spes est, si similiter jubeatur, parva;

The archbishop ought to be summoned away from England.

Why should he not be deposed?

The impossibility of reconciling the interests of the new church and the convent.

Let the pope inquire of the old priors of Canterbury what the truth is.

fo. 14 v°.

The monks point out who would be satisfactory executors of the mandate.

[1] Namely, Odo, abbot of Battle, prior 1167–1175; Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, prior 1175–1177; Alan, abbot of Tewkesbury, prior 1179–1186.

de abbate Sancti Augustini nulla. Speramus similiter de magistro Feramino,[1] multum; de episcopis vero paucis sperandum et parum. De Cyscestrensi,[2] de Lincolniensi[3] magis. De Bathoniensi[4] plurimum, quia sicut audivimus in proximo transfretabit malitiam temporis declinare, ne videat quæ hodie fiunt in Anglia. Abbates de Favresham et Sancti Augustini nec mandatum domini papæ exequi voluerunt, nec se excusare. Abbas de Bello paratus fuit. Ex hoc quoque domino papæ ostendite; litteras quas mittit super excusatione sua secretius porrigite, providentes ne ei devotio nocere possit quam erga Cantuariensem habet ecclesiam.

A.D. 1187. July. Master Feramin, and the bishops of Chichester, Lincoln, and Bath may be trusted.

LXX. Amicus Amico.

Paternitati vestræ uberiores refero gratiarum actiones, quod parvitatem meam litteris vestris jam semel et iterum dignati estis visitare. In quibus cum singula verba dolore et mœrore plena perspicerem, quid inde aliud nisi dolorem mœroremque conciperem? Nihil enim aliud amico propinare potuistis, quam quod commiscuit vobis ipse qui cibavit vos felle et absinthio. Non modica tamen in calce litterarum data est mihi consolatio, viso scilicet quod fit inter nos unitas fraternitatis, et quod hi qui videbantur aliquando non recte incedere, et gregem Domini perturbare, modo ambulaverint vobiscum in veritate. Sed et omnes audito hoc verbo, et de domino priore quod ita strenue egerit, præ gaudio admirati sunt dicentes, "Quia hæc est mutatio dexteræ Excelsi, et quia Deus visitavit "plebem Suam, et magnificavit misericordiam Suam nobis- "cum." Maxime vero viri religiosi causam vestram magnis laudibus attollendo justificant, et precibus Deo commendant, glorificantes Deum Qui reservavit Sibi viros his diebus in Cantuariensi ecclesia, qui sanctorum patrum suorum sequentes vestigia, ausi sunt ascendere ex adverso, et opponere se murum pro domo Domini, videntibus cæteris injustitiam et tacentibus, qui videbantur columnæ ecclesiæ esse. Sic inquiunt, "sic decet filios Cantuariensis ecclesiæ agere, et "exempla ad alios transmittere, qui tantorum patrum quos "in præsentia habent, docti sunt exemplo, et felici patro-

A letter of sympathy.

Great admiration is felt for the firmness of the prior and brethren,

Ps. lxxvii. 10. S. Luke vii. 16. S. Luke i. 58.

Ezek. xiii. 5. Galat. ii. 9.

They are setting a noble example for future times.

[1] Master Feraminus, Fairemannus, or Firminus, was master of the Hospital of S. James at Canterbury. See Battely's Somner's *Canterbury*, part i. p. 41, and App. p. 9, part ii. p. 173.

[2] *Cyscestrensi*] Seffrid, 1180–1204.

[3] *Lincolniensi*] S. Hugh, 1186–1200.

[4] *Bathoniensi*] Reginald Fitz-Jocelin, 1174–1191.

A.D. 1187. " cinio. Corroborant enim illos eorum exempla, et protegunt
They have not yet come up to the measure of their fathers. " orationes." Et adjicientes inferunt, "Nondum tamen ad " mensuram patrum suorum pervenerunt; quorum alii sunt " proscripti, alii de regno fugati, alii carcere et vinculis " arctioribus coarctati, alii pretiosam mortem pro ecclesiæ " defensione amplectentes, magna posteris suis reliquerunt " exempla. Quorum intuentes gloriosum exitum, imitamini
If you now retire from the contest you are lost. " constantiam." Tandem una omnium sententia est, quod si etiam hac vice gladium vestrum reposueritis in vaginam, recedentes a proposito vestro, et inermes vos feceritis, non est de cætero unde sperare possitis auxilium, sed eritis in conculcationem iis qui quærunt animas vestras, et in opprobrium sempiternum. Sed et sedes vestra transferetur ad Aquilonem, nec erit qui de cætero audeat vel mutire, cum videritis sancta vestra ab omnibus conculcari. Quod si forte
Expense is not to be feared. dixeritis, quia timemus expensas ad tantum negotium exequendum, cæteri quidem non timebunt oblationes vestras vel cætera quæcunque invenerint manus eorum, abunde et pro libitu suo expendere vel dissipare. Et cum devoraverint omnia, nec sic quidem satiati, [murmurabunt donec fuerint pœnis vestris saturati. Consultius ergo videtur, oblationes et omnes thesauros ecclesiæ, si forte Romanorum improbitas paucioribus satiari non potuerit, pro ecclesiæ libertate tuenda effundere, quam hæc omnia cum ipsa libertate amittere, vel quod magis timendum est, ne ipsa ecclesia vos amittat. Jam
It is reported that you are to be dispersed among other convents. enim rumor ad nos usque pervenit, quod diffinitum est aliquos ex vobis per loca diversa dispergere, ut vel sic consilio vestro debilitato, et viribus dispersis, possit perficere quod intendit. Dissipet consilium istud cum cæteris Qui dissipavit consilium Achitofel. Quod si hoc aliquando attentaverit, non erit statim exeundum, nec etiam pro aliqua quam inferre potuerit sententia, nisi more prædonis quasi captivos gladio vinctos extraxerit. Ad ultimum timemus, ut quos non potuerit superare
There is a fear that some will be won over. impetu furoris, afficiat blanditiis et promissis, seducendo primum eos spe inani, quorum fidem novimus infirmorum. Sed
fo. 15 r°. Dominus confirmet cor vestrum spiritu consilii et fortitudinis, ut possitis opere et sermone corda dolentium consolari, et infirmorum pusillanimitatem confortare. Præterea diligenter
Be careful to let nothing be done against the prior. attendite vobis, ne quoquomodo aliquid statuatis contra priorem vestrum et fratres, qui posuerunt animas suas pro vobis, nec fœdus aliquod ineatis absque eorum conniventia. Quod si feceritis, quod absit, nescio si poterit ecclesia vestra ab hujus infamiæ nota in æternum purgari. Movet autem quam plurimos hoc quod fecistis contra fratrem Haymonem, qui solus pugnam istam aggressus est pro vobis, in quo

famam vestram, quod dolendo dico, plurimum denigrastis. A.D. 1187.
Et si simile aliquid iterum fieri contigerit, erit novissimus
S. Matt. xxvii. 64. error pejor priore. De maneriis autem vestris de quibus, sicut dicitur, dissaisiti estis, vel si quid aliud innovatum fuerit post exitum prioris vestri, nihil consultius agi posse videtur iis qui recte sapiunt, quam ut significetis per expeditissimum cursorem iis qui apud curiam sunt fratribus. State interim viriliter agentes in Domino, nihil metuentes, si intumescentibus fluctibus navis Petri concuti videatur ad tempus. Concuti enim potest, perire non potest, quia Christus in ea et cum ea est usque ad consummationem sæculi. Qui si dormire videtur pro modica fide discipulorum probanda, excitandus est precibus, et clamore vehementi suscitandus,
S. Matt. viii. 26. nec desistendum aliquando, donec surgens imperet ventis et mari, ut fiat tranquillitas magna. Non ergo timeatis a facie eorum qui tribulant vos. Plures enim et fortiores sunt qui vobiscum sunt quam qui contra vos. Omnes autem viri religiosi, quotquot circa nos sunt, devotissime causam vestram Deo vocibus commendant. Sed in extremis finibus religionis, pauperum, orphanorum, viduarum, et omnium pariter vox una est; "Deus liberet matrem nostram Cantuariensem ecclesiam "de manibus opprimentium se." Ipse vero Cujus fidem experti estis, aliquando stat anxius, et audit agonem vestrum non minori zelo modo quam prius, manum impositurus operi, si viderit temporis opportunitatem. Quid autem inter hæc mihi agendum sit, peto a vestra paternitate mihi significari, cum aliquem de partibus illis huc advenire contigerit. Non tædeat vos, quæso, verbositatis meæ, sed et si quid minus sapienter dictum est, date veniam. Locutus sum enim in amaritudine animæ meæ, nec potui cohibere spiritum præ dolore concepto. Bene valete, ut nos melius valeamus per vos, et Spiritus consilii sit vobiscum.

Your conduct to brother Haymo was indefensible.

Counsels to courage.

All pray for you.

LXXI. Conventus Cantuariensis cuidam speciali amico suo.

Audivimus quomodo steteritis. Accepimus consolationem quam maternis impendistis miseriis. Liberet Deus oculos vestros a lacrymis, pedes vestros a lapsu. Nunc ergo negotium hactenus perambulans in tenebris, in dæmonium versum est meridianum, ut acutius intuemini. Erudita est discretio vestra quatenus patri debeat, quid matri, quantum veritati. Credimus quia si esset qui pro domo Israel ex adverso ascenderet, solus non staret. Viri enim fortes nobis compatiuntur, quibus tamen nondum id audaciæ est aut virtutis, ut manifesti fiant. Horum autem manus, si sit qui doceat ad prælium, melius dimicabunt. Talem credimus vicinum nobis et magis astrictum, minimum ex vobis sacerdotem, qui crebrius ostrea

Reply of the convent to a letter of sympathy.

Ps. cxvi. 8.
Ps. xci. 6.

Their friends want courage and a leader.

A.D. 1187. captat. De quibusdam aliis non dubitamus. Transmarinos omnes nobis speramus affuturos. Audeat pro matre filii devotio, "nec petere exemplum, sed dare digna fuit." Rescriptum litterarum vobis mittemus quas accepimus, pro Dei et gloriosi martyris reverentia petentes, ut de industria vobis data defectui nostro consilium et auxilium impertiamini. Valete. Quam citius, si placet, puerum dimittite.

Ovid, *Ep. ex Ponto*, II., iii. 32.

LXXII. Idem Ricardo Wintoniensi episcopo.[1]

The monks thank the bishop of Winchester for his continued kindness to them.

Satis videt discretio vestra et acutius intelligit, quomodo mater vestra Cantuariensis ecclesia his diebus in tristitia sedeat et mœrore, dum honestatis suæ miserabile sibi videt imminere dispendium. Quam tamen cum nec alii videre audeant, gratia vestra crebra beneficiorum collatione visitare non desinit. Quocirca pietati vestræ supplicamus nos servi ejus omnes et singuli, quibus exhibitio operis certitudo est dilectionis, quatenus miserias ejus misericorditer libeat intueri, ne locus quem Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ intuitu, lumine corporali tam magnifice illustratis, temporibus vestris debitæ dignitatis incurrat detrimentum, et gloria ejus habeatur in confusionem. Quod utique fieri non dubitamus sive sciens agat venerabilis pater noster sive nesciens, si quod intendit sortiatur effectum. Valeat paternitas vestra semper in Domino.

They are sure that he will not connive at their injuries.

LXXIII. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori.[2]

Between June 23 and July 25.

Notificamus tibi quod nos Johannem de Bochinge et Radulfum de Orpintuna monachos, propter manifestam eorum inobedientiam et intolerabilem præcepti nostri contemptum, excommunicavimus, mandantes tibi et firmiter injungentes, quatenus ipsos tanquam incorrigibiles et inobedientes habeas excommunicatos, et a fratribus tuis, donec nobis de excessu suo regulariter satisfecerint, præcipias et nuncies evitandos. Valete.

The archbishop informs the subprior fo. 15 v°. that he has excommunicated two of the brethren.

LXXIV. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

Between June 23 and July 25.

Præsumptuosum videri potest, quod sanctitatem vestram tenuitas nostra toties compellare audet, nisi necessitas quæ im-

The monks are sorry to be troublesome to the pope.

[1] Richard Toclive, 1174–1188.

[2] This letter and the following one, as appears from the latter, were written whilst the archbishop was on his visitation in Wales, after the 23rd of June, on which day the pope's mandate was delivered to him at Shrewsbury, and before the prohibition from the king arrived at Canterbury. They should be placed probably between Nos. LXXVI and LXXVII.; and these, with all that follow down to LXXXII., should precede No. LXIV.

perat nos excusare sufficeret. Cæterum et sollicitudo pastoralis officii quam suscepistis nobis confidentiam præstat, et fervor justitiæ quo vos accendat Qui ministros suos facit ignem urentem. In causa enim quam agimus, dum judicis attendimus æquitatem, judicium formidare non possumus. Nam ut coram Deo sit dicere, et cui mentiri nefas ducimus in præsentia sanctitatis vestræ, unum petimus, quod præ Dei timore dissimulare non audemus, ut Cantuariensis ecclesia in statu solito bono et recto possit permanere. Cæterum quominus gravet manum suam super nos pater noster et dominus archiepiscopus, nec appellatio efficit ad vos interposita, nec apostolicæ munimen protectionis. Ecce enim, post litteras vestras susceptas quas misistis, ut, donec de causa cognita cognosceretis, in constructione novæ quam juxta nos cœpit desisteret ecclesiæ, post mandatum etiam vestrum, de iis quæ post appellationem in præjudicium nostrum fecerat in statum pristinum revocandis, duos e fratribus, viros utique honestissimos, qui rerum nostrarum exteriorem curam agebant, et in gradu suo tam prudenter quam fideliter ministrabant, nec in capitulo, ut moris est monasticæ professionis, nec extra, vel conventos, excommunicavit, et nobis cum longe positus legatione fungeretur in Guallia[1] arctius devitandos denunciavit. Quod et alia quæ etiam post appellationem passi sumus gravamina, tanto utique videntur graviora, quanto ab eo inferuntur qui pater noster est et protector esse debuit. Verum et hoc doloribus nostris adjicitur, quod nisi nos Veritas liberaverit, quomodo liberari valeamus non videmus, cum veneranda jussionis vestræ majestas nondum vel ad tempus liberare prævaluerit. Quia enim abbates, quibus mandatum est, juxta quod mandastis, sententiam in priorem et fratres post appellationem ad vos interpositam etiam publice in multitudine magna clericorum et laicorum prolatam, denunciaverunt non tenere, ita contumeliis et minis affecti sunt ut ulteriora exequi reformident. Verumtamen et operi quod auctoritate vestra interdictum est, ne procedat donec quid de ipso fieri debeat statuatis, adhuc æque insistunt ac prius. Verbum autem de fraternitate quam causa illius dominus archiepiscopus constituit, non observanda, usque ad unum divites et pauperes animo læto et aure erecta percipiunt, tanto utique ex eo lætiores quanto matrem suam Cantuariensem ecclesiam magna amplectentes devotione, de alterius constructione majori mœrore afficiuntur. Sanctitatis ergo vestræ genibus obvoluti, supplicamus omnes et singuli, quatenus filiorum oppressioni pietas paterna intendat,

A.D. 1187. July.

Ps. civ. 4.

They pray that the state of their church may be restored.

After the receipt of the papal letters (June 10 and 23,) the archbishop has excommunicated two of them, without regard to their rule. (No. lxxiii.)

The abbots were afraid to execute the second mandate.

The mandate about the brotherhood has been observed.

[1] *Guallia*] Gallia, MS., corrected, in the margin.

A.D. 1187. July. quia nisi citius venit nobis adjutorium, vita nostra in dolore deficiet. Deus conservet vitam vestram in tempora longiora.

LXXV. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis.

The monks thank the cardinals for their favour.

Gratias agimus gratiæ vestræ de gratia quam prior et fratres nostri se in oculis vestris gratulantur invenisse. Quæ quidem res tanto majorem vobis gloriam in conspectu hominum comparavit et meritum, quantum nulla nostra præcesserint merita, de mera dinoscitur procedere caritate et zelo justitiæ. Ut enim conscientias nostras paternitati vestræ patefaciamus ad purum,

They only want their rights.

coram Deo loquimur, nihil aliud petimus quam ut debita possimus pace gaudere, et res pauperum in solita integritate persistere, similiter parati, si detur facultas, domini archiepiscopi patris nostri ac nostras injurias prosequi et jura conservare. Cæterum quia quocunque instinctu nondum lis inter nos mota conquievit, nec adhuc manum suam cohibet a vexatione nostra,

They beg the cardinals to continue to support them.

caritati vestræ omnes supplicamus attentius, quatenus sicut cœpistis pro amore Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ reverentia, justitiam nostram fovere perseveretis, ut nos vobis obligatiores et officiosi debeamus existere, et vos cum justitia convertetur Ps. xciv. 15. in judicium extremo examine, justitiæ mercedem reportetis. Valeat sanctitas vestra semper in Domino.

LXXVI. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis.[1]

Early in June.

Fecimus quod mandastis per H. puerum nostrum, quocunque gravamine, vos providete diligentius, ut si alias mutuum

fo. 16 r°.

acceperitis, quod apud nos fiat solutio, propter viarum pericula et transferendi difficultatem. Nolite tamen de sumptibus

The archbishop contemns the pope's mandates.

timere, dummodo possitis negotium susceptum adimplere. Rescripta enim quæ impetratis et domini papæ mandata archiepiscopus nec attendit, statim cum porriguntur de falsa appellans suggestione, et in voluntate sua perdurans, confidens in Ps. cxlvi. 2. principibus et in filiis hominum. Revera nisi dominus papa sibi caverit et ecclesiæ Dei in opere isto quod archiepiscopus

Secret words of the archbishop of Rouen.

intendit erigere, etiam sacerdotium in manu regis concludetur in Anglia, et de Cantuariensi actum est ecclesia, sicut audivimus Rothomagensem archiepiscopum[2] in conclavi dixisse cum intimo suspirio, qui secretorum domini regis conscius est, ut scitis; "Certe," inquit, "nisi Dominus custodierit et sancti

[1] This letter appears to be an answer to Nos. L. and LI.

[2] Walter of Coutances, bishop of Lincoln, 1183; archbishop of Rouen, 1184–1207.

Ps. cxxvii. 1. " patroni Cantuariensis ecclesiæ evigilaverint, actum est de A.D. 1187. July.
" ea, nec est qui de manu perditionis eam possit eripere;" et annectens, " nolo ut hoc verbum sciatur. Quam cito factæ " fuerint apud Hakintune aliquæ domiciunculæ, non laudarem " ut monachi extra septa ecclesiæ suæ aliquam faciant pro- " cessionem." Perspicue videtis quid in his verbis voluerit significare; certe ejectionem nostram, quam omnes timent et dolent, quamvis nemo loqui audeat. Cæterum, licet nemo vim inferat, cum sint in civitate modica quatuor conventuales ecclesiæ, si quinta illa facta fuerit quæ ex solis divitibus est et potentibus, quorum multa supellex et sequela plurima, acerba coemptio compellet nos hinc migrare. Ex parte jam cognoscimus, et ex parte prophetamus. Verumtamen mirum est si dominus papa nostri non miseretur, quod non prospicit successoribus domini Cantuariensis, quorum conditio miserabiliter læditur in hoc opere. Poterant enim archiepiscopi Cantuarienses hactenus clericos suos ditare pro voluntate, unumquemque secundum suam virtutem ad quinquaginta, ad sexaginta, ad centum libratas vel ducentas. Nunc autem cum præbendam unam dederint, alia eidem dare non possunt. Unde facti clerici sine spe percipiendi ad alios dominos demigrabunt, nec erit qui ejus assistat consiliis, vel ei assideat, unde poterit Anglicanæ ecclesiæ periculum imminere. Nec credatis munimenta aliqua domini papæ posse nos ab illa ecclesia, si facta fuerit, defensare. Nihil est: melius est nobis hinc discedere, quam diem quo fiat illa ecclesia expectare. Unde si quocunque modo decreverit eam dominus papa fieri, nos ante tribunal Supremi Judicis ipsum noverit appellare, et vos, si eum timore regio sive quacunque ex causa sententiam hujusmodi dare contigerit, nomine nostro Christum appellare, nulla ratione consentientes ut fiat. Nullo autem modo, sicut alias mandavimus, melius poterit Dei indignationem avertere et gratiam omnium mortalium sibi in hac causa comparare, quam si effecerit ut ecclesia nostra ante illius inceptionem perficiatur, dedicetur, et corpus gloriosi martyris sublevetur. Hoc nemo erit qui non approbet, etiam cui displicebit, et si factum fuerit nobis et adversariis nostris satisfactum erit. Princeps non obloquitur, quamvis offensus, archiepiscopus similiter, et orbis terrarum gratulabitur. Huic petitioni insistite, huic totum impendite, justa enim videtur et favorabilis. Alioquin dum illa nondum incepta fiet, ista nondum perfecta corruet. Faciat dominus papa, non tantum præcipiat, archiepiscopus enim quamvis jussus non faciet. Deinde necesse est ut injungeret hoc dominus papa Bathoniensi et Lincolniensi episcopis vel aliis personis, ut solemniter opus inter-

These words clearly import our expulsion.

1 Cor. xiii. 9.

The dignity of the see of Canterbury would be impaired by these measures.

If the pope should decide in favour of the archbishop, the monks appeal to the Supreme tribunal.

They show what a sound decision should be; that the new church should not be begun until the old one is completed.

Let the pope commit the sen-

A.D. 1187. tence to the bishops of Lincoln and Bath.

dicerent, apostolica auctoritate, sub interminatione anathematis facta in omnes qui opus ipsum aut facient aut juvabunt, donec istud factum sit: non quod illud postea facturum sit, sed poterit nos Dominus aliquo modo respicere antequam istud perficiatur. Sciatis nihil omnino actum esse quamdiu negotium istud supererit agendum.

LXXVII. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis.

Between June 23 and July 25.

The monks remind the prior of their intention to persevere.

Meminit caritas vestra quomodo videntes Cantuariensis ecclesiæ desolationem imminere, et Spectatoris Qui astat desuper oculos formidantes, decrevimus pro domo Domini ex adverso ascendere, et si datum esset, aut hostem repellere irruentem, aut certe magis mori in bello, quam videre mala gentis nostræ et sanctorum. Hic se virtus vestra exposuit, nec enim abscondi potest civitas in monte posita, omnium S. Matt. v. 14. nostrum in se onus suscepit, priorque campum ingressus, utpote moræ impatiens, hostem provocavit ad pugnam. Quocirca colorem optimum magis mutatum esse miramur, et cum nunc tandem instructiores procedant adversarii, vos a curia digressum, ad regem converti: pace vestra sit dicere, non possumus satis admirari, quod rebus sic se habentibus, et infecto negotio quod suscepistis, ut audivimus, de reversione tractatis. Ad quod si cujuscunque pollicitis, quocunque modo, consenseritis, ut videlicet Angliæ vos reddatis, et vos seducti estis, et de nobis actum esse noveritis. Indulgete quod dicimus, perturbatione animi et nimio mœrore loquentes; si sic redieritis, non modo Cantuariensis ecclesia, sed Anglicana tota destructionem suam vobis perpetuam imputabit. Misimus nuncium ad vos Veronam.[1] Misimus Cluniacum. Mittimus Turonis, nesciens prorsus ubi sitis vel quid agatis. Frater noster H. reversus est ad curiam; litteræ domini papæ nihil penitus nobis conferunt. Archiepiscopus post mandatum apostolicum et præceptum, ut cesset a vexatione nostra et reformet illata gravamina, Johannem de Bochinge et Radulfum de Orpentun, excommunicavit, et per parochiales ecclesias excommunicatos denunciari jussit et a nobis evitari, nos omnes nisi fallimur involuturus. Si communicamus, sententiam incidimus; si deferimus, rerum nostrarum administrationem amisimus, et ipse habet propositum non modo in hoc, sed similiter in omnibus

They are astonished that he has left the Roman court.

They cannot write with calmness.

fo. 16 v°.

They have sent to him at Verona, to Cluny and Tours.

The archbishop has excommunicated two of the brethren.

[1] The messenger directed to Verona met Honorius on his return to England at Vercelli. Gervase, 1497.

aliis. Archiepiscopus postquam jussus est ut ab opere desistat, nunc primo opere cementario insistit. Valete, et misereamini nostri. A.D. 1187.

LXXVIII. Honorius prior Conventui Cantuariensi. July.

Fratres carissimi, non possumus non moveri quoniam moti estis propter recessum nostrum a curia, cum dilecto fratri nostro Haymoni serio injunximus, ut causam et modum nostri recessus, et quorum consilio recessimus, vobis plenius explanaret. Nec credimus quod per incuriam omiserit quod ei tam diligenti mentis affectu injunctum fuit. Cæterum miramur discretionem vestram nobis talia mandata destinasse, quasi videritis nos a debita constantia, sive ab instantia causæ nostræ velle declinare. Sed ut certius illud metuentibus conferam solatium, totum a primo [ad] ultimum nostrum vobis exponam propositum. Quod nos per gratiam Ipsius Qui nos animavit ad pugnam, et potens est dare victoriam; dum vitalis spiritus in mortali corpore nostro palpitaverit, consilio fretus vestræ dilectionis, in sanctitatis vestræ orationum adjutus suffragiis, nequaquam deficiam donec perduxerit ad bravium, Qui movit ad cursum. Currite ergo ut incepistis et comprehendetis: state in fide, viriliter agite et confortamini, quia humilibus dabit Dominus fortitudinem et gratiam, et retribuet abundanter facientibus superbiam. Omnia vero quæ super causa nostra post discessum nostrum gesta sunt in curia, magister Damianus[1] vobis viva voce plenius explanabit. Cui et domino suo, abbati de Burc,[2] multimodas gratiarum actiones cum summa diligentia persolvatis. Ipse namque summo studio et cura consilium et auxilium necessarium in causis nostris agendis nobis, in quantum potuit, exhibuit. Valete.

The prior, in answer to the convent (No. LXXVII.), is sorry to hear of their dismay at his return.

He is astonished at the terms in which they have written to him.

He is determined to persevere in the defence of the church.

1 Cor. ix. 24. 1 Cor. xvi. 13. Psalm xxxi. 23.

Master Damian will explain what has been done in the court of Rome.

LXXIX. Honorius prior Gaufrido suppriori. July.

Dilectioni fraternitatis vestræ volumus innotescere, nos de consilio amicorum nostrorum apud Suessionem moram facere, et ibi expectare nuncios in brevi, ut speramus, venturos a curia, qui nobis debent significare ex parte fratrum nostrorum, et aliorum quorum consilio a curia recessimus et in negotio nostro hucusque usi sumus, de quibus etiam certam reportamus fidu-

The prior informs the subprior that he is staying at Soissons, waiting for news from the court of Rome.

[1] Master Damian's narrative is probably that given in Gervase, *Chron.* 1497, 1498.

[2] Benedict, abbot of Peterborough.

A.D. 1187. July. He is quite willing to return.

ciam, utrum expediat nos redire ad curiam an non. Quia hoc indubitanter vos scire desideramus, si oporteret nos centies ire ad curiam et redire, ita tamen ut finitum pro infinito accipiatis, nunquam in Angliam redire proposuimus, nisi de consilio vestro et vocatione, perfectoque negotio ecclesiæ nostræ. Hæc enim instantia nostra est quotidiana in orationibus nostris coram Domino Jesu Christo, ut id ipsum det vobis sapere, id ipsum sentire, et desiderare, quatenus in hoc proposito firmiter simul stemus in Christo. Cæterum supra modum miramur, quare Haymonem fratrem nostrum cum tanta festinatione ad curiam remisistis, antequam certum responsum recepissetis super litteris domini papæ, quæ domino archiepiscopo per illum transmissæ erant. Sed quoniam de voluntate vestra et consilio hoc esse intelleximus, ipsum ad curiam progredi permisimus. Unde oportet ut responsum domini archiepiscopi super eisdem litteris quam citius poteritis nobis transmittatis, ne aliquid quod falsitatis redargui possit ex parte nostra in facie curiæ proponatur. Responsum quoque litterarum domini papæ, quæ regi Anglorum pro nobis et ecclesia nostra directæ fuerant, nobis mittere non omittatis. Præterea super his et aliis omnibus quæ ecclesiæ nostræ expedire noverit discretio vestra, nobis per litteras vestras significare velitis. Parati enim sumus per gratiam Dei ire ad quæ nos miserit Dominus, et quæ mandaverit nobis fraternitatis vestræ dilectio pro utilitate et defensione ecclesiæ nostræ pro viribus nostris exequemur. Bene valete in Domino.

He wonders that they sent brother Haymo back so quickly to the court of Rome.

They are to send him an account of the archbishop's conduct on receipt of the mandate.

LXXX. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis.[1]

A.D. 1187. Between June 23 and July 25.

De consilio forte saniori processisse intelligimus quod a curia recessistis. Sed audaciæ imputamus quod, cum potens ille prope sit in partibus illis, tantum accessistis. Si autem vocaverit et non veneritis, ignem contra nos accendistis. Si vos ad vocantem contuleritis, actum est de nobis: forte erit etiam difficile vos excusare de transitu vestro, conscientia satis excusatos, qui moram tantam in terra feceritis aliena, et ipsum prope positum non videritis. Cavete vobis et cautius agite. Dominus archiepiscopus ad appellationem convolavit, in propria persona eam prosecuturus, et in proximo, sicut pro certo audivimus, transfretabit, ad regem iturus ante omnia. Qui,

The monks doubt the prudence of the prior in venturing so near the king.

fo. 17 r°.

He will have to act very cautiously.

The archbishop has appealed, and is going abroad.

[1] The following three letters seem to have been written at the same time, in answer to Nos. LXXVIII. and LXXIX., the monks being uncertain where the prior was to be found.

nisi fallimur, ut ei impediat progressum ad curiam, vos voce blanda ad se evocabit. Sed consilium nostrum est ut ad loca ulteriora vos secretius transferatis, ne vos mandatum ejus comprehendat, ubi quasi in via positos, tanquam urgentius mandatum receperitis revertendi ad curiam. Nolite terreri. Res in augmento est. Majora vos pro Christo manent certamina. Estote animo forti et viriliter præliamini bella Domini. Miramini quod tam subito, tam cito, fratrem nostrum H. remisimus. Miramur et nos quomodo venerit, nec apostolica protectione munitus, vel apud nos nec una hora securus. Latuit autem duos dies, timentibus nobis ne quæreretur. Et revera si dominus archiepiscopus prope positus aut præsens esset, immunis non evasisset, ut credimus. Hoc enim certum habeatis, quia spem gratiæ ejus recuperandæ nullam prorsus habemus, scientes quod nec vos in gratiam recipiet in vita sua, unde nec nos etiam si velit ullo unquam tempore ei reconciliabimus. Cæterum responsum litterarum domini papæ de quo interrogatis, hoc esse noveritis et effectum. Quarto idus Junii porrectæ sunt ei litteræ domini papæ, prohibentes constructionem novæ ecclesiæ, canonicorum institutionem et fraternitatis exactionem, apud Bredune prope Theochesberiam, per manus Aaron et Symonis de Dovra monachorum. Qui venientes vix atrium ingressi sunt, recedentes benedictionem ejus impetrare non potuerunt. Subinde apud Salopesberiam in vigilia beati Johannis Baptistæ, accepit illas de reformandis in statum pristinum, quæ post appellationem intulerat, gravaminibus. Utrisque idem redditum est responsum in scriptis; h. s. "Vidimus mandatum domini papæ et faciemus quod habe- "mus facere." Utrique præcepto similiter respondit, et pro utroque tantundem fecit, nihil nisi quod cum capella prius lignea fuisset, ex tunc fit opere cementario. Postea nihilominus quasi prohibitione uterentur pro præcepto, canonici domibus suis faciendis acrius insistunt, et operi majoris ecclesiæ necessaria præparantur ut prius, immo studiosius. Litteræ vero super fraternitatis inhibitione, episcopis et prælatis Anglicanæ ecclesiæ directæ, pene ab omni clero, sed plene ab omni populo, devotissime recipiuntur, et multis in locis cessat fraternitatis exactio. Qui autem sint, qui domini papæ mandatum non impleant, cum certiores fuerimus, vobis innotescet. Abbates autem quibus mandata est executio, similiter procedere parant, ut in causæ alicujus commissione, citando videlicet archiepiscopum primo et secundo, et tertio peremptorio: nec speramus nobis tandem in aliquo profuturum hoc mandatum. Quippe si litigare oportet, non expedit quidem, cum nec causam periti simus agere, nec audeant alii pro

A.D. 1187. June or July.

The king will summon the prior to meet him.

They sent back brother Haymo because he had come without a papal protection.

The archbishop received the first mandate on the 10th of June, and the second on the 23rd.

His answer.

The proceedings at the new building.

The quashing of the brotherhood generally accepted.

The abbots are preparing to execute the mandate.

A.D. 1187. June or July.

nobis stare. Cæterum et certi sumus, quia quamvis executores aliquid statuant, dominus archiepiscopus non obtemperabit vel in modico, quia forsitan ideo transfretabit, ut omne mandatum domini papæ possit elidere. Nunc ergo lis instauranda videtur, et rixandum iterum, si rixa est, ut ait ethnicus, "ubi "tu pulsas ego vapulo tantum." Quoniam autem necesse est ut ex fide et ex animo pro nobis stent advocati, domino Pillio propensius impendite, et aliis qui similiter agunt causam, ne aut ficte agant, aut ab adversariis corrumpi possint. Vellemus etiam dominum Jacinctum vobis obligari, sicut dominus Gratianus obligatus est, vel alio modo, quia præpotens est in curia, ut audivimus, et causæ nostræ benevolus. Præterea, si videtur vobis, transmarinum aliquem vel de curia cum protectione domini papæ ad nos transmittite, qui fideliter nobis assistat, et audacter; noverit etiam negotium nostrum promovere efficaciter, qualis, sicut accepimus, est dominus Lotharius, socius domini Pillii, vel de quo placuerit alius. Si tamen dominus archiepiscopus ipse venerit, onus belli ibi erit, et hic forte furor bellicus minus effervebit. Nolite, si placet, cartam quam mittimus domino Gratiano ideo non dare, quia videmur ei in præjudicium alicujus, primum vacantis ministerium concessisse: vacare enim non arbitramur quod non datum est et concessum. Cæterum et alio modo poterimus servienti ejus, cum ad id ventum fuerit, satisfacere. Decreverunt adversarii nostri quicquid expendunt, si obtinuerint, de nostro solvere, usque ad novissimum quadrantem, si omnia ornamenta ecclesiæ nostræ oporteret distrahere. Secretiora verba quæ sæpe scripsimus vobis, causam videlicet persecutionis hujus et originem, domino papæ secretius suggerite, et de quibus confiditis cardinalibus. Credimus enim expedire ut sciant, qua subtilitate Anglicana ecclesia impugnetur in capite, et quia nisi caverint sibi in hoc negotio tam magno et manifesto, nemo in Anglia ad dominum papam appellabit, cujus et totius curiæ vilipenditur auctoritas, dum non impletur mandatum. Dicunt clerici quod sua est ecclesia quæ ædificatur, et ipsi ædificant non jam archiepiscopus, ut sic cassent litteras domini papæ. Unde opus est, si potestis, ut præcipiat dominus papa ecclesiam construentes aut ibi celebrantes excommunicari, nisi destiterint. Hoc autem credimus abbates facere, si eis expresse injunctum fuerit, in virtute obedientiæ. Providete vobis quam citius. Timemus ne sacrista cum nuncium nostrum acceperit, statim ut solet, omnia effundat, dicenda tacenda locutus, et poterit libertas nostra de facili impediri, nisi prius iter arripueritis. Dicunt quod a curia habet dominus archiepiscopus consilium faciendi quod facit, quodcunque mandatum a domino papa

The archbishop will leave England to avoid the mandate.

Juvenal, Sat. iii. 289.

The convent advises the prior on his return to the court of Rome to make friends with master Pillius, cardinal Hyacinth, and the lord Lothair.

The enemy is determined to make us pay the expenses.

fo. 17 v°.

The pope ought to know the truth.

The clerks of the new church declare that it is their work: let them be excommunicated.

accipiet. De responso litterarum domini papæ ad regem nihil vobis mandamus, quia nuncium nondum accepimus, quem, ut credimus, vos citius habebitis, et timemus ne citius quam nobis expediat. Nihil enim, nihil omnino magis formidamus quam hominis illius versutias et cor inscrutabile. A.D. 1187. June or July.

Prov. xxv. 3.

LXXXI. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis.

June or July.

Miratur paternitas vestra, nos qualia misimus destinasse mandata, quasi vos a debita videremus excidisse constantia. Non ita, quæsumus, arbitramini. Non vidimus inconstantiam, sed desideramus instantiam. Desideranti autem animo, ut scitis, omnis velocitas tarda est. Fervorem ergo quem habemus, in causa quam agimus, ex verborum qualitate potestis perpendere. Omnis enim animi motus suum dicendi modum habet. Cæterum nec mansuetudinem vestram aliquatenus moveri credimus, si quasi ad quod sponte properatis, impellimus. Ait enim ethnicus, non ideo a veritate alienus quia a pietate, "Non nocet admisso," etc. Brevius vos hac vice convenimus, verbum nostrum ponentes in ore fratrum nostrorum quos ad vos dirigimus, quia et ea quæ atramento mandari nolunt, vobis et plenius poterunt et fidelius enarrare. The convent explains the urgency of their former letter, No. lxxvii. in answer to No. lxxviii.

Ovid, Ep. ex Ponto, ii. 6. 38.

LXXXII. Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis.

June or July.

Idcirco eadem iterato vobis scribimus, ut si casu unum eorum interceptum fuerit, ad notitiam vestram aliud possit quam citius pervenire. Itaque noverit caritas vestra quia cum multa laudabiliter impleveritis, et spem perficiendi quod superest omnibus dederit non principium tantum negotii sed et progressus; digressus vester a curia, cum nunc primo congredi incipiant adversarii, et ipsis dedit confidentiam et nos fere dejecit in desperationem. Scimus enim quia quantum virtutum absentia vestra nobis detraxit, tantum ex eadem virium accessit adversariis. Quocirca paternitati vestræ omnes humiliter supplicamus et obnixe, quatenus sicut statum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, sicut vitam nostram, sicut honorem vestrum diligitis et salutem, visis his regredi non moremini, principale illud et summum pro quo profecti estis perficere, et quæ impetrastis nobis admodum necessaria conservare. Legistis namque quandoque "non minor est virtus quam quærere, parta "tueri." Verum est enim, quod et alias vobis significavimus, quia confidunt qui missi sunt potenter quæ intendunt facere, et quæ fecistis de facili in irritum revocare. Hoc autem consilium non solum de nostro, sed pene de totius Anglicanæ The convent writes another letter to the prior, in order to be sure of reaching him. He must return to the court of Rome immediately; for their all is at stake.

Ovid, Ars Amator. ii. 13.

A.D. 1187. June or July.

They urge him not to relax his endeavours.

ecclesiæ procedit desiderio. Quippe ora paucorum, voluntatem duntaxat magis quam veritatem attendentium, partem adversam prædicant, sed corda ferme omnium pro causæ nostræ justitia vociferantur ad Dominum. Ergo juxta illud philosophi, "Gaudia pelle, pelle timorem, spemque fugato nec dolor "assit." Et quia bella Domini præliari cœpistis, cum etiam lippis liqueat esse justitia, nec vos a proposito laboris immanitas, nec regis deterreat inclementia, ne gloriam vestram detis in confusionem, et salutem nostram, quæ in manibus vestris est, parvipendere videamini. Cæterum si vel hoc aditu negotium susceptum ad finem potestis desideratum perducere, vos omnino sumptibus parcere prohibemus. Malumus enim debitis quantiscunque onerari, quandoque cum Dei adjutorio exonerandi, quam nos et nostra omnia in perpetuam dedere perditionem. Deus qui vobis animum dedit ad pugnam, vires augeat ad victoriam. Valete.

Boethius, *de Cons. Phil. Metr.* vii. 25.

June or July.

LXXXIII. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent recommend to the pope John of Bocking and Ralph of Orpington, fo. 18 r°.

the stewards of their estates, whom the archbishop has excommunicated, during the appeal, because the convent would not suffer him to interfere in the administration of their property.

Veniunt ad pedes sanctitatis vestræ Johannes et Radulfus fratres nostri, viri audemus dicere religiosi, non sine magno rerum nostrarum quibus præfuerunt dispendio, quos pater noster dominus archiepiscopus vinculo anathematis innodavit, et quod hactenus apud nos inauditum est, publice per parochias denunciari præcepit excommunicatos, cum pro statu ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, pro rebus et personis omnibus et singulis primo, et postmodum pro ipsis specialiter et nominatim, ad audientiam vestram appellatum fuisset, et prior noster cum quibusdam de fratribus in præsentia vestra essent constituti. Volebat enim obedientiam illam, sicut et alias quarum sibi dispositionem non vendicabant patres ejus, per ipsum moderari, et rebus nostris quibus ipsi præerant, similiter ac suis disponere contra consuetudinem utique ecclesiæ, tot sanctorum usibus approbatam, contra tot sanctiones sedis apostolicæ, et privilegia etiam a sanctitate vestra nobis indulta. Quod quia non consentimus per ipsum fieri, sed reclamantes appellavimus, nisi fallimur, præsentium bajulos, qui rerum nostrarum per nos ut assolent curam gerebant, excommunicavit. Hoc autem indubitanter verum noveritis, quia non coram fratribus in capitulo, sicut præscribit regula, et prout habet ecclesiæ nostræ consuetudo longæva et constitutio nostra, super aliquo delicto conventi sunt, nec extra. Nos ergo tanto magis de eorum absentia prægravati, quanto diligentiam ipsorum nobis experti sumus necessariam, majestati vestræ obnixius supplicamus, quatenus eos gratia vestra remittat

absolutos; si tamen hujusmodi ligatos esse decreverit, quia, ut asserunt qui talium videntur habere scientiam, sententia hujusmodi contra juris ordinem prolata, et post interpositam appellationem, nec timenda aliquatenus esset nec tenenda. Ignoramus tamen penitus quid a paternitate vestra filii afflicti petere debeamus. Quoties enim apices vestros super gravaminibus saltem post appellationem nobis illatis in statum pristinum reformandis dominus archiepiscopus accepit, toties manum suam super nos magis aggravavit, et fratres nostri litteras vestras ad eum perferentes, sicut conqueruntur redeundo, vix in atrium vel domum exteriorem admittuntur, benedictionem recedentes impetrare non possunt. Utinam qui nos conturbant tantum erubescerent in hujusmodi actione, quantum nos confundimur de talibus conquerendo. Et certe si indignitas nostra digna est hoc sustinere, dignitas patris nostri, hactenus in nos durioris, nos longe indigna est sic opprimere. Pauperum enim vexatio quorum protector esse debuit, nec meritis ejus accedit nec honori. Pia vota vestra pietas divina promoveat, reverende pater et domine.

A.D. 1187. June or July. They pray the pope to absolve them, if he considers the archbishop's sentence valid. The archbishop pays no regard to the mandates.

LXXXIV. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi.

January. (Gervase, 1486.)

De statu domus nostræ propter proris absentiam, secundum quod utile credimus esse et necessarium, admonemus mandantes vobis quatenus ordinationem nostram, sicut latores præsentium fratres vestri ex parte nostra vobis dixerint, firmiter observari faciatis. Bene valete semper in Domino.

The archbishop orders the convent to receive the bearers as administrators in the prior's absence.

LXXXV. Baldewino archiepiscopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

January. (Gervase, 1486.)

Placuit paternitati vestræ de ordinatione quorundam in ecclesia vestra facienda, per fratres nostros R. R. et Jo. monachos, propter prioris, ut dicitis, absentiam mandare. Quæ, quoniam contraria sunt iis quæ præsens petentibus annuistis, vix fide digna putavimus. Cum enim per fratres quosdam ostenderemus, quod consuetudo in Cantuariensi semper fuisset ecclesia, sicut et in multis, ut priore absente vel mortuo, supprior vicem ejus suppleret in omnibus tam exterius quam interius, petentes ut liceret etiam nunc consuetudinem antiquam rationi et regulæ consentaneam observare, concessistis, et omnia in ordine suo jussistis permanere. Sive ergo, quæ per jam dictos fratres denunciata sunt, illius sermonis immemores mandastis, sive aliter putastis faciendum, sanctitatis

The convent, in answer No. lxxxiv., inform the archbishop that the place of the prior is supplied by the subprior.

A.D. 1187. They entreat him not to innovate.

vestræ obvoluti genibus, denuo supplicamus, quatenus statum ecclesiæ nostræ curetis indemnem conservare. Sic enim ordinare officia sine consilio conventus vestri, quæ ad prioris vel ejus qui ordini præest spectant dispositionem, nos scimus quod consuetudo non est nostra, quia nec regulæ consentaneum; quod autem nos rerum nostrarum potestate privatis propter prioris absentiam, ut dicitis, vis est, non jus. Nobis enim sive priore absente, sive mortuo, libera semper fuit rerum nostrarum administratio. Prioris enim nulla sunt bona, sed omnia conventus communia. Ejus ergo sollicitudo est in conventu prima, potestas sine conventu nulla, et cum ex omnibus nihil habeat in possessione, prior est nomine tantum et dignitate. Hæc consuetudo, hic status ecclesiæ, apostolica firmatus auctoritate. Propter hujusmodi subsidium apostolicum imploravimus. Quæ res, si placet, nec animum vestrum deberet avertisse a nobis, nec subtraxisse præsentiam. Non enim debet discretio vestra, quod jus nostrum protestamur, reputare injuriam, cum justum putetis nos quodlibet petere. Quod si etiam nunc delinquimus, quia mandatum vestrum quod statum ecclesiæ nostræ intus et extra immutaret non suscepimus, ecce oves vestræ in manu vestra sumus, sine viribus sive protectore. Speramus autem de benignitate vestra quia cum irati fueritis misericordiæ recordabimini, nec vestræ dabitis voluntati, nec alterius suggestioni, ut bona pauperum abeant in dilapidationem.

The prior has no especial property, all belongs to the convent.

We hope you will be merciful.

fc. 18 v°.

Habakkuk iii. 2.

LXXXVI. Conventus Cantuariensis capitulo Cysterciæ.

The convent reminds the chapter of Cîteaux of the aggressive conduct of the archbishop;

Satis et supra sanctitati vestræ innotuit, quia bono semini inter venerabilem patrem nostrum et nos inchoatæ dilectionis, inimicus homo discordiæ superseminavit et zizania. Postquam enim cum in patrem et pastorem elegimus, quamvis in eligendo, ut fit, ad novitatem difficiles, coram Deo loquimur, tanta eum caritate amplexi sumus, ut putaremur nos Spiritum Dei non habuisse, qui talem ac tantum virum nobis aliquando præesse noluimus. In spiritualibus siquidem et temporalibus provenire speravimus incrementum: promissionibus ejus quibus standum videbatur exhilarati. Cæterum statim ab ingressu suo æmulis nostris aurem dedit, et animum avertit a nobis. Cœpit autem subtiliter agere contra nos, et occasiones quærere ad nocendum. Afflicti et damnis gravioribus attriti, sustinuimus, sperantes quod poneret tandem pater noster cor suum super vias suas, et pœnitens pedem referret. Processit autem ulterius, et de bonis hujus nostræ, quandam clericorum ecclesiam juxta nos fundare instituit. Ex cujus constructione liquido pervidimus

S. Matt. xiii. 25.

of the new church;

Haggai i. 5.

rerum detrimentum, et quod professioni nostræ gravius est, pacis nobis imminere dispendium; quorum utrumque jam præsentialiter sustinemus. Spoliis namque hujus illa lætatur; summa totius et causa contentionis. Scimus enim quia ex solis divitibus et magnis ordinanda personis, juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in terris, hanc in qua divino officio deputati sumus Christi pauperes, potenter humiliabit, statum ejus subvertens et honestatem. Quod præcavere volentes, et honori materno pro possibilitate nostra prospicere, cum videremus domini et patris nostri animum in hoc proposito permanere immobilem, suffragium imploravimus apostolicum. Extunc et modo in rebus et personis magis vexati sumus; immitius cæsi et sine misericordia quia vociferavimus sub flagello. Ad hoc tandem pervenit pater noster, sive sponte properans, sive perductus, ut statum ecclesiæ suæ matris permutare contendat, jura ei subtrahens et dignitates antiquas. Quocirca sancto cœtui vestro humiliter supplicamus ac devote, quatenus pro ipso et nobis sanctitas vestra Dominum interpellare dignetur, ut pro reverentia sua respectum gratiæ mereatur, et nobis pœna quam peccata nostra merŭerunt, si placet, in oculis Altissimi mitigetur. Minus enim dolendum quod molestias patimur, quam quod ab eo inferuntur. Indignitas enim nostra digna est sustinere hæc, sed dignitas ejus longe dignior quam quæ hæc mala nobis debeat irrogare.

A.D. 1187. which will be injurious to that of Canterbury: —it is to be filled with great men, to the destruction of the humble.

They entreat the prayers of the chapter.

LXXXVII. Capitulum Cysterciense Baldewino archiepiscopo.

Ecce domine pater, fiducialiter scribimus vestræ discretioni, sperantes quod apud sinum vestræ benignitatis locum invenient preces nostræ humilitatis, quæ quidem non de rancore animi sed de radice prodeunt caritatis. Destinavit nobis humiliter et porrexit humiles preces et litteras conventus ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, qui, secundum quod asserit, de vobis fiduciam non modicam hactenus habuit, et de promotione vestra lætatus est valde. Quoniam autem pro quadam ecclesia clericorum quam, ut aiunt, construere intendit vestra paternitas non procul ab eis, timent Cantuariensi ecclesiæ accessu temporis præjudicium generari; supplicamus humiliter vestræ serenitati, ut, sicut pater et pastor diligens et sollicitus, ecclesiæ Cantuariensi bonum et rectum antiqui temporis statum conservare, et pacem filiorum velitis diligere, prout melius et commodius noveritis expedire, quatenus propter hæc reverenda paternitas vestra cum justitia valeat apparere in conspectu Altissimi, et paupertas ordinis unde assumptus estis debeat pro bono opere vestro apud Supernum Judicem commendari.

The chapter of Citeaux entreat the archbishop to abstain from the building of the new church, and from oppressing the monks.

A.D. 1187. Before August 11.

LXXXVIII. Conventus Cantuariensis Atrebatensi episcopo.

The convent thanks the bishop of Arras for his letter, No. xxix.

Litteras sanctitatis vestræ suscepimus, tanto majori animi alacritate, quanto ex mera eas intelleximus procedere caritate. Quam, Deo volente, licet corpora locorum intercapedine sejungat, nec abolere poterit oblivio, nec aquæ interfluentes extinguere. Verum quod mandatis nobis, vos de mandato domini Cysterciensis ad pacem inter venerabilem patrem nostrum et nos reformandam promptum accurrere, gratum nobis admodum premere, quocunque procurante etiam potestas publica contra nos excitata est, et prohibetur nobis justitia nostra suffragari. Pater vero noster, ut accepimus, transitum per vos facturus, ad dominum regem in proximo transfretabit; utinam cogitationes pacis cogitans, et non afflictionis. Quocirca quamvis faciem vestram videre frustra desiderantibus, melius videtur nobis, vos in partibus illis venienti, si placet, occurrere, quam illinc ad nos frustra transmeare; maxime cum asserant patrem nostrum in proposito novam illam construendi ecclesiam, immobilem permanere. In cujus fabricam nullatenus possumus consentire, scientes ex illius constructione, huic nostræ futuris temporibus præjudicium generari, quam et præsentialiter jam detrimentum, et diminutionem videmus per illam et dolemus perpessam. Verumtamen de benignitate patris nostri etiam si nos occiderit sperantes, sanctitati vestræ omnes supplicamus et singuli, si, ut rumor est, ad vos venerit, quæ ad pacem sunt pro amore Dei et honore ipsius et vestro, rogare velitis, gratias agentes super omnibus quæ vel nobis vel nostris gratia vestra impendit beneficiis: parati etiam loco et tempore gratantissime pro viribus respondere. Valete in Domino.

The archbishop will be going through your diocese to join the king: meet him and intercede with him.

fo. 19 r°.

Job xiii. 15.

July or August.

LXXXIX. Honorio priori fratres de Verona.

The monks left at Verona inform the prior, that matters continue there as he left them.

Ut sub compendio brevitatis verbum prolixius perstringat, causa nostra fines quos ei reliquistis non reliquit, nec adversa hostis valetudo a suo statu eam potuit nec potest amovere; sed ex adversariorum consultu semper adepta est incrementum, et cum daretur opera subversionis inde adepta est soliditatis fundamentum; adversarii falsitate sua veritati nostræ præstantes fulcimentum. Judex cum assessoribus causæ veritatis factus est advocatus. Negatur adversariis quod petunt. Quosdam arripuit mors, alios infirmitas. Sine dubio speramus magnum causæ nostræ proventum, saltem ne teneamur obedire lite pendente. Quod vobis prius non scripsimus, non fuit negligentiæ, sed causam præstitit causæ nostræ fatalis consuetudo. Recessum domini Papæ multi loquuntur, et certa

argumenta conspicimus, quæ si fallunt, culpæ nostræ non est. Unde rogamus quatenus, omni dilatione et occasione cessante, nobis citius per nuncium nostrum respondeatis, qui et quomodo eum secuturi sint. Securius enim est cum obedientia pro Christo mori, quam temere accipere quod suum non est. Fratres nostri Johannes et Radulfus citius venient ad vos, nec tamen illos expectet nuncius vester. Sani sumus et incolumes filii vestri. Valeat semper paternitas vestra. A.D. 1187. People are talking of the pope's leaving Verona. John of Bocking and Ralph of Orpington are on the way back.

XC. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres de Verona.

July or August.

Nunciamus prospera, eo quod statum curiæ stabili gradu invenerimus. Dominus enim papa a justitia et veritate nostra tuenda non resilit nec resistit: sed tanquam rupes immobilis et tanta stat et adhuc perseverat constantia, ut super his quæ nobis jam indulta sunt, se nihil mutaturum, coram quolibet constanter asserit. Quoties quidem in jure stamus, prostat et agit ac si vester vobis diligentissimus esset advocatus. Cum etiam ad eum secretius accedimus, monentes ut indemnitati ecclesiæ provideat et jus ejus illibatum conservet, nos eum tentare sub supercilio graviori objicit, tanquam, quia de ipsius constantia hæsitare videamur, molestatus. Domini quidem cardinales in consueta et nobis compromissa devotione permanent et fidelitate, et fere omnes, ut conjicimus, negotiis promovendis intendunt et insistunt. Unde est quod causa vestra in jam actis processum habuit ad optatum, et agendis lætiora speramus et expectamus meliora in dies. Fratres quidem nostri Johannes et Radulfus, sole fere ad occasum declinato ad curiam accedentes, ante occasum fuerunt absoluti, si tamen absolvendi, eo quod post toties innovatam et tandem pro eis ipsis factam appellationem, lata in eos fuerat sententia. Nos quidem usque huc vobis scribere distulimus, in incertis non invenientes super quo certificaremus, sed fratres nostri prænominati quam citius Deus dederit, expectant, ut quæ jam diu expectavimus, vobis gratiora reportent. Recessum domini papæ a Verona maturius quamplures prædicant. Unde qui, si tamen aliqui, curiam secuturi, quive redituri sint, de consilio et consensu prioris et vestro, expectatur. Nos sanos et incolumes hucusque conservavit Dominus: super incolumitate vestra æque ac nostra congratulantes, et pro constantia vestra maxime magnificantes Dominum. In ea enim et humilitate et oratione si steteritis cum perseverantia, evincetis. Defectum enim in causa vestra non timemus, nisi et vos prius defeceritis, ut jam multiplicibus præconcepimus argumentis. Quod Petrus Blesensis in spiritu tanto affuit, et quod contra vos Anglicani scripserunt episcopi, The monks left at Verona inform the convent that the pope is very friendly, both in public and in private. The cardinals are faithful. John and Ralph were absolved the day they arrived. People are talking of the pope's quitting Verona. Peter of Blois has not been able to injure us.

A.D. 1187. August. non vobis obfuit sed profuit. Valete, et orate ut dominum papam Urbanum urbanissimum in tempora nobis conservet longiora.

XCI. Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi.

The bishop of Ostia urges the convent to persevere and be unanimous.

Sicut honorem et pacem vestram in Christo diligimus, ita vos, fratres dilectissimi, monemus et exhortamur in Domino, quatenus in vestro commendabili proposito constantes et unanimes persistatis, nec aliqua tribulatio vos moveat vel perturbet. In Domino enim confidimus, et vos pariter confidatis, quoniam hujusmodi perturbationes sæculares Deo propitio citius evanescent, et hujusmodi tribulatio vestrum vertetur in gaudium. In oratione igitur assidui divinam implorate clementiam, quatenus vos ab hac perturbatione mundana eripiat. Vos ergo de justitia vestra confidentes et certi, fo. 19 v°. invicem consolemini; pro certo scientes nos et fratres nostros cardinales in negotio omnimodam diligentiam adhibere, ut ab ista sollicitudine tandem cum gloria liberemini. Valete.

XCII. Idem Odoni abbati de Bello et de Faversham et Sancti Augustini.

The bishop of Ostia informs the abbots that the pope will excuse them from visiting the papal court on account of the archbishop's appeal.

Viros religiosos et eos præcipue qui se devotos et humiles sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ exhibent, apostolica mansuetudo ex assuetæ pietatis officio propensius diligere consuevit, et modis quibuscunque potest eorundem parcere laboribus et expensis, ut tanto liberius sacræ religionis observantiæ, et aliis bonis operibus vacare studeant, quanto se senserint ab apostolica sede in suo bono proposito benignius confoveri. Inde est quod dominus papa de innata mansuetudine et consueta bonitate, vestro volens gravamini providere, necessitatem veniendi ad curiam quam propter appellationem a venerabili fratre nostro Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo interpositam susceperatis, vobis clementer relaxavit, nobisque dedit in mandatis ut per litteras nostras vobis significaremus, vos esse ab illius necessitate itineris absolutos.

XCIII. Conventus Cantuariensis Honorio priori.

About August 11.

The archbishop on his return from Wales has seized our manors, and appealed to the pope.

Adhuc scribentibus nobis de damnis a domino archiepiscopo recenter illatis affuit qui diceret, "Irruerunt clerici et minis- " tri archiepiscopi et tulerunt maneria vestra, illud et illud." Job i. 15. Rediens enim a legatione sua ecclesiam Cantuariensem, ut semper solet, in virga visitavit, et villas nostras in manus Ps. lxxxix. 32.

suas recepit. Misimus ergo ad eum fratres nostros rogantes, quatenus quod fecerat, pro amore Dei et reverentia domini papæ et honore proprio emendaret, ostendentes nos contra hujusmodi appellasse et contra hoc nominatim appellare, injuriam eum domino papæ facere, qui appellationi non deferret. Ipse vero protestabatur nos quidem appellasse pro statu ecclesiæ, pro rebus et personis omnibus, et omnia sub protectione domini papæ posuisse, et se similiter intulit appellare et appellasse et appellationem prosequi velle. Ubi magister Henricus Pigun palam omnibus subjunxit, "Et nos "appellavimus et expilabimus;" Gallico sermone dicens, "E "nos appellerun, e pellerun." Ad quæ quidam de fratribus, "Verum est," inquit, "Quia nos turpiter expilatis." Summa est quod maneria nostra, nostris ejectis, invasit, dicentibus ministris quos ad hoc miserat, "Hæc seisimus, sicut ea quæ "archiepiscopus clypeo suo et lancea erga regem defendit, "cum rusticæ sint omnes possessiones vestræ." Ipse vero archiepiscopus conventus a fratribus, dixit se non spoliasse eos sed potius ad opus ecclesiæ ea velle servare; ideo autem per suos, quia nostri requisiti ea per ipsum et ab ipso recipere noluerunt, sibi responsuri et fidelitatem facturi. Nos autem parati fuimus per nos et nostros, sicut hactenus, omnia facere, et hoc palam protestati sumus, si permitteret. Privilegia vero de libera rerum nostrarum administratione idcirco non ostendimus, quia, ut accepimus, dominus rex petebat ea quasi contra coronam suam perquisita, et forte sic volebat ea extorquere archiepiscopus. Præterea redditus nostros Londonienses, quos post appellationem nobis dari prohibuit, modo ut dicunt percepit. Duxit autem secum Willelmum de Alba Villa, ut eos qui alterius nomine quam archiepiscopi in rebus nostris agebant, caperet. Nihil enim pro appellatione facta vel reverentia domini papæ omittit dominus archiepiscopus, adeo ut senescallus ejus Rogerus de Tantona, canonicus Hakintune, apud Godmersham cum seisinam faceret, prohibitus a fratribus ibi præsentibus, ex parte domini papæ, ne in possessiones ecclesiæ manum mitteret, coram multis diceret, "Certe non "magis dimitterem pro domino papa, etiam si præsens esset, "quam pro vilissimo garcione totius domus." Vobis itaque exilium noveritis interminatum et iis qui vobiscum sunt, nec tutum ad nos habere regressum, nisi re mutata, vel lite sopita. Celerarius ab obedientia sua suspensus est, et inhibitum est ei sub interminatione anathematis ne se intromittat, quia maneria recipere noluit ab archiepiscopo, nec contra privilegia et consuetudinem ecclesiæ quicquam in hac parte agere. Adhuc camerario parcitur, qui tamen maneria non

A.D. 1187. August.

What Henry Pigon said; that they would pillage the convent.

The archbishop declares that he seizes the estates for their preservation.

He has stopped and intercepted our London rents.

His steward taking possession of Godmersham, has spoken contemptuously of the pope.

The cellarer is suspended.

A.D. 1187. About August 11.

recepit. Agite ergo, et accelerate si potestis auxilium; si spes est aliqua, mandate nobis quam citissime, et date consilium. Providimus enim et statuimus, si quem archiepiscopus nobis præfecerit, nihil ab eo recipere, sed interim panem passim quomodocunque mendicare. Quod si prohibiti fuerimus, ut possimus inediam elegimus sustinere, quam statum ecclesiæ nostræ consentiendo damnare. Valete. Hoc et illud mandatum quamvis simul miserimus, et per eundem nuncium, credimus divisim et aliquot diebus interjectis domino papæ porrigenda, ut animum ejus fortius possint perfodere. Hoc autem postremum est. Notate et pensate diligenter, quia et hinc prohibemur jus consequi, et in partibus illis jam non possumus, quia expensæ nobis subtrahuntur. Unde vos vigilantius necesse est agere, et quod agitis accelerate, et scitote quia simul cum maneriis curiam quoque nostram dominus archiepiscopus abstulit, et a justitiario impetravit ut interdiceretur, ne quid breve juris illuc dirigatur, sed tantum ad curiam archiepiscopi. Dominus promoveat negotia ecclesiæ Suæ in manibus vestris.

We will receive no agent of the archbishop.

This letter is sent together with the last, which was being written whilst these things were done.

fo. 20 r°.

XCIV. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

After August 11.

In causa quam pro honore Dei et ecclesiæ nostræ tuitione suscepimus quamvis inviti, ea hactenus modestia usi sumus, ut quoties sanctitati vestræ scripsimus, veritatem quidem semper ut decet locuti fuerimus, sed non omnem, volentes in injuriis illatis et gravaminibus aliquid supprimere ne tanquam filii degeneres paternam videremur turpitudinem velle revelare. Verumtamen ex quo jam rei immanitas modum excedit, et contemptus omnibus manifestus nullo potest integumento contegi, nulla tergiversatione defendi; quod videt mundus et dolet non possumus non proferre. Noverit itaque paternitas vestra quod dominus archiepiscopus postquam iterato jam in mandatis accepit, ut quæ post appellationem ad vos interpositam in præjudicium nostrum fecerat, in statum pristinum revocaret, et de cætero a vexatione nostra desisteret; a legatione sua ad nos veniens, et ecclesiam suam sicut solet in virga visitans, ut simul et semel ageret quod intendebat, maneriorum proximorum nos possessione et potestate privavit. Celerarium nostrum, qui contra privilegia et consuetudinem ecclesiæ in gradu suo ministrare non consensit, ab officio suo suspendit. Miseremini ergo, pater sancte, miseremini oppressionis nostræ et afflictionis injustæ, ut percussionibus quotidianis et continuis attriti, respectu gratiæ vestræ valeamus respirare. Miserabiliores omnibus hominibus

The convent writes to the pope, that the archbishop has seized their manors, and suspended the cellarer.

sumus, quia ad vos appellavimus. Postquam enim pro personis et rebus appellatum est, et omnia sub protectione vestra posita, prior et fratres suspensi fuerunt. Canonici instituti sunt. Capella erecta post novi operis nunciationem: celebratum est etiam in ea appellantibus nobis et reclamantibus. Ecclesiæ nostræ illi novæ ecclesiæ assignata exenia. Redditus nostri interdicti apud Londonias. Pensiones ecclesiarum quas Londoniis habemus similiter, et nunc demum maneria nostra nobis ablata sunt, et eorum quæ hactenus habuimus administratio libera, ex quibus omnibus vix unum prævaluit auctoritas apostolica reformare. Quoniam ergo ad extremum jam perducti sumus, nec instat jam nobis aliquid nisi exire aut expelli, vel inedia deficere; provideat discretio vestra pro Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ reverentia, ne idcirco domus Dei depereat, quia nomen vestrum invocavimus, sed magis ex correptione unius corrigantur multi. Alioquin impunitas peccati, ut fit, audaciam pariet delinquendi, et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ majestas, dum toties potest impune contemni, contemptibilis reputabitur. Dominus vitam vestram conservet in tempora longiora, pater sanctissime.

A.D. 1187. August. Notwithstanding the appeal, all is going on as before.

If the offenders are not punished, the church of Rome will be contemptible.

XCV. Domino Meliori cardinali Hugo Lucensis.

August.

Si pro sanctæ matris ecclesiæ honore, et totius Romanæ curiæ devotione, unde recognosco si quid valoris habeo, magnificentiam vestram quæ novit et vult ipsius honorem diligere, jura et incrementa servare illæsa, meæ parvitatis litterulis inquietare præsumo, nec vos gravet, nec in arrogantiam velit mihi benignitas vestra ascribere. Novit enim Deus coram quo loquor, noscat et benignissima vestra discretio me in hac litterarum serie nihil proponere, nisi ea quæ vidi oculis, persensi mente, et plurium proborum certissima assertione audivi, Cantuariensi ecclesiæ mirabiliter et miserabiliter periculosa, et honori et dignitati Romanæ ecclesiæ manifeste et aperte contraria, et modis omnibus detrahentia. Attendat et intendat virtuosa magnanimitas vestra, quo animo, qua intentione, quali etiam devotione processum sit in causa et negotio Cantuariensis ecclesiæ. Videntibus et recognoscentibus sane monachis, quod eam dominus archiepiscopus vellet pernimium aggravare, se et sua ante novæ ecclesiæ initia protectione domini papæ, appellatione interposita, posuerunt coram multis, hoc profitentibus et attestantibus, cum necesse fuerit; dominus vero archiepiscopus nihilominus juxta desideria cordis sui, in opere concepto processit: quin ibi ligneam firmaret ecclesiam, sicut bene audistis; tandem prohibuit dominus papa, prout melius

Hugh of Lucca reports to cardinal Melior what he saw and heard at Canterbury.

The monks of Canterbury had placed themselves under the pope's protection.

The pope prohibited the building of the new church.

A.D. 1187. August.

me novistis, ne ulterius procederet, nisi prius esset cognita causæ veritas et controversiæ. Prohibuit etiam et Deus et sanctorum merita quæ in Cantuariensi florescunt ecclesia, quia lignea capella cecidit media die, nescitur quo casu, nisi ut, et a piis creditur, miraculose, fere tota. Nec ob hoc dimissum est, nec dimittitur continue modo, quin quod prius fuerit ligneum nunc fiat lapideum, et plus postea operati sunt in quindecim diebus, quam antea essent operati in quinque mensibus. Liquet quod Deo et sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ patronis hoc opus displiceat, cum de capella secundo erecta ceciderunt duo de operariis et mortui sunt. Nec dimittitur quin canonicorum domus, immo palatia, cum festinatione ibi ædificentur continue, qualium et quam devotorum sacrosanctæ matris nostræ ecclesiæ nequeo dolens et gemens prætermittere quin dicam. Videlicet magistri Henrici Pigonis, secretarii domini archiepiscopi, qui cum nunc ultimo appellarent monachi, propterea quod dominus archiepiscopus contra litteras domini papæ, contra ejus protectionem, eis maneria sua abstulit, et ad tantum eos redegit quod, sicut in verbo veritatis vobis dico, vix habent quod manducent; sic eis respondit, "Vos "appellatis miseri, et nos contra appellavimus, et semper "pilabimus." Ad quem quidam de fratribus, "Male," inquit, "nos expilastis." "Dixit autem sæpius, ut audivi, "Quid "quærunt a nobis Romani isti?" Rogerius de Tantona, senescallus archiepiscopi, qui cum auferret bona monachorum assidue appellantium, dixit coram clericis et militibus, quod etiam si dominus papa astaret præsens, non dimitteret pro eo aliter quam pro garcione minimo totius domus, et id quod deterius fuit. Unde, proh pudor et dolor! quod tales nituntur supplantare conventui Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, et eum in curia radicitus laborant evellere. Quid de conversatione quorundam in prædicta capella residentium jam vulgaris fama clamitet, verecundum esset dicere. Dicitur etiam per totam Angliam, quod ibi velit archiepiscopus patriarchatum fieri, cum jam nihil litteris domini papæ vel appellationibus deferatur. Fuerunt etiam quidam qui cum recepissent mandatum domini papæ super quadam executione, et prohibitum eis esset a justitiario regis, ne procederent in causa illa, dixerunt, "Malumus ca-"rere missa, quam mensa." Fertur etiam publice dominum archiepiscopum dicere, cum recipit domini papæ litteras quæ ei non placent, "Projice cum aliis, quia nondum est onerata "rheda." Ferunt etiam publice quod nec curiam nec acta ejus adpreciatur ad unum ovum. Audivi ego præsens, jam duo anni transacti sunt, ab eo qui sigillum portabat dicente, "Frater, cognosce, quod si archiepiscopus vixerit decem annis,

The wooden chapel fell one day at noon: and now they are building with stone.

fo. 20 v°.

Palaces are being built for the canons.

Henry Pigon's threats.

Roger Tanton's contempt for the pope.

England will be made a separate patriarchate.

What the archbishop said when the pope's mandate was delivered.

"curia Romana magis timebit ipsum, quam ipse eam." Nec cessat etiam et ipse et sui monachos gravare, et sua eis auferre singulis diebus. Universitas insulæ, nisi pauci fautores archiepiscopi, quorum quidam potius terrore quam amore vel jure ei videntur favere, dolet et gemit de injuria illata monachis, quod monstrarent aperte, nisi esset pro timore regio. Fertur et publice quod si oppressi fuerint monachi in causa ista, nullo modo timebitur dominus papa in Anglia de cætero, vel Romana curia, et alii forte, quod Deus avertat, exinde assument exemplum. Unde mirantur plurimi quod ad tantos excessus asperæ et manifestæ correctionis virga usque adeo differtur apponi. Post interdictum domini papæ, altius et solemnius in jam dicta capella celebrarunt, ita quod cantantes audiebantur in ecclesia Cantuariensi, quia clare se ad invicem possunt audire, licet a magistro Petro, me audiente, asserere-tur in curia, quod distabat a civitate prædicta per unum milliare et ultra. Ego autem vobis per Corpus Domini nostri assero, quod me sciente, a civitate non distat per jactum lapidis infantis duodecim annorum, nec ab ecclesia Cantuariensi ultra quam per jactum balistæ. Satagat ergo discretio vestra tantis occurrere malis, et murum opponere vos pro domo Cantuariensi. Valete, mi pater et domine.

A.D. 1187. August. All the country is in trouble for the monks.

Peter of Blois misinformed the pope about the distance between the churches.

Ezek. xiii. 5.

XCVI. Conventus Cantuariensis, Roberto sacristæ, Rogero thesaurario, A. et R. monachis.

After August 11.

Transiens per nos dominus archiepiscopus cum transfretaret, saisivit maneria nostra, et obtulit celerario et camerario, ut ea quæ quondam ad easdem obedientias pertinebant, ab eo reciperent, ei responsuri et fidelitatem facturi. Hi vero sicut fratres fidelissimi responderunt, se obedientias illas paratos esse, sicut hactenus fecerant, administrare; sed contra privilegia et consuetudinem ecclesiæ nihil omnino facere. Mandamus itaque vobis et ex parte totius capituli præcipimus, quamvis non multum necessarium esse credamus, quatenus si quem vestrum super hujusmodi convenerit, similiter faciatis. Valete.

The convent warn their messengers not to accept the "obediences" at the hands of the archbishop. (Cf. N° cxxi.

XCVII. Conventui Cantuariensi Honorius prior.

August.

Scimus, teste apostolo, quomodo diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum. Scimus etiam quia non nisi per tribulationes multas et malas pervenitur ad regnum lucis æternæ. Ubi enim labor, ubi certamen legitimum discutitur, ibi triumphus expectatur, ibi corona promeretur. Numquid frivolis et voluptuosis vacantes, numquid deliciose viventes, bravium evincemus a Deo promissum? Absit. Tales enim et hujusmodi longe sunt a regno cœlorum. Ut igitur ab ipsius

Rom. viii. 28. Acts xiv. 21.

The prior reminds the convent that glory cannot be obtained without trial.

A.D. 1187. August. He bids them remember the martyrs. fo. 21 r°.

gentilitatis moralibus institutis dicendi sumamus exordium, nonne sanæ doctrinæ posteritati suæ reliquerunt vestigia? illis quippe gloriosum erat pugnare pro patria, mori pro libertate tuenda. Quid ergo gloriosi martyres succedentes elegerunt? Quid pertulerunt? Nonne ipsi pro Christo sanguinem suum fuderunt? Nonne ipsi per orbem terrarum ecclesiam Dei vitæ suæ commercio, libertate donarunt? Utique etiam patres nostri talibus impendiis quandoque coronam promeruerunt et gloriam, et ecclesiæ suæ libertates usque ad moderna tempora a servili relegerunt conditione. Nos ergo in quos fines sæculorum devenerunt, quid faciemus? Num- 1 Cor. x. 11. quid relinquemus domum Israel desolatam, et dabimus terga fugæ? Absit. Numquid ori silentium imponentes, erimus abjectio plebis et fabula transeuntium per viam? Absit, ut Psalm xxii. 6

Encourages them to follow their example.

notam incurramus opprobrii. Absit ut a patrum nostrorum semitis exorbitemus. Absit ut cum tam vili dispendio posteritati nostræ mali relinquamus exemplum. Melius enim est mori in bello, quam derelinquere legem Dei nostri. Benedictus igitur in omnibus Deus et laudetur, qui nobis de calice prædecessorum nostrorum propinat affluenter, et dat nobis tribulationes in abundantia. Neque enim meliores sumus quam 1 Kings xix. 4. patres nostri, ut fluctus hujus sæculi deliciando siccoque pede transvadare debeamus. Benedictus etiam Deus qui nos modernis temporibus reservare decrevit, in quibus pro lege Dei nostri legitime possumus decertare. Hæc hactenus. In

He waited on the borders of Burgundy for some time in vain, to hear that the archbishop had fulfilled the mandates.

dolore et amaritudine animæ nostræ hactenus versus Burgundiam commorati sumus, expectantes aquæ motum, ut ad an- S. John v. 3. geli descensum sanaremur. Sed non apparet qui descendat et liberet nos. Enimvero cum speraretur redemptio Israel, factus est error posterior pejor priore. Expectationis vero S. Matt. nostræ causa fuit præcipua et specialis, ut certitudinem super xxvii. 64. litteris domini papæ patri nostro Cantuariensi directis, et statu vestro, ad Romanæ sedis clementiam possemus reportare.

On the receipt of the letters of the convent, he immediately set out for the court of Rome.

Visis ergo litteris vestris, statim iter cum summa devotione arripuimus ad curiam profecturi, illic suscepturi quod Omnipotens Dominus secundum causæ nostræ merita voluerit nobis propinare, illinc per Dei gratiam nunquam recessuri, donec causa inchoata debitum sortiatur effectum. Consolamini in- Josh. x. 25. terim, et estote robusti, et viriliter in orationum devotione coram Deo causam vestram allegate, et nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus: animam autem non possunt occidere. Visi- S. Matt. x. 28 tabit vos Oriens ex alto in proximo, et conteret capita inimi- S. Luke i. 78. corum vestrorum. Ut autem amico verbo concludamus, consilium nostrum est, ut potius panem manducare et esuriem pati eligatis, quam ab inceptis desistere, vel ab unitate ecclesiæ

nostræ recedere. Quoniam eo usque pervenimus, non est medium quod ecclesia nostra, quod Deus avertat, violenter suo jure privabitur, vel perpetua gaudebit libertate. Dominus qui vos animavit ad pugnam, laudabilem det vobis constantiam usque ad mortem. Bene valete in Domino. A.D. 1187.

XCVIII. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis.

After August 11.

The convent write to the king, that the archbishop has seized their manors and violated their privileges.

Præter gravamina quæ nobis venerabilis pater noster dominus archiepiscopus fecit antequam transfretaretis, modo de novo sicut alia vice sublimitati vestræ mandavimus, maneria nostra, unde vivere debemus, seisivit. Homines nostros nobis abstulit, et curiam nostram; et cartas antecessorum vestrorum, quæ possessiones et libertates nostras nobis confirmant, sicut archiepiscopis nostris suas, et contra vos maxime, qui eas non tantummodo confirmastis sed auxistis. Itaque, carissime domine, supplicamus excellentiæ vestræ quatenus, pro reverentia Dei, et sanctorum quorum corpora in nostra requiescunt ecclesia, statum nostrum quem toto tempore nostro habuimus in possessionibus et libertatibus, et advocamus per Deum et per vos, nos habere faciatis; et quod tam bene servastis usque nunc, non patiamini modo deperire, nec ad alicujus suggestionem fieri consentiatis aliquid quod contra honorem vestrum sit vel salutem. Rex justitiæ vitam vestram conservet regno vestro in tempora longa.

XCIX. Henricus rex Conventui Cantuariensi.

A.D. 1187. February. (Gervase, 1487.)

The king writes to the convent that he has examined the archbishop as to their wrongs, and he will take advice.

The king sends the bishop elect of Coventry and the bishops of Norwich and Worcester to Canterbury.

Pro præcedenti isto mandato vestro super gravaminibus unde conquesti estis, convenimus dominum Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, a quo accepimus conscientiam suam eum non remordere, quod in aliquo vos offenderit. Super iis autem unde querimoniam adversus eum deponitis, asserit se ad consilium episcoporum et abbatum et cleri et etiam nostrum habiturum. Nunc ergo mittimus ad vos Hugonem Coventrensem electum, apostolicæ sedis legatum, et Johannem Norwicensem, et Willelmum Wigorniensem episcopos, ut inquirant a vobis de quibus a præfato archiepiscopo gravati estis, et vos omnia gravamina vestra eis exponatis, ipsis ut innotescant ad ea nobis exponenda. Et si via compositionis inveniri potest, eorum consilio ad pacem et concordiam adquiescatis. De discordia enim plurima inconvenientia possunt emergere, et jam quædam emerserunt, quæ detrimentum honoris et dignitatis nostræ et regni nostri contingunt. Nam cum ecclesia vestra de ditione nostra sit, nobis inconsultis et ignorantibus, et absque licentia nostra, transfretavit prior fo. 21 v°.

A.D. 1187. February. He is angry that they have complained to the king of France.

vester, et quod amplius movet nos et movere debet, inde domino regi Franciæ querimoniam deposuit, nobis omnino præteritis. Teste Randulfo de Glanvilla.

August.

C. Conventus Cantuariensis Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo.

The convent thanks the archbishop of Rheims for his kindness to the prior whilst he was in France.

Gratias agimus generositati vestræ super honore quem priori nostro, cum apud vos esset, et nobis omnibus in ipso impendistis. Rem siquidem fecistis generi vestro et virtute dignissimam, indigentibus compatiendo et injuste oppressis. Injuriam quippe pati possumus, facere vero minime etiam, quod absit, si velimus. Potestate namque opprimimur, contra quam mutire nefas est, et cum sæpe pium sit dissentire, dissonare non licet. Supplicamus itaque sanctitati vestræ omnes et singuli, quatenus pro Deo, et gloriosi martyris Thomæ reverentia, causam Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, si visum non est domino papæ commendare, saltem erga dominum regem, et Ricardo comiti non omittas promovere. Ut enim paternitati vestræ ad purum omnia innotescant, noveritis quoniam eo usque processit adversariorum potentia, ut nec permittamur mandatis apostolicis uti, et jus nostrum nobis prohibeatur suffragari. Cumque rebus spoliati simus et antiquis ecclesiæ nostræ dignitatibus, nisi Dominus fundasset Syon, Qui utique et conservabit eam, in malum desperationis corruissemus, et lugeret ecclesia Dei inconsolabiliter sine spe resurgendi. Pia vota vestra Deus promoveat.

The archbishop is proceeding to oppress the church.

August.

CI. Idem Rothomagensi archiepiscopo.

The convent informs the archbishop of Rouen that the archbishop has seized their property and violated their privileges.

Quot molestias, quæ gravamina, ex quo faciem vestram vidimus, passi fuerimus, et nobis longum esset enarrare et vobis tædiosum audire. Verum ut in summa sit dicere quæ singillatim dinumerari nequeunt, noverit paternitas vestra quoniam non modo possessionibus sed et dignitatibus antiquis spoliati sumus; dominus enim archiepiscopus sibi omnia vendicat, homines nostros, maneria, etiam curiam, in qua solemus a fundamentis ecclesiæ hominibus nostris justitiam exhibere; quæ omnia cartæ regum antiquæ et modernæ nobis confirmant, sicut et archiepiscopis nostris sua omnia. Statum præterea ecclesiæ bonum et rectum divellere contendit, a prædecessoribus et ab ipso quandoque approbatum, et a summis pontificibus confirmatum; et quod dolendum nobis est, per dominum regem omnia operatur, ut asserunt. Intendat ergo caritas vestra pro Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ reverentia, et cum locus aut tempus inciderit, partes vestras pro pauperibus interponere non omittatis. Hoc

They ask his intervention.

enim faciendo Deum in ecclesiæ suæ tuitione vobis complacabitis, liquido intuentes quod vexatio nostra ad honorem domini regis sive domini archiepiscopi pertinere non potest, nec conferre ad salutem. Meritis autem accedet, et ab officio vestro non discrepabit, si ne fiat malum hoc impedieritis, ædificator sepium factus, et avertens semitas iniquitatum. Valeat paternitas vestra semper in Domino.

A.D. 1187. August. All this tends to the dishonour of the king and archbishop.

Isaiah lviii. 12.

CII. Idem Ricardo comiti Pictavensi.

August.

Ecclesiam Dei defendere ad honorem vestrum pertinet et salutem, quia honor Dei honor vester est, et cum ecclesiam ejus honoratis, saluti animæ vestræ intenditis. De generositate ergo animi vestri confidentes vobis supplicamus, quatenus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, in qua Deo deservimus, honorem velitis conservare, quæ debet et desiderat, Deo disponente, capiti vestro regni coronam imponere: quia dominus archiepiscopus possessiones nostras nobis abstulit, et jura antiqua non permittit nos tenere sicut tenuimus temporibus prædecessorum suorum, et suis, usque modo: et unde magis dolemus, putant homines quod omnia per dominum nostrum regem operatur, et sui hoc manifeste dicunt. Vos autem pro honore Dei et domini regis patris vestri et vestro, partes vestras interponite, ut ecclesia nostra in statu suo conservetur, quatenus Deus per merita Sancti Thomæ martyris gloriosi, annos vestros multiplicet et augeat honores. Valete.

The convent entreats the count of Poictou to use his influence for the deliverance of their church.

CIII. Idem comitibus Willelmo de Mandavilla, Hamelino et Theobaldo.

August.

Modo indigent pauperes fratres vestri vestro adjutorio, quia dominus archiepiscopus possessiones nostras nobis aufert; scilicet maneria nostra unde viximus, homines nostros super quos semper habuimus potestatem, sicut ipse super suos; similiter abstulit nobis curiam nostram, et vult omnia habere, et omnium dominus esse: nec ei sufficit quod Sanctus Thomas habuit, et Ricardus, et antecessores sui, et ipsemet usque modo. Ideo pro amore Dei et reverentia gloriosi martyris Thomæ, et honore domini regis intromittite vos erga dominum regem, ut nos teneat in statu in quo fuimus toto tempore suo, et in possessionibus et libertatibus quas ipse et antecessores sui nobis confirmant; nec propter voluntatem domini archiepiscopi faciat aliquid quod contra honorem suum sit vel salutem. Valete.

The convent entreats earls William of Essex, Hamelin of Surrey, and Theobald of Blois, to intercede for them with the king.

fo. 22 r°.

A.D. 1187. August.

CIV. Philippo regi Francorum Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent begs the king of France to intercede for them, if not with the pope, at least with the king of England or count Richard.

Satis audivit excellentia vestra quomodo Cantuariensis ecclesia his temporibus vexatur, et nos sublimitati vestra alia vice significavimus. Quia igitur vestra est et esse debet, sicut illa quam sanctæ memoriæ Ludovicus pater vester, rex quondam Christianissimus, devotione sua et annuo beneficio suam fecit et vestram in sempiternum; ideo majestatis vestræ pedibus prostrati supplicamus omnes et singuli, quatenus pro Deo et reverentia gloriosi martyris Thomæ, si non placet vobis domino papæ scribere, saltem domino nostro regi Angliæ scribere velitis, quatenus conservet nos in statu illo in quo fuimus omni tempore suo, et sicut ipse et antecessores sui cartis suis confirmant: nec propter voluntatem domini archiepiscopi res nostras vel libertates auferat vel minuat. Quod si magnificentiæ vestræ non placet, saltem comiti Ricardo scribatis, ut erga dominum nostrum patrem suum partes suas pro nobis interponat. De ecclesia enim quam archiepiscopus vult fundare juxta nos, nihil petimus nisi judicium ecclesiasticum. Dominus multiplicet annos vestros et augeat potestatem.

CV. Urbano papæ Philippus rex Francorum.

The king of France entreats the pope for the church of Canterbury.

Cum prior et quidam de fratribus de conventu Cantuariensis ecclesiæ vestræ celsitudinis præsentiæ pro negotiis suis assistant, precibus reliquorum fratrum exorti, et consideratione dilectionis quam genitor noster ad illam habuit, promoti, vestram exoramus paternitatem quatenus priorem et fratres suos, Dei et æquitatis intuitu, in suis justis petitionibus exaudire vestra dignetur clementia. Valeat sancta paternitas vestra in perpetuum.

CVI. Honorius prior Gaufrido suppriori.

A short letter of consolation from the prior to the subprior.

Quoniam vos et cæteros fratres nostros de nobis scimus esse sollicitos, quotiescunque poterimus vos consolari et confortare volumus. Confortatio namque vestra et consolatio, fortitudo nostra est. Quandocunque quidem unanimitatem vestram et constantiam audimus, nosmetipsos fortiores et constantiores invenimus. Videte ergo ne fortitudinem vestram modica frangat adversitas, ne brevis tribulatio sempiternam opprobrii vobis notam ingerat, vel gloriam minuat aut damnum inferat laudi. Qualecunque ergo in exterioribus sive in interioribus vobis inferatur gravamen, constantes estote; videbitis quidem auxilium Domini super vos. Cras enim egrediemini, et Dominus 2 Chron. xx. 17.

erit vobiscum, quia post noctem hujus tribulationis elucescet vobis dies lætitiæ et exultationis, quoniam quidem Dominus noster aliquando respiciet humilitatem vestram, et retribuet eis mala qui faciunt vobis contumeliam, Qui retribuit abundanter facientibus superbiam. Valete in Domino. A.D. 1187.

Ps. xxxi. 26.

CVII. Conventui Cantuariensi, R. R. fratres sui.

Between July 25 and August 28.

Afflicti calamitatibus et miseriis tam inæqualitate corporum, quam curarum et laborum, in transmarina dilatione respirare nequimus. Miramur tamen super prudentia vestra, quod de angustiis et tribulationibus quæ invenerunt vos et nos nimis, nihil nobis in mandato vestro expresseritis; signis tamen et indiciis mala quæ vobis imminebant, licet non ad plenum intelleximus. Regem in remotis partibus non sine magna difficultate et sumptu adivimus, et mala vobis intentata, quasi de mandato ejus, vobis jam facta plene significavimus. Qui quasi nihil horum conscius sub juramento negavit se neminem vestrum mandasse, sed nec contra vos aliquid scripsisse. Priorem tantum de voluntate sua per nos mandaverat, et nos ad hoc secum detinuit, ut pacem, si quam posset, de consilio prioris et nostro, inter archiepiscopum et nos reformaret, vestra tamen approbatione. Constantes tamen estote, ut in tribulationibus vestris probetur patientia, in tentamentis constantia. In proximo videbitis auxilium divinum, præsertim cum fere deficiat omne humanum. Cæterum ad hoc quibus poterimus modis laborabimus, ut status noster, quem ante regis discessum habuimus, a domino rege nobis reformetur. Valeat vestra sancta fraternitas.

The messengers of the convent, in reply to a letter which they did not understand, write to say that they have reached the court and found the king friendly.

The king is prepared to make peace between the archbishop and the convent.

CVIII. Amicis amicus.

After August 25.

Audivi tribulationem vestram, audivi et dolui. Eisdem enim confodior jaculis quibus vos audio vulneratos. Sed attendens sapientiam vestram in talibus nequaquam inermem, facile consolor, perpendens animos sapientum adversis non dejici, sed robustius erigi. Ut enim ait Jeronymus, "Si fractus illabatur "orbis, impavidum ferient ruinæ sapientem." Vos igitur in eminenti contemplationis specula positi, minas hominum nolite timere, sed prorsus despicite. Cernatis terram de longe, ut Regem sæculorum decore suo possitis videre. Sit vobis inter hos rerum terrenarum tumultus, timor Dei, contemptus sæculi, constantia beati Thomæ martyris pretiosi. Cæterum, in quibus cum Deo potero, vobis universis et singulis libenter adero. Meum est itaque consilium, quod domino archiepiscopo, in

A friend assures the convent that he trusts in their wisdom and probity to ensure them success.

Hor. 3 Od. iii. 7.

Isaiah xxxiii. 17.

fo. 22 v°.

A.D. 1187, August. He advises them to come to terms with the archbishop if possible.

quibus cum Deo et ratione poteritis, sine simulatione pareatis, sine dissimulatione obediatis. Scriptum est enim, "Filii obe- "dite patribus vestris in Domino. Hoc enim justum est." Eph. vi. 1. Si vero vobis fuerit a quoquam aliquid imperatum contra Deum vel ecclesiæ vestræ honorem et vestrum, vel ad dispendium, satius, honestius et commodius æstimo, omnia vestra subversioni exponere, quam parere. Quid enim prodest homini si totum mundum lucretur, animæ vero suæ vel famæ detrimentum patiatur? Satis dictum est sapientibus. S. Mark viii. 36. Litteras vestras et rescriptum de commonitione et vocatione vobis facta, mihi in crastino Sancti Bartholomæi noveritis esse porrectum, et ideo non miremini, vobis citius non esse responsum. Nec possum, nec debeo de tali non moveri rescripto, quod vobis erga dominum papam, si ei fuerit ostensum, gratiam et favorem proculdubio comparabit ampliorem. Bene et diu valeatis: mei, vestri gratia, non immemores in orationibus vestris.

He received their letter on the 25th of August.

CIX. Conventui Cantuariensi R. decanus Remensis.

The dean of Rheims assures the convent of his good wishes and prayers.

Ecclesiam vestram in angustia positam et mœrore, et ejus plagam, nostris forsan peccatis exigentibus, imminentem, quantum mea tenuis possit facultas, studiosius consolarer; nisi quia consolandi gratiam lugens consolator amisi. Nam ob ejus afflictionem in amaritudine animæ constitutus illatas ei injuriosas molestias non possum æquanimiter sustinere. Cum enim eidem ecclesiæ vestræ qualecunque membrum existam, declinare non possum capitis læsionem. Hoc saltem vobis notum super his consilium memoriter et efficaciter teneatis, ut indefessa orationum instantia ab hac tribulatione liberari Dei misericordiam imploretis. Porro cum jam ad summum pertigerit plaga, spero vos in brevi tempore liberandos. Valete.

After August 11.

CX. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido domini regis cancellario.

The convent thanks Geoffrey the chancellor for his kindness to their envoys. The archbishop has seized the manors.

Generositatem vestram gratiarum actione prosequimur, quod nobis in fratribus nostris quos ad dominum regem direximus tam liberaliter astitistis. Rem siquidem fecistis genere regio et virtute dignissimam, pro afflictis et injuste oppressis partes vestras interponendo. Quoniam vero ad hoc opus est, benignitati vestræ supplicamus, quatenus a gratia quam nobis gratis impendere cœpistis non desistatis. Jam enim libertates nostras et possessiones fere omnes dominus archiepiscopus nobis abstulit. Quod utique minus nos læderet, si posset cum honore

domini regis fieri. Sed, ut verum fateamur, omnes omnia ei imputant et imponunt, putantes eum auctoritatem præstare vexationi nostræ, quia non cohibet eum qui nos affligit, cum possit. Pro amore itaque Dei, et sanctorum quorum corpora in Cantuariensi requiescunt ecclesia, et pro honore domini regis, intromittite vos, carissime, ut status noster bonus et rectus nobis reparetur. Cætera præsentium latores vobis plenius poterunt enarrare.

A.D. 1187. August. We entreat your advocacy.

CXI. Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus Gilberto Rofensi episcopo.

After August 28.

Nosse volumus dilectionem vestram dilectos filios nostros, Robertum sacristam et R. Noreis, monachos ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, apud Alezun ante regiam majestatem et in nostra præsentia constitutos, sub multorum regni procerum et clericorum aspectu, alterum eorum, videlicet Rogerum Noreis, celerariam domus ecclesiæ nostræ, alterum vero, Robertum scilicet, ejusdem ecclesiæ sacristariam, humiliter et quantum per exteriora metiri possumus, de manu nostra devote recepisse. Mandamus itaque vobis, quatenus prædicto Rogero quem nos celerarium constituimus, omnium possessionum tam interiorum quam exteriorum ad ipsam domus nostræ celerariam pertinentium: Roberto vero omnes possessiones et beneficia ad ecclesiæ nostræ sacristariam pertinentia, cum debita integritate vice nostra tradi faciatis, et liberam omnium reddituum et possessionum ad utrumque officium tam celerariæ quam sacristariæ pertinentium administrationem auctoritate nostra ipsis committatis. Sed et dilecto filio nostro Symoni monacho, quondam ecclesiæ nostræ camerario, custodiam et dispositionem omnium rerum quæ ad ipsam cameram pertinere noscuntur, ex parte nostra committatis.

The archbishop informs the bishop of Rochester, that Roger Noreys has accepted at his hands the office of cellarer, and the monk Robert that of sacrist, in the king's presence at Alençon. (August 28, Gervase, 1506.) He directs him to put them in possession.

CXII. Henricus rex eidem et Randulfo de Glanvilla.

After August 28.

Sciatis quod tractavi de pace inter dominum Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et monachos Cantuarienses, et in tantum gratia Dei profeci, quod Robertus sacrista Cantuariensis ecclesiæ in præsentia mea et baronum meorum recepit sacristariam ecclesiæ Cantuariensis de manu ipsius Baldewini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, et idem archiepiscopus tradidit eidem Roberto custodiam omnium possessionum et rerum ad eandem sacristariam pertinentium. Rogero autem le Noreis monacho Cantuariensi tradidit celerariam ipsius ecclesiæ cum custodia possessionum et omnium rerum ad ipsam celerariam pertinentium. Concessit etiam Symoni camerario camerariam

The king informs the bishop of Rochester and the Justiciar that the archbishop has made Roger Noreys cellarer and Robert sacrist.

fo. 23 r°.

A.D. 1187. August. The bishop is to make Symon chamberlain.

Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, cum custodia omnium possessionum et rerum ad ipsam pertinentium, recipiendam de manu tua, episcope Rofensis, vice ipsius archiepiscopi. Et volo ut hæc, sicut in præsentia mea et baronum meorum facta sunt, vobis innotescant. Teste Hugone Coventrensi electo apud Alezun.

CXIII. Urbano papæ Henricus rex.

After August 28. The king informs the pope that, in conformity with his mandate, he has tried to make peace between the archbishop and convent, and has succeeded.

Sanctitatis vestræ mandatum cum debita suscepimus reverentia, quo sollicitudinem nostram attentius monere dignata est, ut ad pacem reformandam inter dominum archiepiscopum, et priorem et monachos Cantuariæ debeamus operam adhibere. Cum autem tunc in partibus Normanniæ, propter urgentissima detineremur negotia, tamen ut mandato vestro nihilominus pareremus, de consilio fidelium nostrorum memoratum archiepiscopum ad nos ab Anglia fecimus evocari. Cumque tam ipse quam aliqui ex monachis in nostra essent præsentia constituti, de verbo pacis quanta potuimus sedulitate tractavimus, et eatenus divina gratia aspirante processum est, quod spes plenæ pacis illuxit. Proinde sanctitati vestræ supplicamus obnixius, quatenus memoratum priorem ad nos maturius remittatis, ut negotium pacis quod de mandato vestro laudabiliter jam inchoatum est, præstante Domino feliciter consummetur. Quod si prior ipse vel monachi aliquid a sanctitate vestra duxerint expetendum, quod bonum pacis valeat perturbare, rogamus attentius ne eos in hoc exaudire velitis. Certum est enim quod in pace illius ecclesiæ pax nostra et tranquillitas regni nostri consistit.

The pope is not to listen to any further demands on the part of the prior.

CXIV. Rex Angliæ Honorio priori Cantuariensi et sociis suis.

After August 28.

The king informs the prior that he summoned the archbishop from England, and has effected peace between him and the convent.

Ob reverentiam mandati apostolici quod fratres vestri nobis exhibuerunt, simul etiam amore inducti, quo matrem nostram Cantuariensem ecclesiam amplexamur; cum tunc in partibus Normanniæ propter cætera detineremur negotia, dominum Cantuariensem ad nos ab Anglia fecimus evocari. Qui cum in nostra esset præsentia constitutus, inter eum et quosdam fratres vestros qui simul aderant, de bono pacis tractavimus: et eatenus aspirante Domino processum est, quod plenæ pacis spes nobis illuxit. Proinde mandamus vobis et districte præcipimus, quatenus sicut diligitis honorem nostrum et ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, visis litteris istis ad nos properetis, ut verbum pacis quod jam inchoatum est, vobis præsentibus felicius consummetur. Inhibemus ergo districtius ne aliquid

obtinere contendatis, quod bonum pacis valeat perturbare, scientes quod in pace illius ecclesiæ pax nostra et tranquillitas regni nostri consistit. Alioquin nisi statim ad mandatum nostrum redieritis, pro constanti habebimus quod nec pacem nec honorem nostrum vel ecclesiæ vestræ diligitis. Unde et merito nec nostram vobis gratiam, nec regni nostri favorem poteritis ulterius comparare.

A.D. 1187. August. He forbids him to attempt to disturb it.

CXV. Henrico regi Angliæ prior Cantuariensis et socii.

Litteras regiæ majestatis in hac forma suscepimus, "Hen- "ricus Dei gratia," etc., "Ob reverentiam mandati apos- "tolici," etc., *ut supra;* quibus cum summa devotione susceptis et diligenter intellectis, non quas tenemur, sed quas nos servi vestri possumus, gratias Omnipotenti Deo referimus, Qui vobis ex abundantia Suæ pietatis dignatus est inspirare, quod ecclesiam Cantuariensem et nunc sicut et semper veræ caritatis affectu respicitis, ipsius tranquillitati paternaliter intendendo, ipsius pacem et securitatem misericorditer procurando. Verum, rex benigne, sub cujus alis et tutela vivimus et sumus, qua pace, qua quiete poterit de cætero Cantuariensis ecclesia gaudere, si consurgat opus illud quod intendat dominus noster archiepiscopus Cantuariensis construere? Vos bene scitis, rex pie, quia modica vel nulla: bene scimus et certo certius credimus, quod ex hoc, vestra sibi providente clementia, Cantuariensis ecclesia vestris temporibus nullum in suis dignitatibus consequetur dispendium; sed posteritati nostræ discrimen formidamus provenire gravissimum et contentionem perpetuam. Verumtamen statim ad mandatum vestrum iter ad vos sicut ad dominum et patronum nostrum veniendi arripuissemus, nisi urgentissima et inaudita gravamina ad vocem conventus nostri lacrymosam nos subsistere coarctarent. Pax namque quæ in præsentia vestra debuit inchoari, facta est eis in cumulum doloris et augmentum. Promisit enim dominus noster Cantuariensis, ut accepimus, conventui pacem, sed pax non est subsecuta. Promisit securitatem, et ecce tribulatio. Omnibus namque bonis et possessionibus servulos vestros, sicut jam auribus nostris intonuit, violenter spoliavit. Moveat igitur, divinæ caritatis intuitu, regiam pietatem tanti conventus desolatio, pauperum Christi perturbatio, et qui nihil aliud nisi pacem desiderant, nisi ut in ea libertate, et statu quo tempore vestri imperii hucusque vixerunt, sub vestræ protectionis gratia deinceps possint permanere. Cæterum licet tanti principis gloriæ vel laudibus minime possit ascribi, ut in nos, personas contemptibiles et

The prior in answer to No. cxiv. thanks the king for his good intention.

No safety is possible unless the new church be stopped.

The prior would have hastened to court, but was prevented by the distress of the convent.

fo. 23 v°.

The archbishop has seized the possessions of the convent.

A.D. 1187. The convent will always obey the king, saving the honour of God and their church.

miserabiles, comminationes et asperas voluistis, sicut ex litteris vestris concepimus, intentare, salvo tamen honore Dei et ecclesiæ nostræ, vestris jussionibus semper et ubique reverenter obtemperabimus, nec, ut verum fateamur, aliquid hactenus quod merito regiam dignitatem offendere, vel pacem in aliquo debeat perturbare, perquisivimus, quicquid vobis in contrarium fuerit suggestum. Dominus, Qui est Rex regum, per merita beati Thomæ martyris augeat regnum vestrum et imperium ad laudem et gloriam suam, et det vobis vitam bonam et exitum bonum, vestrisque visceribus inspiret, ut ita tranquillitati Cantuariensis ecclesiæ velitis intendere, quatenus per vos vigere valeat libertate, et statum quem vestra sibi conservavit munificentia, vestris temporibus se gaudeat obtinere.

September. The convent informs the archbishop that they refuse assent to the acts of Robert and Roger, and still appeal to the pope.

CXVI. Baldewino archiepiscopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

Noverit discretio vestra iis quæ per fratres nostros Robertum sacristam et Rogerum Noreis ob aliud ad dominum regem directos, contra regulam et ecclesiæ nostræ consuetudinem rationabilem statuistis, nos nullatenus assensum præbere, nec recipere; sed iis magis stare quæ in ea recte et regulariter ordinate consistunt. Scitis enim quia ne status ecclesiæ, in qua divino officio deputati sumus, bonus et rectus divellatur aut immutetur, audientiam apostolicam appellavimus, et noveritis quoniam etiam adhuc appellamus. Adaperiat Dominus cor vestrum in beneplacito suo, et faciat pacem. Macc. i. 4.

September. Symon the chamberlain refuses to accept his office from the archbishop.

CXVII. Eidem Symon camerarius.

Audivi quod vestra jusserit paternitas me per manum domini Rofensis quædam maneria quasi ad cameram pertinentia debere recipere. Sed sciatis pro certo quod nulla ratione ad hoc induci potero, ut alio ordine vel alio modo quam hactenus feci vel antecessores mei camerarii fecerunt, obedientiam illam administrare consentiam, contra statum et consuetudinem ecclesiæ et contra privilegia ab apostolica sede indulta.

September. Robert the sacrist tells the archbishop that he did not understand, and refuses his consent to, what was done at Alençon.

CXVIII. Eidem Robertus sacrista.

Minus intellexeram quod mihi obedientiam sacristariæ aliter administrandam injunxissetis quam huc usque fere per quadraginta annos administraverim. Unde noverit paternitas vestra me nullo modo consentire contra debitum et jus ecclesiæ cujus servus sum, et contra privilegia eidem ecclesiæ indulta, ut aliquid contra consuetudinem faciam. Valete.

CXIX. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1187. September.

Gratias agimus excellentiæ vestræ, quod de statu nostro reformando solliciti estis, et ut bonus dominus servorum oppressionem vultis reparare. Verumtamen, carissime domine, quamvis dominum archiepiscopum induxerit gratia vestra, ut maneria nostra quæ seisivit, nobis velit reddere, litteras misit alias [quam] prælocutæ fuerant ante præsentiam vestram, sicut testantur fratres nostri, quibus quia magis nos disseisiat quam seisiat, et tali modo reddere est omnia auferre, uti nolumus. Melius enim nobis est quamdiu volueritis vestram et illius gratiam expectare, quam ablata in subversionem status nostri accipere contra libertates quas hactenus habuimus, et quas nobis in possessionibus nostris antecessores vestri concesserunt et confirmaverunt cartis suis, et contra vos maxime, qui possessiones nostras et libertates nobis non tantum confirmastis, sed etiam auxistis. Non enim tenuerunt maneria aliquando cellararius et sacrista, sicut modo vult dominus archiepiscopus, sed nos communi consilio fratribus commisimus servanda, quibus melius et utilius videbatur, et per tres fratres thesaurarios, omnia quæ de maneriis proveniebant, similiter et omnes redditus ecclesiæ et obventiones per tallias et scriptum percipientes distribuebantur illis tribus obedientiariis, et aliis omnibus prout cuique opus erat. Hunc statum nostrum dominus archiepiscopus, cum ei apud Wingeham ostensus esset coram de Evesham et Feversham abbatibus, magistro Feramino et multis aliis, plurimum approbavit, et verbis quibus, si placeret ei, stare deberet, confirmavit. De rebus autem nostris nos libere ordinare solemus, sicut ex transcriptis cartarum prædecessorum vestrorum, quæ vobis mittimus, manifeste potestis perpendere, si placuerit benignitati vestræ ea inspicere vel audire. Unde majestati vestræ supplicamus omnes et singuli, quatenus pro reverentia Dei et sanctorum quorum corpora in Cantuariensi ecclesia requiescunt, hunc statum nobis velitis reformare, quia possessiones nostras quibus adhuc quotidie spoliamur non advocamus nisi per Deum et per vos, nec ad alicujus suggestionem, carissime domine, faciatis aliquid vel fieri consentiatis, quod contra honorem vestrum sit vel salutem.

The convent thanks the king for his good intentions; but the archbishop, instead of restoring the manors of the convent, has deceived both, and introduced an innovation.

The cellarer and sacrist have never held their manors in the way now introduced by the archbishop.

He himself had approved the former arrangement.

fo. 24 r°.

The convent has always had the privilege of managing its own affairs.

CXX. Urbano papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

September.

Possessiones nostras, bona pauperum, una cum personis, sicut jam mundo innotuit, sub protectione beati Petri et vestra collocavimus, appellantes quicunque de sinu vestro tulisset.

The convent is under the protection of the pope.

A.D. 1187. September. The archbishop deprived us of nearly all our property before he went into Normandy (August 11), and while there he prevailed on the sacrist and cellarer to receive their manors from him.

Dominus archiepiscopus majorem beato Petro et reverentiæ vestræ faciens injuriam quam parvitati nostræ, nobis bonis fere omnibus spoliatis, ad dominum regem profectus est in Normanniam. Ubi duo de fratribus nostris in præsentia domini regis constituti, et procerum multorum, alter decrepitus et simplicior, alter ut jam claret dominandi cupidior, sicut audivimus, de manu domini archiepiscopi rerum nostrarum administrationem receperunt; quos ob alia omnino negotia ad excellentiam regiæ majestatis misimus. Quod idcirco paternitati vestræ significare decrevimus, ut si res ad vos perlata fuerit, noveritis nobis nec scientibus nec consentientibus factum esse, nec possessiones nostras nobis aliquatenus restitutas, sed nos magis per hoc destitutos universis. Res enim sive rerum administrationes quas illis contulit, nobis abstulisse convincitur, et in hoc etiam facto, si tamen fecit, consuetudini antiquæ et rationabili ecclesiæ suæ, immo et sacræ regulæ quam et ipse professus est, injuriam fecisse comprobatur, scripta nihilominus authentica prædecessorum suorum, et privilegia sedis apostolicæ, quantum in ipso est, evacuavit. Unde liquet eum et statum ecclesiæ in qua Deo deservimus, omnino velle subvertere, sicut ex transcriptis cartarum Theobaldi archiepiscopi, et Willelmi et Henrici regum, quæ fratres nostri vobis exhibere possunt, facile est comprobare. Cæterum fratres quos sic voluit præficere in Normannia, qui nec auctoritatem habebant nec mandatum acceperant, ad nos reversi, quicquid ibi egerint, nihil contra consuetudinem et privilegia ecclesiæ facere consenserunt. Placeat ergo majestati vestræ, vel nunc, cum ad summum miseriarum perducti sumus, misereri, et bona quæ sub alis vestris posita dominus archiepiscopus a vobis tulit et nobis abstulit, ecclesiæ Dei restituere. Etenim rex noster, cui Deus vitam adjiciat et salutem, sicut protestatur, eorum quæ in nos fiunt nec auctor est, nec assentit. Valeat vita vestra, pater sanctissime, ad honorem Dei et ecclesiæ suæ libertatem.

In this he wronged the convent, and went against ancient custom, the rule of the order, and the charters of the convent.

The brethren had no authority from us to treat on such a question.

The king says he is on our side.

CXXI. Conventus Cantuariensis Honorio priori.

September.

The convent informs the prior that they sent to the king four monks

Ideo quoties opportunitas se ingerit, quæ circa nos sunt vobis significamus, ut instructiores possitis in causa procedere. Necessarium namque est, non res tantum sed et rerum nosse circumstantias. Misimus igitur ad dominum regem, sicut jussit justitiarius dominus Randulfus, ex parte domini regis; privilegia vero nostra non misimus sicut jussi sumus. Destinavimus autem Alexandrum de Dovra, et R. quondam beati Thomæ capellanum, ad Robertum sacristam et Rogerum thesaurarium,

qui propter aliam causam præcesserant, cum litteris hujusmodi; A.D. 1187. September. with a letter of defence, No. lxii.
" Domino regi, etc., conventus Cantuariensis, humilis et afflictus,
" salutem. Suggestum est vobis, sicut accepimus," *ut supra*, et cætera. His auditis, respondit, se neminem nostrum vocasse, nihil tale de vobis suspicasse, nihil egisse contra nos aut scripsisse. Ecclesiam illam novam minus sano consilio inceptam esse, et Deum in eo cœpto non fuisse, et se quidem dixit assensum dedisse ut fieret, sed consilium nunquam; de maneriorum vero invasione vehementer visus est admirari. Hæc omnia nobis retulit frater Alexander de Dovra citius ad nos reversus propter infirmitatem qua molestabatur; reliquis tribus relictis in Normannia, ut statum nostrum in talibus a domino rege reposcerent. Quid multa? In præsentia domini regis et domini archiepiscopi constituti, et procerum multorum, cum inquisiti super multis eleganter et caute respondissent, si fideles verbi sui sunt relatores, ad hoc tandem perducti sunt, domino rege procurante et pacem perpetuam in omnibus promittente, ut maneria nostra de manu domini archiepiscopi reciperent, ad opus trium obedientiariorum, cellararii, camerarii, et sacristæ. Dominus Rogerus cellararii curam accepit et nomen cellararii. Hæc cum ad nos retulissent, et litteras super hoc domino Rofensi et magistro Radulfo, officialibus domini archiepiscopi, nobis ostendissent, inhibuimus ne possessiones nostras ingrederentur, nec contra privilegia vel consuetudinem ecclesiæ aliquid agerent, vel sibi usurparent, et adquieverunt. Litteras autem quas miserat archiepiscopus, quasi pro vobis signatas, cum nullum earum haberent transcriptum, et uti vellemus, in capitulo fregimus et earum exemplar vobis destinamus. Rogerum vero quondam thesaurarium, primipilum et totius sceleris procuratorem, ab officio suo depositum custodiæ deputavimus arctiori, claustrali tamen; sacristæ veniam dantes quia ignorans fecit et condigne pœnituit. Camerarius maneria recipere non adquievit. Noveritis nos eis in Normanniam litteras misisse tales; " Gaufridus supprior
" et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, Roberto sacristæ,
" et Rogero thesaurario, Alexandro et R. monachis, salutem
" et dilectionem. Transiens per nos dominus archiepiscopus,
" cum transfretaret, seisivit maneria nostra et obtulit cellarario
" et camerario, ut ea quæ quondam ad eorum obedientias
" pertinere dicebat, ab eo reciperent, ei fidelitatem facturi et
" responsuri. Ipsi vero sicut fratres fidelissimi responderunt
" se obedientias illas paratos esse, sicut hactenus fecerant, ad-
" ministrare, sed contra consuetudinem ecclesiæ et privilegia
" nihil omnino agere. Mandamus itaque vobis, et ex parte
" totius capituli præcipimus, quamvis non multum necessarium

The king's answer was favourable, and one of the messengers returned.

The archbishop and the king prevailed on the others to receive the alienated manors of the convent from the archbishop.

fo. 24 v°.

The convent refused to sanction this, and deposed Roger Norcys, the new cellarer, and opened the mandate from the archbishop to the prior.

Copy of a letter sent by the convent to the messengers in Normandy, in which they are forbidden to accept the "obediences" from the archbishop. (No. xcvi.)

A.D. 1187. September.

"credamus, quatenus si quem vestrum super hujusmodi con-
"venerit, similiter faciatis." Ecce quam auctoritatem habue-

The king and archbishop have put themselves in the wrong in all this.

runt in faciendo quod fecerunt; prohibitionem solam. Ne terreamini ergo nec timeatis, si rei seriem domino papæ scripserit archiepiscopus, si testificetur rex ipse et proceres, sed magis exultate, contra ipsum quippe omnia agunt. Siccine namque consuetudo est ecclesiarum aut monasteriorum agenda sua agere? Sic præscribit regula beati Benedicti; quam et ipse professus est? Sic canones diffiniunt, ut Alezun coram regia majestate, consilio procerum regni, vel conscientia eorum, cellararium creare debeat, et hujusmodi? maxime cum cellararium habeamus cum consilio totius conventus regulariter et recte præfectum? An forte Cystercienses ita regulam interpretantur et observant? Deo gratias quod litteræ scelus hoc continentes interceptæ sunt, et infidelis manifestus est in nobis. Credimus quia insaniet, et aliquid durius in nos archiepiscopus statuet, quia monachum suum detinemus, quia litteras confregimus. Nos autem appellatione tuti nullam ab eo de cætero sententiam suscipiemus, quamvis superabundanter hactenus circa statum ecclesiæ pro quo appellatum est, obtemperavimus. Nihil ergo movemini, quia sic actum est. Res enim inter alios facta aliis nocere non potest. Valete, et accelerate ut prævaleat Dei martyr gloriosus Thomas Petri gladium quem præostendit educere. Alioquomodo dissipetur machina ista contra ecclesiam Cantuariensem erecta, non videmus. Cavete ne quidquam loquamini contra principem, quia vultum hilarem, ut dicunt, nostris ostendit, et omnia negat per ipsum fieri publice et cum juramento. Mittimus vobis rescripta cartarum quas apud nos invenimus regum et archiepiscopi Theobaldi, quorum originalia apud nos esse certissime noveritis, et si opus fuerit, præstito sacramento, corporaliter securi comprobetis. Valete.

The archbishop will be mad about this, but we will receive no sentence from him.

CXXII. Amicus amico.

A letter from the convent to a friend.

Quam sincera nos amplectamini caritate etsi cætera sub silentio transeamus, sola animi vestri sufficit ostendere sollicitudo, quia "res est solliciti plena timoris amor." Nunc enim defectum nostrum timentes stare hortamini, nunc vos de pace nostra rumusculus levis exhilarat. Verumtamen rumoribus credere non oportet. Dicunt enim, pax, pax, et non est pax. Namque quæ pax nobis, qui matrem nostram in præsentia nostra jugulari conspicimus? Et quidem honestius arbitramur pro ipsa et cum ipsa, si daret Deus, occumbere, quam nos dissimulando vel consentiendo funere materno commaculare. Possessiones ejus sicut auditis, diripiuntur, omnis quoque

Ovid, Epist i. 12.

Do not be misled by rumours of peace.

Jer. viii. 11.

libertas ejus ablata; et firmatur Damascus contra faciem Jerusalem, proculdubio ut magis ipsa infirmetur et pereat. Cum autem venerit pax nostra, si tamen ventura est, aut nulli hominum innotescet, aut vos non latebit. Sicut enim justum est ut adversa communicent qui prosperis coutuntur, ita non immerito æquum est communicare gaudio, qui coafflicti esse noscuntur. Cæterum, ut quæ circa nos sunt plenius agnoscatis, noveritis fratrem quendam Rogerum ab Aquilone, sine nobis, immo contra prohibitionem nostram et ecclesiæ nostræ consuetudinem, necnon contra privilegia, et quam professi sumus regulam, cellarariam nostram apud Alezun in Normannia de manu domini archiepiscopi recepisse, tactus intrinsecus amore dominandi. Unde forte verbum de pace divulgatum audistis. Nos autem cellararium habentes per dominum archiepiscopum cum consilio conventus sui rite et regulariter ordinatum; iis quæ sic facta sunt non assentimus; itaque fratres nostros ad dominum regem direximus, possessionum nostrarum petere restitutionem; verba tantummodo expectantes. Omnia etenim quæ patimur per ipsum publice negat fieri, etiam cum juramento. De curia vero Romana in bona spe sumus, certificati de sospitate prioris et fratrum nostrorum. Valete.

A.D. 1187. September. Our church is endangered by the rival chapel.

fo. 25 r°. Roger Norreys has accepted the cellarership from the archbishop at Alençon.

We have sent to the king to demand restitution.

CXXIII. Conventus Cantuariensis Roberto Sacristæ et sociis ejus monachis.

Sept. or Oct.

Quamvis de fidelitate vestra nullatenus dubitemus, versutias tamen hominum timentes, quod dirigendis injunximus et per vos a domino rege petimus, iteramus ad cautelam. Miramur siquidem quod ex quo iter arripuistis nihil commeantium frequentia de mora vestra seu moræ causa ad nos retulerit. Scimus quidem eum cum quo negotium geritur quæstiones magis intricare quam absolvere, et in omni re nectere dilationes. Verum tamen vigilantissime cavete ne fidem habeatis fallaciæ, nec mandati fines transgrediamini, facto tantummodo quod fecerunt fratres nostri contra jus nostrum et consuetudinem ecclesiæ nostræ, ex parte nostra renunciate, et rerum nostrarum petite restitutionem, ut quemadmodum tota tempora domini regis possedimus, possessio nobis ablatorum ad nos libera revertatur, sive domino rege jubente, sive archiepiscopo, et ipso simpliciter et absolute, sine modo et conditione, communiter et indistincte, si voluerit. Sin autem, cogitate de reditu. Si nova circa negotium emerserit quæstio, tutius est omnino responsum non reddere, et semper urgere propositum. Quod vobis injunctum est, hoc facite. Si quidem aliud inciderit, quod super aliis mandatum non acceperitis

The convent renew their commands to Robert and his companions, who are sent to the king to demand restitution, and to renounce the agreement made at Alençon.

They are to stick to their instructions.

A.D. 1187. Sept. or Oct. To remember to say about Roger Norreys that he is sick in the infirmary. The sacristan will do well to return immediately.

respondete. Sic etenim et vos minus intricabitis, et debitum exsolvetis professioni vestræ. Si verbum audieritis super Rogerum Noreis; quod vidistis, hoc testamini; videlicet vos ipsum in domo infirmorum, ut infirmum, reliquisse: quid postea acciderit ignorare. Si post harum susceptionem vos in partibus illis moram facere oportet, non expedit quidem, sacristam nobis vellemus reverti. Timemus enim ejus debilitati, et eo opus habemus; per præsentium etiam latorem nobis rei gestæ seriem significate, nisi ipsi veneritis. Valete. Dominus sit in corde vestro, et in labiis vestris; ut negotium quod suscepistis competenter et constanter exequamini.

December. (Gervase, 1513.) The convent inform the king that the archbishop's clerks have forbidden them in the king's name to hold their court.

CXXIV. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis.

Postquam in protectione vestra et pace, serenissime domine, possessionibus nostris spoliati sumus, major dolorum cumulus malis nostris accessit. Clerici enim domini archiepiscopi, ex parte vestra et ipsius, in ecclesia Cantuariensi coram multis e diversis nationibus illuc confluentibus interdixerunt, ne curiam aliquam de cætero teneamus, nec potestatem ullam habeamus super homines nostros. Quæ utique prohibitio tanto nobis magis molesta est, quanto contra honorem vestrum facta dinoscitur. Itaque, benignissime princeps et domine, pro amore Dei et reverentia sanctorum quorum corpora in Cantuariensi requiescunt ecclesia, necnon et honore vestro, dignamini oppressionibus nostris intendere, et ecclesiam quam gratia vestra libertatibus donavit et ampliavit possessionibus in statum debitum et solitum reformare, quatenus pro amore matris vestræ ecclesiæ secundum eloquium divinum longævus sis super terram, et videant qui aliter suspicantur benignitatem quam habetis et exhibuistis circa eam. Nunc autem opus est ut gloria vestra mundo innotescat, quia nec cartæ prædecessorum vestrorum regum nec vestræ, nobis prodesse possunt, vel nos in aliquo defendere, sed homines nostri qui litteras vestras de facienda justitia in curiam nostram deferunt, capi jubentur. Vos vero judicate si honor vester servatur cum majestati regiæ non defertur.

Exodus xx. 12.

They entreat him to assert their rights.

Sept. or Oct. The sheriff of Kent has visited the convent to demand the release of Roger Norreys.

CXXV. Henrico [regi] Conventus Cantuariensis.

Noverit celsitudo vestra, quod postquam a vobis redierunt Robertus Sacrista et Rogerus Norreis fratres nostri, venit ad nos vicecomes Cantiæ cum aliis multis, dicentes se audisse quod Rogerum Norreis in contemptum vestrum aliter tractabamus quam deceret, et jusserunt ex parte vestri et justiarii ut educeremus eum, quatenus eum videre posset et

fo. 25 v°.

convenire. Nos autem respondimus, vere quidem, nihil nos in contemptum vestrum egisse, vel agere, vel acturos esse; fratrem illum regulariter in disciplina teneri, nec consuetudinem ecclesiæ habere aut regulam, ut tales exirent ad colloquium. Diximus præterea non credere nos quod regulam vel consuetudinem ecclesiæ nostræ rationabilem servari prohibetis; quod vero circa eum fecimus, paratos nos, ubi deberemus et coram quo deberemus, ostendere rationabiliter et regulariter egisse. Hoc ideo significamus majestati vestræ, ne maligni interpretes possint pervertere sermonem nostrum et indignationem vestram adversum nos injuste excitare. Incerti autem fuimus, quamvis prædicti nuncii quasi ex parte vestra venirent, an vos eos misissetis. Alii enim similiter venerant qui mandatum vestrum non acceperant, sicut postea per fratres nostros ex ore vestro didicimus. Vitam et incolumitatem vestram Deus conservet in tempora longiora.

A.D. 1187. Sept. or Oct. The convent answered that they had proceeded regularly, and did not believe the king would take offence. They doubted whether these people had authority from the king.

CXXVI. Honorius prior Conventui Cantuariensi.[1]

October.

S. Luke i. 68. Benedictus Deus Israel et laudetur, Qui nostra hactenus in unitatis vestræ constantia direxit opera. Benedictus Oriens S. Luke i. 78. ex alto, Qui nos in orationum vestrarum devotione sub umbra Isaiah xlix. 2. manus suæ feliciter prospexit usque in præsentem diem. Dominus vero papa nostris miseriis et pressuris solita condolet caritate et compatitur; ferventiori provocatus studio ut noster perpetuis conservetur temporibus status et libertas. Cum vero domesticos ejus ut pro nobis intercessores existant interpellemus, dicunt et certo certius affirmant, sicut etiam experimento cognovimus, quod in vestræ causæ tuitione potius indigeret fræno quam calcaribus. Omnium cardinalium et singulorum, uno excepto, gratiam habemus et favorem, et eos de constantibus et benignis constantiores in adventu nostro comperimus et benigniores. Hæc ergo omnia ex divina procedunt clementia, quæ Ipsi Deo et meritis sanctorum nostrorum attribuere potius quam humanæ vigilantiæ possumus aut industriæ. Nunc igitur indesinenter clamemus in cœlum, et miserebitur nostri Deus noster, Qui nunquam deserit sperantes Judith xiii. 17. in Se. Non sine labore et difficultate gravi hoc ultimum domini papæ mandatum, adversariis nostris solita fraude reclamantibus et renitentibus, extorsimus; quod ne suo defraudetur effectu per fratres ad hoc magis idoneos et alios cum summa diligentia et celeritate procurate. Quicquid enim dominus Cantuariensis a tempore promotionis suæ, sive ante appella-

The prior assures the convent of the sympathy and support of the pope and of all the cardinals but one. He has had much trouble in procuring the new mandate.

[1] Written after the issuing of the letters cxxviii., &c.

A.D 1187. October. This mandate will compel the archbishop to undo his work.

tionem sive post, nobis abstulit, vel in juris nostri præjudicium attentavit, per litteras nostras obtinebitis, sicut ex carundem tenore potestis conjicere. Si contumelias et terrores in causa Dei ad præsens sustinetis, gaudete in tribulationibus vestris et exultate, quoniam merces multa est in cœlis. Consolamini S. Luke vi. 23. et estote robusti, et nos Deo in orationibus vestris habeatis Joshua x. 25 commendatos. Bene valete.

CXXVII. Idem Gaufrido suppriori.[1]

The prior reached Verona on the 11th of September.

Dilectionis vestræ gratiæ innotescere volumus omnia apud nos prospere evenisse, postquam a Gallia recessimus. Proxima enim die Veneris post Nativitatem beatæ Mariæ, Veronam venimus, et totam fere curiam pro adventu nostro nobis condolentem et compatientem super gravaminibus de novo nobis illatis reperimus; et maxime dominum papam, qui adjutor factus est nobis in tribulationibus quæ invenerunt nos nimis. Unde in præsentia adversariorum nostrorum et [non] sine confusione illorum, litteras urgentissimas domino Cantuariensi direxit, de novi operis demolitione tam capellæ quam aliorum ædificiorum, et ut locus ille maledictus habeatur et profanus, et omnes illi qui post prohibitionem inibi celebraverunt, suspensi sunt ab officio et beneficio, donec se domini papæ conspectui repræsentent. Adhuc quidem scire vos volumus dominum papam litteras vobis indulsisse, ut, pendente lite, nullam poterit archiepiscopus in vestros excommunicationis sive suspensionis ferre sententiam. Multa haberem vobis dicere quorum modo memoriam non habeo. Ista quidem scribo sicut mihi occurrunt memoriæ. Sed hoc vobis dico, ut vos sani et salvi sitis, constantes quoque et patientes in tribulationibus vestris. Dominus det vobis pacem et salutem, et redimat vos a malis. Amen. Quamcitius poteritis nobis rescribatis.

The pope has issued peremptory letters to the archbishop to undo his work, and to forbid him to suspend or excommunicate during the continuance of the suit.

CXXVIII. Urbanus papa Baldewino archiepiscopo.[2]

A.D. 1187. October 3.

Si usque modo tuæ fraternitati detulimus, et licet provocati plurimum nequaquam tamen processimus in gravamen tuum; illa præcipua causa fuit, quod cum vir religionis fueris et ordinis, et nunc in ecclesia Dei ad summum dignitatis apicem sis assumptus, cor tuum ab oppressione conventus commissæ

fo. 26 r°.

[1] Written apparently after the issuing of the following letters on the 3rd of October.

[2] This letter is in Gervase, *Chronica*, c. 1507, and *Imaginationes*, 1320, with the proper address.

A.D. 1187. October 3.

The pope is disappointed with Baldwin's conduct since he became archbishop.

tibi ecclesiæ, etsi non pro nostra reverentia, quam aliter quam te deceat visus es in hoc contempsisse, saltem metu credidimus divini judicii revocandum. Speravimus equidem, et suadente nobis conscientia credebamus, quod postquam illum quem obtines in Anglicana ecclesia celebrem locum adeptus esses, tu obedientiæ et reverentiæ sacrosanctæ sedi apostolicæ ab omnibus viris ecclesiasticis exhibendæ forma fieres aliis et exemplum. Unde te circa nostræ et tuæ pariter promotionis initia, inusitato hactenus et novo modo curavimus honorare, credentes nos pro honore nostro ecclesiæ virum fidelissimum invenisse. Sed, quod sine gravi admiratione non dicimus, frustrati sumus cogitationibus nostris; et quem fidum tutorem honoris nostri esse credidimus, nunc in membris nostris oppugnatorem sentimus. Multoties enim pro quiete fratrum commissæ tibi ecclesiæ, litteras nostras transmisimus, ut ab eorum inquietatione desisteres, et in jura ipsorum saltem pro nostra reverentia non turbares. Sed tu non solum in hoc, sed et in aliis, sicut ubique fama divulgante fere ab omnibus prædicatur, nostras litteras et appellationes ad sedem apostolicam interpositas parvipendens, quid contra eos post multiplices appellationes et prohibitiones nostras feceris, nos enarrare confundimur. Sed tu ipse revolve in animo, et si bene feceris, in conscientia tua deliberes et decernas. Nos vero, quia clamores ipsorum fratrum et contemptum apostolicæ sedis pertransire surdis auribus nec possumus nec debemus, adhuc licet in vanum videamur jussiones nostras effundere, fraternitati tuæ per apostolica scripta mandamus, et in obedientiæ virtute præcipimus, quatenus eo etiam non obstante si ab ecclesia tua absens fueris, quicquid post appellationem ad nos factam, vel inhibitionem nostram, in opere capellæ quam erigere in destructionem Cantuariensis monasterii statuisti, actum est, tuis expensis non differas demoliri, revocans et deducens prorsus in irritum, quicquid de instituendis canonicis et aliis circa capellam factum est, et enormiter innovatum; locum etiam illum maledictum habeas et profanum, et eos qui celebraverunt in capella ipsa post prohibitionem nostram habeas et teneas pro suspensis ab officio et beneficio, donec nostro se conspectui repræsentent, demolitis universis operibus quæ inibi facere præsumpserunt. Ministros etiam conventus, quos post appellationem ad nos interpositam amovisti, quos nos restituimus, habeas restitutos, et eos quos pariter post appellationem excommunicare vel suspendere præsumpsisti habeas nihilominus absolutos; et universa quæ post appellationem ipsam in eorum gravamen attentata sunt, in invasione videlicet villarum et possessionum suarum, reddituum quoque et aliorum quæ ante

He has several times commanded him to cease to trouble the convent, but in vain.

He now commands him to undo all that he has done since the appeal was laid, to demolish the chapel, annul the foundation, desecrate the site, suspend the clergy;

also to restore the officers of the convent whom he has removed, to hold absolved those whom he has excommuni-

A.D. 1187. October 3. cated, to restore the possessions, excommunicate the usurpers, annul the sentences against the brethren, and not to excommunicate or suspend them, during the continuance of the suit.

appellationem habuerant,[1] et ablatione nihilominus aliarum rerum, in statum pristinum appellatione remota[2] reducas[3]; illicitos invasores possessionum eorundem fratrum nisi satisfecerint, vinculo excommunicationis astringas, quousque[4] ad emendationem debitam facias manere ligatos[5]: sententias etiam[6] excommunicationis et interdicti quas in quosdam ipsorum fratrum temere promulgasti, publice denuncies[7] non tenere, ac de cætero, pendente lite, circa statum monasterii nihil immutes: sciturus quod si Deo et nobis hac vice inobediens fueris et rebellis, et ultra triginta dies post susceptionem præsentium præceptum nostrum distuleris adimplere, nos universa quæ prædiximus alios exequi faciemus, et suffraganeis tuis districte præcipiemus, ut sicut nobis obedientiam debitam subtrahis, ita ipsi tibi absoluti a nobis omnem obedientiam et reverentiam denegent et honorem. Datum Ferariæ, v. nonas Octobris.

October 3. CXXIX. IDEM BATHONIENSI ET CICESTRENSI EPISCOPIS, ET DE BELLO, ET FAVERSHAM ABBATIBUS.[8]

The pope informs the bishops of Bath and Chichester and the abbots of Battle and Faversham, that he has listened to the com- fo. 26 v°. plaints of the monks against the archbishop.

Licet fratres et coepiscopos nostros, et præcipue qui in ecclesia Dei locum obtinent digniorem, speciali teneamur caritate diligere, et in quantum cum Deo possumus honorare, cum tamen ab eis aliquod enorme committitur, tanto ad correctionem ipsorum propensiori cura debemus intendere, quanto in ipsorum culpis pro eminentia dignitatis, ecclesiasticæ honestatis sinceritas amplius denigratur. Sane clamores dilectorum filiorum nostrorum prioris et fratrum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, contra gravamina quæ a Cantuariensi archiepiscopo patiuntur, jamdudum recepimus, et licet eidem archiepiscopo libenter, in quantum possumus velimus cum ratione deferre, quia tamen postposita reverentia mandatorum nostrorum nimis videtur in inceptæ oppressionis proposito perdurare, jam sustinere nec possumus nec debemus, quin tranquillitati prædictorum fratrum pro nostri officii debito consulamus. Cum igitur in grave detrimentum ejusdem ecclesiæ, quædam capella a memorato archiepiscopo incepta fuerit, et post appellationem ad nos factam, et inhibitionem nostram ne ulterius progrederetur opus, sit in fraudem prohibitionis ejus, prout credimus, consummata;

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[1] *habuerant*] habuerunt, G., 1508.
[2] *remota*] cessante, G., 1321.
[3] *reducas*] reducere non omittas, G., 1508.
[4] *quousque*] usque, G., 1321.
[5] *illicitos . . ligatos*] om. G., 1508.
[6] *etiam*] quoque, G., 1508.
[7] *denuncies*] nuncies, G., 1321.
[8] This letter is in Gervase, *Chronica*, 1508.

itaque quidam canonici circa eam dicuntur sua habitacula[1] construxisse, et in ipsa pariter divina officia celebrasse, eidem archiepiscopo in obedientiæ virtute præcepimus, ut eo etiam non obstante si absens ab ecclesia sua fuerit, quicquid post appellationem ad nos interpositam et inhibitionem nostram, in opere capellæ actum est, suis expensis non differat demoliri, revocans et deducens prorsus in irritum, quicquid de instituendis canonicis et aliis circa capellam factum est et enormiter innovatum; locum etiam illum maledictum habeat et profanum, et eos qui celebraverunt in capella ipsa post inhibitionem nostram habeat pro suspensis ab officio et beneficio, et donec nostro se conspectui repræsentent, sic teneat pro suspensis, demolitis universis operibus quæ inibi facere præsumpserunt. Ministros etiam conventus, quos post appellationem ad nos factam amovit, quos nos restituimus, habeat restitutos, et eos quos pariter post appellationem suspendere vel excommunicare præsumpsit, habeat nihilominus absolutos, et universa quæ post appellationem ipsam in eorum gravamen attentata sunt, in invasione videlicet villarum et possessionum suarum, reddituum quoque et aliorum quæ ante appellationem habuerant, et ablatione nihilominus aliarum rerum, in statum pristinum, appellatione cessante, reducat. Sententias etiam excommunicationis et interdicti, quas in quosdam ipsorum fratrum temere promulgavit, publice denunciet[2] non tenere, ac de cætero pendente lite circa statum monasterii nihil immutet. Ideoque discretioni vestræ præsentium auctoritate mandamus, et in obedientiæ virtute præcipimus, quatenus si memoratus archiepiscopus præceptum nostrum ultra[3] triginta dies post susceptionem litterarum quas ei direximus, distulerit adimplere, vos universa quæ prædiximus omni appellatione, dilatione quoque et excusatione cessante, auctoritate nostra executioni mandetis, illicitos invasores possessionum eorundem fratrum, nisi satisfecerint, vinculo anathematis innodantes, quousque ad emendationem debitam, faciatis manere ligatos. Provideatis autem ut taliter in his omnibus apostolicam exequamini jussionem, ut videamini potius deferre Deo quam homini, et ne ullius transgressionis favor vos, non sine gravi indignatione sedis apostolicæ, efficiat transgressores. Quod si omnes his exequendis nequiveritis interesse, tres vestrum vel duo ea nihilominus exequantur. Datum Ferariæ, v. nonas Octobris.

A.D. 1187. October 3. He has commanded the archbishop to undo his work, demolish the chapel, &c. &c.

He commits to the bishops and abbots the execution of the mandate, if the archbishop does not obey within thirty days.

[1] *habitacula*] om. MS.
[2] *denunciet*] nunciet, G., 1509.
[3] *ultra*] om. MS.

A.D. 1187. October 3.

CXXX. Urbanus papa Henrico regi.[1]

The pope assures the king of his affection, and reminds him of his duty to the churches, especially that of Canterbury.

Licet universos, principes et minores, libenter velimus ad semitas rectitudinis provocare, et pro nostri officii debito ad viam salutis inducere; id tamen circa excellentiam tuam propensius exequi volumus et debemus, quanto personam et regnum tuæ sublimitatis majori amplectimur caritate, et tuis profectibus tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus abundantius congaudemus. Regalis siquidem sollertia non ignorat, quod inter cætera quibus potes divinam gratiam promereri, conservatio status ecclesiarum regni tui, et illarum præcipue quæ religionis et ordinis titulo decorantur, non modicam tibi adaugent gloriam et salutem. Cum igitur Cantuariensis ecclesia antiquæ privilegio dignitatis et meritis novi martyris gloriosi, non solum in regno tuæ celsitudinis, sed fere per totum orbem celebris habeatur, quantum expediat regiæ bonitati eam semper immutabili pietate respicere, manutenere pariter et augere, tuæ discretionis prudentia non ignorat. Multum etiam expedit regno tuo, ut dictum gloriosum martyrem continuum intercessorem habeas apud Deum, quod

fo. 27 r°.

His highness cannot be ignorant of the afflictions of that church, which he has tried to remedy.

proculdubio, si quantum in te fuerit ipsius permiseris reverentiæ derogari, nequaquam in cœlis poteris obtinere. Et quidem quot gravamina et oppressiones ab archiepiscopo ecclesia illa pertulerit, sicut tua sublimitas nescire non potuit, ita dissimulare non debuit, sed tota intentione studere ad eundem archiepiscopum ab oppressionis inceptæ proposito revocandum. Verum quia jam hujus querelæ materia excrevit pariter et ascendit nimis, nos licet[2] sæpedicto archiepiscopo velimus in quantum possumus cum ratione deferre, nequaquam ruinam ipsius ecclesiæ clausis possumus oculis pertransire; sed quibusdam personis ecclesiasticis regni tui correctionem eorum quæ enormiter attentata sunt, duximus committendam. Quocirca serenitatem tuam hortamur in Domino, rogamus attentius et in remissionem tibi peccatorum injungimus, quatenus, sicut pius et catholicus princeps, ad ipsius ecclesiæ tranquillitatem intendas, nec ipsam permittas quantum in te fuerit indebite molestari, et quod jam dicti judices a nobis delegati statuerint, observari facias, et nequaquam impedias vel a tuis impediri permittas, quominus executioni mandetur,[3] ita quod ex hoc zelo rectitudinis tua serenitas commendari valeat, et ab omnipotenti Deo gratiam promereri. Datum Ferariæ, v. nonas Octobris.[4]

He begs the king to see that the judges delegated execute the mandate.

[1] This letter is in Gervase, 1509.

[2] *licet*] ci, ins. G.

[3] *quominus . . . mandetur*] om. G.

[4] This letter was delivered to the king at Caen, about the end of the month. Gervase, 1510.

CXXXI. Urbanus papa capitulo Cantuariensi.[1]

A.D. 1187. October 3.

The pope grants to the convent that the archbishop shall not promulgate any sentence against them during the continuance of the suit.

Cum venerabilis frater noster Baldewinus archiepiscopus vester, sicut ex multiplici vestra conquestione didicimus, tranquillitatem vestram crebra molestatione perturbet, et statum monasterii vestri multimodis inquietet, dignum est et consonum rationi, ut qui ex injuncto nobis officio tenemur ab oppressis injuriam propulsare, vobis contra indebita gravamina ipsius favorem protectionis apostolicæ impendamus. Eapropter auctoritate vobis præsentium indulgemus, ut pendente lite quæ inter vos et eundem archiepiscopum haberi dinoscitur, archiepiscopus ipse nullam in ecclesiam vel personas vestras excommunicationis, suspensionis vel interdicti sententiam audeat promulgare, vel ecclesiæ hominibus, aut possessionibus vestris aliquid gravamen inferre. Quod si memoratus archiepiscopus in vos aut ecclesiam vestram aliquam prædictarum sententiarum promulgare præsumpserit, sententiam ipsam, sicut contra indulgentiam apostolicam promulgatam, vires decernimus non habere et in nullo penitus observari. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ concessionis et constitutionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum Ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Ferariæ, v. nonas Octobris.

CXXXII. Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

November.

The convent entreat the bishop of Bath to proceed to the execution of the mandate.

Quam miserabiliter et sine causa pauperes Christi diutina jam oppressione afflicti fuerimus, cum narratio hæc omnium fere aures et ora compleverit, paternitas vestra ignorare non potest. Unde quia correctio eorum quæ post appellationem ad sedem [apostolicam] jam dudum interpositam innovata sunt, et in præjudicium nostrum attentata, discretioni [vestræ] a summo pontifice demandata est, caritati vestræ obnixius supplicamus omnes et singuli, quatenus ereptioni nostræ, pro Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ reverentia, operam dare velitis et diligenter intendere ut virtus obedientiæ vobis coronam pariat, et pauperum devotio paternitati vestræ devotior in sempiternum existat.

In eundem modum Cicestrensi episcopo et abbatibus de Bello et de Faversham.

CXXXIII. Randulfus de Glanvilla vicecomiti de Kent.

A.D. 1187. November.

Ranulf Glanvill transmits to

Scias dominum regem litteras suas mihi misisse in hæc verba; "Henricus rex Angliæ, *et cætera;* dilecto et fideli suo

[1] This letter is in Gervase, *Imaginationes*, 1319. It was received and read in synod at Canterbury, about Nov. 1. See below, No. clxxvii.

A.D. 1187. November. the sheriff of Kent (Alan de Valoins) the king's orders to take the new chapel under royal protection, and to forbid the judges delegated by the fo. 27 vº. pope to proceed.

" R. de Glanvilla, salutem. Præcipio tibi quod statim visis " his litteris, capias in manu mea ecclesiam beati Martyris " Thomæ, quam dominus archiepiscopus mandato domini papæ " et nostro assensu cœpit ædificare, et locum ipsum in quo " sita est, et ædificia ipsa ibidem facta, et omnia quæ ad locum " ipsum pertinent. Et nullo modo permittas quod monachi " Cantuarienses, vel aliqui judices a sede apostolica delegati, " aliquo modo in ipsam ecclesiam vel locum ipsum manum " extendant, vel aliquam potestatem exerceant, quia illa eccle- " sia ædificata est in tenemento quod dominus Cantuariensis " de me tenet in capite; et annuncies monachis Cantuarien- " sibus, et hominibus de Cantuaria et balivis meis de partibus " illis, quod ecclesia illa in manu mea est, et quod nullo " modo vexent vel vexare permittant clericos ibi manentes vel " servientes suos. Teste [W.] filio Radulfi senescallo Norman- " niæ apud Burun." Et ideo præcipio tibi quod hac proxima die Mercurii post festivitatem Sancti Bricii mane facias convenire de militibus melioribus et probioribus, et hominibus de comitatu et de civitate Cantuariæ, ut ibi coram ipsis omnibus, simul cum illis quos ego tunc illuc ex parte domini regis mittam, possit mandatum istud et præceptum solemniter perfici, et tu ipse his agendis intersis.

He fixes Nov. 18 as the day for execution of the royal order.

October. CXXXIV. Honorius prior et socii conventui Cantuariensi de morte Urbani papæ.

The prior informs the convent that pope Urban III. died Oct 19, and was buried Oct. 20.

Licet multis et infinitis ubicunque terrarum degentibus, super occasu domini papæ qui de novo accidit, condolendum, illi tamen de quorum sumus numero tanto vehementius gemunt et contristantur, quanto eos ferventiori videbatur amplecti caritate, et fructuosa confovere devotione. Cum igitur in crastino festivitatis beati Lucæ diem clausisset extremum, et verendæ sequenti die sepulturæ commendaretur, feria quarta dominus cancellarius in papam solemniter et concorditer est electus, et Gregorius octavus denominatus. Agite ergo felicis recordationis Urbani papæ memoriam devotissime, qui nos et ecclesiam nostram usque in finem dilexit. Hujus vero qui nunc præsidet promotioni congaudete, quem propitium in agendis nostris invenimus et benignum, quicquid vobis in contrarium fuerit suggestum. Frequenter etiam nobis vultu placido proponebat, quod ecclesiam nostram in dilectione personæ domini Cantuariensis semper præferre volebat; nec eo vivente suo jure defraudaretur. Si quid vero rancoris vel amaritudinis, ob favorem cujuslibet aut incitamentum, visus est in nos olim concepisse, honor tantus mutabit mores, et erit mutatio dextræ excelsi, quæ convertet virum in divinum. Consolamini ergo et nolite timere, quoniam etsi differatur ad

Albert the chancellor was elected pope Oct. 21, as Gregory VIII.

S. John xiii. 1.

The new pope has professed friendship towards us. His old prejudice in favour of the archbishop will soon be got over.

Ps. lxxvii. 10.

horam, videbitis gloriam Domini super vos in proximo. Quanto ergo magis depressi fueritis et fame et inedia coangustati severius, tanto constantiores estote et robustiores, Ipsi adhærentes Qui dicit per prophetam, "Junior fui, etenim senui," etc. Nunc tempus est ut firmiter stemus, unanimiter pugnemus, ne prævaleat adversus nos homo, quod nulla fiet ratione, quamdiu in unitatis perseverantia steterimus et oratione. Melius est nobis inediam pati et pauperiem aliquamdiu, quam ob nostram inertiam et defectum ecclesiam nostram perpetuæ subdere servituti. Nos vero fame vel nuditate poterimus interire, causæ certo certius sciatis quoad viximus nunquam renunciabimus, donec debitum sortiatur effectum. Consolamini rogamus et gaudete, quod causam nostram visus est confovere, cum omnia nobiscum miraculose per orationum vestrarum instantiam processerint. Omnes cardinales unico excepto nobiscum stant et stabunt constantissime, de quorum conscientia quicquid in curia obtinuimus emanavit. In occulto enim factum est nihil. De statu vestro quam citius et quoties poteritis nobis significetis, et nos quam citius aliquid nobis necessarium a domino papa perquirere poterimus, vobis transmittemus. Dominus conservet unitatem vestram et constantiam in vinculo pacis. Amen.

A.D. 1187 October.

Ps. xxxvii. 25.

He exhorts the convent to unity and patience.

All the cardinals but one are on their side.

CXXXV. Baldewino archiepiscopo Cantuariensi Petrus archidiaconus Bajocensis[1] et Willelmus præcentor de Welles.[2]

October.

Judith xiii. 17.
Ps. xciv. 19.
2 Cor. i. 4.

Benedictus Spiritus Sanctus, Qui non deserit sperantes in Se, sed secundum multitudinem dolorum nostrorum corda nostra lætificans, consolatur nos in omni tribulatione nostra. Afflicta toto orbe terrarum gemebat ecclesia, et per unius hominis insolentiam miserabiliter conculcata jacebat. Terrarum ducibus atque ecclesiarum prælatis et religionis maxime, bellum specialiter videbatur indictum, nec quieta religio nec tuta erat uspiam innocentia, et ubi personarum merita pensabantur, nec sua cuiquam justitia respondebat. Non erant apud eum principes in honore, ecclesiæ illi membra vilucrant, pro quibus nemini et contra quos omnibus credebatur. Sed non est oblitus misereri Deus, nec miserationes suas in ira Sua continuit. Eccè enim visitavit nos Oriens ex alto, et plebem Suam radio sereno sereniore respexit; quoniam perniciosissimo

The archbishop's agents inform him that pope Urban III. is dead, and his injurious policy come to an end.

Ps. lxxvii. 9.
S. Luke i. 78.

The archbishop's friend, the chancellor, has succeeded to the papal chair, and been consecrated. (Oct. 25.)

[1] Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, was the archbishop's agent at the court of Rome. *Bajocensis* is probably a mistake for *Bathoniensis*.

[2] William de S. Fide, precentor of Wells.

A.D. 1187. October.

fo. 28 v°.

et superbissimo exactore de medio sublato, cancellarius unanimi fratrum consensu in papam electus est et consecratus. In quo vobis et ecclesiæ vestræ misericorditer a Domino creditur esse provisum, quia personam vestram hucusque sincere dilexit, et nunciis vestris in afflictionibus suis consilium quod tunc poterat et auxilium promptus impendit.

His prediction before the pope's death.

Iste est qui nuncios vestros dehortatus est ne Urbano servirent. "Expectate," inquiens, "expectate, non est regnum hujus "durabile, et quodcunque statuerit, successor ejus in irritum "revocabit." Hanc autem gratiam quam nobis et nostris exhibuit, pro posse nostro continuare curabimus, et vos quantum in vobis est pariter continuetis, missisque quantocius litteris vestris, tam vos quam obsequium vestrum plenius ei offeratis.

They beg the archbishop to send letters to the new pope, who has taken the name of Gregory.

Litteras quoque vestras et domini regis, et litteras de fraternitate quam instituistis, de quibus in curia quæstio facta est, nobis statim transmittatis, non expectantes litteras illas a suffraganeis vestris et abbatibus, quas tamen nihilominus, quam citius poteritis remittatis. Dominus papa Gregorius nominatus est, et dominus Albanensis injunxit nobis, ut vobis ex parte ejus significaremus, quod cuncta de cætero ad honorem et voluntatem vestram procedent. Magister Moyses[1] vos affectuose salutat, qui utique honorem vestrum diligit, et tanquam unus nostrum, ubi opportunum est, circa negotia vestra sollicitum se exhibet et devotum. Adhuc noveritis quod cum universi cardinales tres personas nominassent, videlicet Albanensem,[2] Prænestinum,[3] et cancellarium, et eis injunxissent ut secederent quousque deliberassent quem illorum reciperent, dominus Albanensis incontinenti respondit,

How the cardinal bishop of Albano managed the election.

"Ad quid secederemus? Ego in verbo veritatis dico, quod "nunquam hanc administrationem suscipiam. Dominus quoque "Prænestinus infirmatur gravissime et ad onus tantum "insufficiens est. Reliquum ergo est ut dictum cancellarium reci- "piamus; quia non est inter nos aliquis ita idoneus, et qui "ita consuetudines et jura ecclesiæ Romanæ pernoverit, et "adeo principibus terræ complaceat." Et ita in amicum vestrum suum honorem et onus curia Romana transfudit. Valete.

Explicit liber primus.

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[1] *Moyses*] Master Moses was a canon of the Lateran and vice-chancellor of the holy see, 1187–1194.

[2] *Albanensem*] Henry, cardinal bishop of Albano, 1179–1188. He had been abbot of Clairvaux, and seems to have taken the part of Baldwin against the monks.

[3] *Prænestinum*] Paul Scolari, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, 1180–1187, became pope as Clement III. this year.

INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS.

CXXXVI. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1187. November.

Audito lætabundo de felici promotione vestra rumore, de venerabili patre nostro spem majorem concepimus, credentes quod reverenda sedis apostolicæ mandata, quæ pro quiete nostra toties emanasse noscuntur, licet adhuc distulerit, gratia saltem et intuitu personæ præsidentis impleret. Expectantibus autem nobis, ut vel post appellationem ablata restitueret, et[1] innovata in statum pristinum juxta tenorem mandati reformaret, causamque jurgiorum et materiam, capellam, post appellationem et inhibitionem domini papæ ne progrederetur opus, erectam, personas quibus injunctum est demoliri sustineret,[2] aut victimis et voluntati propriæ obedientiam anteponens ipse dejiceret; ipso proculdubio procurante, ministri domini regis supervenientes, capellam et personas in manum domini regis receperunt, vicinis convocatis arctius indicentes, ne vel domini papæ auctoritate vel alterius, aliquam a quocunque potestatem in ipsa capella exercere paterentur. Clerici vero inibi post appellationem similiter et prohibitionem apostolicam instituti, quamvis de suspensione sua mandatum acceperint, in loco illo scandalorum, sicut apices pronunciant apostolici, maledicto et profano, divina celebrare non verentur. Hæc idcirco, pater reverende, sanctitati vestræ significare decrevimus, ut non modo Cantuariensis, sed et Anglicanæ ecclesiæ quam sit status miserabilis, attendat sollicitudo vestra, sollicitudo omnium
2 Cor. xi. 28. ecclesiarum, ubi per potestatem laicam sacrosanctæ sedis apostolicæ majestas excluditur, et quod mœrentes dicimus, ipsi clerici minus reverentur. Provideat itaque discretio vestra, pater sanctissime, Christi sponsæ in Anglia, ut Cantuariensi ecclesiæ justitia sua suffragari possit, pro qua et in qua novus martyr gloriosus occubuit, per orbem fere universum famosa et celebri. Alioquin, si statum ejus, quod absit, permiseritis vacillare, facile erit omnes occidentis hujus ecclesias subvertere.

The convent had hoped that the accession of a new pope would have improved their relations with the archbishop.

Contrary to their hopes the king had taken the chapel, &c. under his protection. (Nov. 18, No. cxxxiii.) The clerks continue to celebrate in the chapel in spite of their suspension.

If the pope forsakes the church of Canterbury, all the churches of the west will fall.

[1] *et*] eam, ins. MS.

[2] *sustineret*] sustinerent, MS.

A.D. 1187. November. fo. 28 v°.

Hac enim dejecta, non apponet alia machinamentis hominum resistere, aut suffragium aliquando apostolicum implorare. Pia vota vestra, pater piissime, pietas divina promoveat.

CXXXVII. Honorio priori et fratribus Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent had received the news of pope Urban's death after the publication of his last mandate.

Visitasse nos visus est Oriens ex alto, cum postremum mandatum sanctæ recordationis Urbani papæ de operis novi demolitione ad nos pervenisset. Cæterum rumor superveniens de morte ipsius, ipso mandato jam porrecto et publicato, tanto animas nostras et spiritus transverberavit acrius, quanto eum ferventius ecclesiam nostram diligere cognovimus ex effectu, et causam quam pro ejus tuitione suscepimus fidelius confovere. Verumtamen quia bonum est calicem Domini bibere quam calicem dæmoniorum, et ante litis ingressum omnia dura et aspera nobis proponentes, in causa ista pati decrevimus, tribulamur sed non deficimus, aporiamur sed non destituimur, gratanter suscipientes quod propinat Dominus, et ut scriptum est, etiam si nos occiderit, sperantes in Eum. Itaque et vos confortamini in Domino et in potentia virtutis Ejus, et gratiam nobis domini papæ, quibus potestis modis, satagite comparare. Nullatenus enim credimus sanctitatem viri tantam, aut curiam ipsam, tam manifestæ consentire iniquitati, maxime cum non Cantuariensis, non Anglicanæ ecclesiæ, sed servitium Romanæ certum sit cardinales in negotio nostro promovere, nec possunt spectabilius aliquid facere, si bene egerint, vel si aliter, sinceritatem sedis apostolicæ et famam magis denigrare. Sicut enim oppressio nostra toti fere mundo innotuit, ita nimirum quicquid egerint justius vel remissius mundi terminos non latebit, et nisi in causa tam patenti, quod post appellationem tam solemnem tam enormiter innovatum dinoscitur, reformaverint, appellationis nomen vanum erit et frivolum, et impunitas tanti delicti passim audaciam pariet delinquendi. Insistite ergo et sicut hucusque viriliter agite: coronam capitis vestri non projicientes, a quorum gloria mundus obruitur et obstupescit, dum intuetur. Si vos audierit dominus papa in causa quam suscepistis, vigilantia vestra et vos et nos salvasse cognoscetur. Si non audierit, nec homo ignaviæ vestræ improperare poterit, nec Dei justitia imputabit. Nullatenus enim de nobis dubitetis, quia in cordibus nostris unanimiter posuimus, et fixe, magis famem et sitim, nuditatem, persecutionem et his similia pati, quam manus nostras materno funere vel consentiendo commaculare. Quod si papa novus a tramite recto, quod absit, exorbitare forte voluerit, et in partem alteram

S. Luke i. 78.

1 Cor. x. 21.

2 Cor. iv. 8.

Job xiii. 15.

Eph. vi. 10.

They are determined to persevere, and encourage the prior to do the same.

They cannot believe that the pope or the court will forsake them.

If they are successful, it will be due to the prior's watchfulness.

They will not despair, even if the

Numbers xi. 23.

Ps. cxv. 3.

S. Matthew viii. 27.

declinare, numquid invalida est, ut ait propheta, manus Domini, ut servos Suos cum voluerit liberare non possit? Omnia quæcunque voluerit fecit, et non est qui possit resistere voluntati Ejus, quippe venti et mare obediunt Ei. Quo excitato et imperante, fiet tranquillitas magna, in qua Petri navicula quæ modo magnis jactatur fluctibus, enavigabit securior et conquiescet. Hoc autem scitote, quia quantum corpora patiuntur, gaudium magnum factum est longe lateque terrarum, de postremo domini papæ mandato, quamvis nemo fere credat dominum archiepiscopum vel unum iota ex his quæ jubetur efficere. Si intelligitis mandatum domini papæ pro morte mandatoris exspirasse, perquirite, si potestis, aliquid unde possimus reparari. Petite ut præcipiat dominus papa districtius domino archiepiscopo, ut mandatum domini papæ Urbani perficiat, et executoribus, ut juxta formam litterarum prædecessoris sui in executione procedant. Minervam docemus. Petitiones vestras Deus exaudiat et pia impleat desideria. Valete.

A.D. 1187. November. new pope should go wrong.

There was great joy everywhere in consequence of the last mandate.

The prior must try to get a confirmation of it.

CXXXVIII. Gregorius papa archiepiscopis et episcopis et cæteris ecclesiæ prælatis.[2]

A.D. 1187. October 29.

Quoniam ad episcoporum maxime spectat officium afflictis et laborantibus subvenire, unumque illorum licet deficientibus meritis Deus esse nos voluit, prospicere tenemur et volumus, ne quis ex fortuitis casibus per Romanæ visitationem ecclesiæ laboris sui quem ad eam veniens sustinuit, debito frustretur effectu. Inde siquidem fuit quod nos multorum prospicere volentes expensis et alleviare labores, de consueta misericordia sedis apostolicæ duximus statuendum, ut litteræ prædecessoris nostri domini Urbani, a tribus mensibus ante ipsius obitum destinatæ, pro facienda justitia et litigiis dirimendis, quæ tamen manifestum alicujus præjudicium non continent aut calumniam æquitatis, eundem habeant tempore nostro administrationis effectum, quem habere, si adhuc ille viveret, debuissent. Cessante igitur exceptione de mandatoris morte: perficite quod ille mandavit agendum, et nemo ad nos pro excusatione hujusmodi, a concepta per illum de sua justitia obtinenda fiducia cogatur vacuun laborare. Datum Ferariæ, iiii^to. kalendas Novembris, Indictione sexta.

For the relief of suitors at Rome,

the pope confirms the letters of his predecessor issued within three months before his death.

fo. 29 r°.

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[1] Part of this letter is given in R. de Diceto, c. 636. The whole letter is given by Hoveden, f. 365; with the date *sexto kal. Nov.* It occurs also in the Canonists and Councils. See Jaffé, Regesta Pontificum, p. 867.

A.D. 1187. October 29.

CXXXIX. Idem episcopis et abbatibus Angliæ.

Although the pope has confirmed by a general edict all rescripts issued by pope Urban within three months before his death, he excepts the business of the archbishop and monks.

Licet pro communi utilitate litteras emiserimus generales, ut rescripta quæ a tribus mensibus ante mortem prædecessoris nostri domini Urbani papæ fuerant impetrata, non obstante exceptione de morte mandatoris, eandem firmitatem obtineant quam obtinere, si adhuc viveret, debuissent; negotia tamen quæ venerabilem fratrem nostrum Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et clericos ejus contingunt, sub generalitate nolumus concludi. Inde est quod per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus si quæ litteræ hujusmodi adversus eos apparuerint impetratæ, secundum earum tenorem, nisi de novo mandato, minime procedatis. Datum Ferariæ, iiij°. kalendas Novembris, Indictione sexta.

A.D. 1187. November.

CXL. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Roberto de Bechetun, et magistro Samsoni, et aliis canonicis de Hakentun.

The archbishop informs the canons of Hakinton that they may rejoice in the annulling of the mandate issued against them.

Dilectioni vestræ mandamus atque præcipimus, quatenus in ecclesia beatorum martyrum Stephani et Thomæ, Deo devote ministrantes, et beatæ Virgini Mariæ, beatisque martyribus Stephano et Thomæ, corde et voce simul alte jubiletis; Deum collaudantes super omnibus quæ circa nos dignatus est operari. Ecce enim consilium Achitofel infatuatum est, et omnia quæ adversarii nostri a sede apostolica impetraverunt quassata sunt, et ad nihilum redacta. Confidite ergo in Domino, Qui mœrentes erigit sospitate, nec minas nec verba timeatis adversariorum; nec in aliquo quod audieritis turbetur cor vestrum neque formidet. Valete. 2 Sam. xv. 31. Job v. 11. S. John xiv. 27.

November.

CXLI. Philippo regi Franciæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

As king Philip's former intercession had been fruitless owing to the pope's death, the convent asks his influence with the new pope.

Gratias exsolvimus excellentiæ vestræ, quod pro statu ecclesiæ nostræ conservando litteras domino papæ dirigere voluistis. Et quidem quam reverenter eas suscepisset, si viveret, opus comprobasset. Cum enim oppressionem nostram cognovisset, ad petitionem vestram cœperat nos in statum debitum reformare. Sed quia antequam perficeretur quod mandaverat, exspiravit, necesse habemus iterum ad novum papam querelam nostram deferre, et ut nobis justitiam exhibeat postulare. Eapropter majestati vestræ supplicamus omnes et singuli, quatenus pro reverentia Dei et martyris nostri gloriosi, iterum pro servis vestris litteras destinare dignemini, ut ope vestra a præsenti calamitate liberati, pro

incolumitate vestra et statu regni vestri, Deo et glorioso martyri semper suppliciores existere teneamur et devoti. Vitam et incolumitatem vestram, excellentissime princeps, conservet Omnipotens Dominus. A.D. 1187. November.

CXLII. Idem Radulfo Remensi decano.[1]

A.D. 1187. December.

Quamvis de morte domini Urbani papæ vehementer contristati et afflicti, hoc tamen maxime consolationis accepimus, quod sicut dicitur, novus papa Gregorius paternitatem vestram intimo amplectitur caritatis affectu; quem non dubitamus circa negotia nostra et necessitates sicut nos ipsos moveri, immo tanto ardentius quam nos, quanto caritas vobis perfectior inesse cognoscitur. Supplicamus itaque pietati vestræ, quatenus ipsi pro Cantuariensis ecclesiæ statu conservando litteras vestras, quales discretio vestra expedire viderit, per fidelem nuntium dirigere velitis. Multum enim præsumit pars adversa de sua complenda voluntate et de deprimenda veritate nostra, maxime quia omnes litteras prædecessoris sui a tribus mensibus ante mortem ejus datas robur suum habere decreverit, negotium nostrum tantum suspendit, gratiam nobis subtrahens quam ecclesiæ universali indulget. Quod factum multi secus quam deceat interpretantur, adeo ut judicium ejus incipiant habere suspectum, præcipue cum nos injuste affligi Romanus orbis non ignoret, et passionibus nostris omnis Christi compatiatur ecclesia, et præ aliis magis qui mysterium, quod contra nos operatur, intelligant. Verum tamen pro certo credimus, quod si dominus Urbanus papa adhuc superstes in rigore concepto perstitisset, jam mala nostra remedium invenissent. Quod utique difficile erit, ne dicamus impossibile, nisi materia malorum et causa, capella contra nos exsurgens, cujus se jam dominus rex confitetur auctorem, dissipetur. Vitam et incolumitatem vestram Deus conservet. Valete et orate pro nobis.

The convent is consoled for the death of pope Urban by the report that the new pope is a special friend of the dean of Rheims.

The pope's late measure leads people to doubt his judgment.

2 Thess. ii. 7.

fo. 29 v°.

The king has acknowledged himself a patron of the new chapel.

CXLIII. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

December.

Quanto injustius afflicti dinoscimur et oppressi, tanto de justitia sedis apostolicæ justius sperare videmur; a qua justitiæ plenitudinem universalis ecclesia, quoties se prægravari sentit, et petere consuevit et accipere. Ex hoc enim singulariter supra firmam petram fundata[2] comprobatur, quia sive

The convent reminds the pope that the world is wont to seek justice from Rome.

S. Matt. vii. 25.

[1] Written after No. CL., in compliance with the order of the prior.

[2] *fundata*] fundamenta, MS.

A.D. 1187. December.

flumina impingant sive venti insurgant, fundamentum habens Christum a tramite rectitudinis non recedet. Itaque, sanc-

Their appeal has been made against manifest injustice, and they have put their church, persons, and property under his protection.

tissime pater, ut novit mundus, damnis gravioribus attriti, et graviora formidantes, suffragium apostolicum imploravimus, tanto utique certiores de[1] consequenda justitia, quanto omnibus fere patuit quam passi sumus injuriam. Cum itaque statum ecclesiæ nostræ, nos et nostra omnia sub protectione beati Petri et domini papæ posuerimus appellantes, ad hoc perducta est, in portione quæ nos contingit, Cantuariensis ecclesia, nuper gloriosa in regnis, quæ omni petenti sufficienter et congrue ministrare solet necessaria, quod exclusis anxia mœret hospitibus, quia et sibi alimenta mendicare compellitur. Possessionibus enim et libertatibus quas quasi in gremio sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ collocasse cognoscitur, spoliata; nisi cartis regum et pontificum, privilegiis etiam sedis apostolicæ, cui Deo auctore præsidetis, quibus hactenus gavisa est, renunciare consentiat, recuperare non permittitur. Quam utique spoliationem post appellationem et contra omnem juris ordinem factam, æque flendum videtur et pauperum protectorem, si officium suum impleret, fecisse, et pauperes Christi pati injuste. Coram Deo loquimur, et in præsentia vestra, ubi nefarium nimis esset tot religiosorum ora mentiri, nisi manus venerabilis patris nostri modum excessisset, non audisset nos auris querelantes; maluissemus enim injuriam pati. Gravamina autem nostra cum audisset sanctæ recordationis prædecessor vester Urbanus papa, justitiæ zelo inardescens, litteras jam dicto patri nostro multoties direxit, arctius injungens, ut a vexatione nostra desisteret, et quæ post appellationem ad sedem apostolicam interpositam circa statum nostrum innovaverat, restitutis omnibus quæ postea abstulerat, reformaret. Qui quoties apices apostolicos pro nobis recepit, toties, quod dolentes dicimus, manum suam super nos aggravavit. Idem etiam prædecessor vester capellam juxta nos erectam, bonis ecclesiæ nostræ ditandam, postquam appellavimus, causam jurgiorum esse conspiciens, de consilio fratrum inhibuit, ne in opere procederet quod inceperat, donec de causa cognosceret, auctoritate apostolica evacuans quod contra prohibitionem suam fieret. Post quam totam a fundamentis cemento et lapide, cum prius lignea fuisset, consummavit. Unde majestas apostolica magis provocata, quod post inhibitionem hujusmodi in ea factum est demoliri præcepit, locumque illum scandalorum maledictum haberi et profanum, et clericos inibi celebrantes, quousque apostolico se

S. Luke xv. 12. Isaiah xiii. 19.

They cannot recover their property without renouncing their charters.

If the archbishop had not been the aggressor, they would not have complained.

He has contemned the mandates of pope Urban, and has increased his severity on the receipt of each.

First, he bade him stop building, but the archbishop then turned his wooden buildings into stone.

Then he bade him pull down the chapel, but this

[1] *de*] om. MS.

conspectui præsentarent, suspensos teneri. Quo mandato porrecto et publicato, de morte mandatoris rumor insonuit; et de vestra nihilominus promotione. Nos itaque licet de obitu domini Urbani plurimum desolati, de justitia tamen et virtute animi vestri notissima consolationem habentes majorem et confidentiam, appellationem innovavimus ad vos solemniter. Nullatenus enim formidamus, quod modo aliquo constantia vestra moveatur a vero, quamvis aliter sperare audeant qui nos conturbant. Verum tamen, quod salva pace vestra sit dicere, mirantur multi, et moventur intrinsecus, quod cum omnes litteras prædecessoris vestri domini Urbani papæ tribus mensibus ante mortem ejus pro litigiis dirimendis passim destinatas, eandem decreveritis firmitatem habere quam si adhuc viveret habituræ erant, ea tantum quæ pro oppressione nostra impetrata sunt et partibus data præsentibus, viribus ad præsens evacuare placuerit, et gratiam quam generali ecclesiæ impendistis, soli Cantuariensi subtraxeritis, quæ cum jam aliis facta sit magis misera, majori proculdubio indiget misericordia. Nos autem virgam apostolatus vestri, virgam æquitatis, adorantes, omnia vos juste et sancte dispensare non dubitamus, nec hoc in præjudicium pauperum sanctitatem vestram fecisse credimus, scientes quod statum ecclesiæ tam famosæ ac celebris, fere sexcentis annis apostolica tutum protectione, virtus vestra vacillare non patietur. Cæterum, quia viri fortes sunt qui eam impugnant, et jam mora temporis majoris prope ad nihilum redacta est, majori gratiæ vestræ respectu et citissime indigere dinoscitur. Alioquin actum est de ea. Primo enim venerabilis pater noster, sive proprio motu sive alterius instinctu, exenia maneriorum nostrorum sibi vendicans, a nobis accepit. Deinde, ecclesias pauperum usibus deputatas, diutius possessas, et apostolica auctoritate firmatas, abstulit. Postea, appellatione jam interposita pro rebus et personis, alios suspendens, alios excommunicans, redditus nostros nobis reddi prohibuit, pensionesque ecclesiarum nostrarum et alia quædam quæ juris nostri erant subtraxit. Demum nos possessionibus nostris et earum potestate privavit. Adjecit etiam, ne libertatibus antiquissimis uteremur, interdicere; cartis quoque regum et scriptis antecessorum suorum authenticis, sed et sedis apostolicæ privilegiis minus deferens, statum ecclesiæ prorsus immutare. Ad hoc mandata domini papæ toties pro reparatione nostra directa, cum ipse vel in minimo nondum impleverit, executores datos quod mandatur exequi non permittit. Statim enim potestas publica ipso, ut creditur, procurante, se opponit, adeo ut vix credatur in regno reperiri posse, qui jussionibus apostolicis in his quæ nos contingunt audeat obedire. Videat

A.D. 1187. December. mandate your recent decree has quashed.

The convent has therefore renewed the appeal.

Many are astonished at the pope's recent act of refusing to the church of Canterbury the grace afforded to other suitors.

Hebrews i. 8.

fo. 30 r°.

We trust entirely in your apostleship; if you forsake us we are undone.

Our complaint is, first, about the presents; secondly, about the churches appropriated to alms; thirdly, the suspension of the brethren, the stopping the rents and revenues; lastly, the seizure of all our property.

The archbishop hinders the execution of papal mandates by use of secular power.

A.D. 1187. December. itaque pietas paterna, spes ereptionis nostræ post Christum prima et sola, lacrymabilem filiorum oppressionem. Vobis enim pauperes derelicti sunt. Prospiciat pectus illud sanctissimum et intendat paci et tranquillitati Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, ne libertates quas sancti Romani pontifices ei contulerunt et conservaverunt usque ad hæc tempora, diebus vestris amittat: possessiones etiam et bona alia quibus in sinu apostolico collocatis spoliata est, ad eam cum integritate sua revertantur libera, modo quo prius tenuisse dinoscitur possidenda. Quod, ut sentiunt sapientes, impossibile erit, manente malorum omnium materia et causa, quam juxta nos de bonis nostræ, venerabilis pater noster fundare proponit, nova clericorum ecclesia, quæ jam spoliis nostris et damnis ditata, lætatur et exultat. Placeat sanctitati vestræ, jam dictum dominum et patrem nostrum modo quo placuerit, quo et sui misereatur et nostri, pie pater, inducere, ne vel anima ejus peccatum vel opinio ejus nævum contrahat, aut ecclesia quam gratia divina tam magnifice hoc tempore visitavit honoris sui detrimentum incurrat. Vitam vestram divina bonitas ad tuitionem ecclesiæ Suæ in tempora longiora conservet.

Let not the ancient rights of our church be forfeited in your time.

The root of the whole matter is the new church, which will be endowed out of our property.

A.D. 1187. December.

CXLIV. Honorio priori et sociis Conventus Cantuariensis.

Afflictis afflicti, ponere in Domino Deo spem suam. Afflictio nostra, tanto durior quanto diuturnior, hoc durissimum habet, quod jam prope quantum ratio humana metiri potest, sine spe laboramus resurgendi. Quæ namque gregi evasionis via, cum in ejus interitum æque pastor et lupus insurgant? Immo lupum pastor, eo quod non satis sponte sua videatur insanire, instruit et instigat. Proh dolor! Qui sperabatur mensuram patrum suorum implere, utinam deserendo tantum mercenarium se ostenderet, non insurgendo adversarium. Et quidem cum se lupus præpararet ad rapinam, sicut per Johannem quondam capellanum suum mandavit, si meministis, pro grege sibi credito stare proposuerat; sed mutatus est color optimus, et argentum in scoriam conversum. Ecce appellationem interpositam ad summum pontificem, ad principem prosecutus, judicium ecclesiasticum mutare contendit, ut efficiat cum non possit recte, "quocunque modo rem." Suscepit princeps onus belli in se, pollicitus, ut dicitur, et juratus se propositum ejus per omnia mancipaturum effectui: quo tutus protectore audet domini papæ omne mandatum contemnere. Cum enim contra eum aliquid dirigitur, mox regem consulit, non quid debeat facere, sed quo modo possit mandatum elidere. Ipse ergo

The monks inform the prior that they are almost in despair, for the wolf and the shepherd are in league together.

S. Matt. xxiii. 32.

Lamentations iv. 1. Isaiah i. 22.

The archbishop has carried his appeal to the king.

The king has sworn to serve the archbishop's purpose.

Horace, Epist. I. i. 66.

rex vel justitiarius regis nomine, quod summus pontifex præcipit fieri non permittit, ut ita videatur archiepiscopus manus lotas et mundas habere: contra ecclesiam Dei sibi invicem confœderati sunt, adeo ut ipse regis archiepiscopus dicatur. Quippe avitas consuetudines, immo abusiones, pro quibus gloriosus martyr dimicasse et passus fuisse, et quas rex ipse abjurasse dinoscitur, omnes confirmavit in regno. Quasi enim pro crimine nobis imponitur ab archiepiscopo, quod sine regis licentia ausi fueritis a regno exire et ad dominum papam prosequi appellationem. Dicit namque se adhuc paratum esse regis et episcoporum regni in omnibus stare in judicio: in quo verbo maxime principi placet, et nos displicere videmur; quia non in hoc consentimus. Ecce primus articulus in causa novi martyris, qui dixit et evicit in sanguine suo, liberum esse debere oppressis et appellantibus in causis ecclesiasticis, summi pontificis adire præsentiam. Hinc est quod rex vos revocat, et archiepiscopus curiam Romanam refugit, ne videatur constitutioni regis in aliquo derogare. Qui utique novam ecclesiam ideo fundare intendunt, in qua episcopi[1] omnes et rex ipse canonici futuri sunt, ut illuc quæstiones regni referantur, et omnis causa subsistat. Præterea Cantuariensis ecclesiæ bona omnia et rerum dispositio regi cedet in posterum, si archiepiscopus obtinuerit. Ecclesias omnes dabit sede vacante, quia censebuntur præbendarum nomine; si res ad obedientias pertinentes, non personarum tantum institutionem, habuerit, rex quoque idem juris habebit. Unde et archiepiscopus obedientias tres in curia regis nuper contulit, ut regem mitteret in possessionem. Propter hæc emolumenta rex partem ejus fovet. Vos autem scitis quod ecclesiam Cantuariensem semper infestam habuit, quæ prima ausa est de electione canonica in Anglia verbum facere. Hæc est causa recens odiorum, præter illam indignationem quam concepit dominus archiepiscopus, ex eo quod difficiles nos habuit in electione sua, quæ jam in operis exhibitione palam facta est omnibus. Creditur etiam quod illuc partem conferat maneriorum, sicut et oblationes nostras assignaverat, cum sibi vendicet dominium universorum et dispositionem eorum. Itaque dominum regem nobis, immo certe curiæ Romanæ, constituit adversarium duriorem, qui et se operis illius confitetur auctorem et protectorem, ne vel locus maledicto vel personæ sententia possint suspensionis involvi. Nobis quoque denunciatum est ex parte regis hoc, quod, scilicet, rex auctor sit capellæ et protector clericorum, ut si de cætero oblocuti fuerimus, quasi rei majestatis reputemur.

A.D. 1187. December. He refuses to let the papal mandates be executed, and has restored the old abuses.

fo. 30 v°. Now it is a crime to quit the realm and appeal to Rome without leave from the king.

They are trying to found a new church in which the king and bishops shall be canons, and which shall be a court of final appeal.

The king will get complete possession of our church.

The archbishop has recently made three obedientiaries in the king's court, as if to put the king in possession.

They are in league against free elections.

By becoming the patron of the new church the king subjects its opponents to a charge of treason.

[1] *episcopi*] ipsi, MS.

A.D. 1187. December. It is thought that the pope will take the archbishop's side. He may do what he will, we will never consent to the new church. We are nearly starved out, but live on the contributions of friends. The archbishop's cause is hated, even the clerks want to be released from their oath. We have not much respect for the present pope. The Eastern church is tottering, and now the Western also.

Unde rei exitum non videmus, nisi exitium nostrum, maxime cum novum papam negotium Cantuariensis archiepiscopi credant promovere. Quod etiam si pro ecclesia Cantuariensi stare decrevisset, nihil conferret, nisi magna nobis virtute succurreret, sicut dominus Urbanus proposuerat, qui principem non agnovit cum disceptaret cum paupere. Facilius erit pauperum causam contemnere, difficilius autem principum voluntati contraire. Faciat quod placuerit. Nos per Dei gratiam vel in capellæ constructionem vel in status nostri subversionem nunquam consentiemus. Exemplum dedit nobis gloriosus Dei athleta. Vidimus pugnam ejus. Audivimus doctrinam, triumphum videmus et gloriam. Ad hoc nos perductos noveritis, quod non habemus in domo quondam tam omnibus exposita et opulenta, quod apponi possit hospitibus, ut de nobis taceamus, ne videamur abundare didicisse et non penuriam pati. Omnes nos plangunt. Multi etiam de bonis suis unde vivamus transmittunt, clam tamen, quia mysterium quod operatur intelligunt. Orant pro nobis, qui obloquio videntur in ore suo; etiam ministri regis, qui ejus crebro contra nos perferunt mandata, nostri miserentur et muniunt, videntes angustias animarum nostrarum, et quia affligimur innocentes. Maledicunt locum illum scandalorum omnes transeuntes viam et abominantur. Ipsi clerici absolvi desiderant a juramento quod domino archiepiscopo præstiterunt, quod videlicet circa locum illum ejus in omnibus sequerentur consilium. Dicunt tamen quod novus papa archiepiscopi et principis nihil negabit petitionibus. Et si contrarium jusserit, non audietur nec ei obtemperabunt. Minor est apud nos ejus reverentia, qui cum litteras omnes prædecessoris sui a tribus mensibus ante mortem ejus datas confirmaverit, negotium nostrum solummodo suspendit; factus eo ipso judex suspectus omnibus, adeo ut etiam apud nos scandalum oriatur fidei Christianæ; nec modo in Oriente vacillat, sed et in Occidente, religio Christiana. Ut plenius instruamini de statu nostro, hæc vobis transmisimus, vera quidem, pro parte tamen nisi tutis auribus committenda. Virtutem vobis conferat Deus et gratiam.

Collect. iv. S. in Adv.

Job xxxiv. 19.

Phil. iv. 12.

2 Thess. ii. 7.

Ps. lxxxix. 40.

A.D. 1187. December.

CXLV. Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

fo. 31 r°. The monks depend on the faithful friendship of the bishop of Ostia.

Merito, pater sanctissime, in primo aspectu vestri anima nostra vobis conglutinata est; et adhærebit semper in Christo individua. Majus est quod in vobis pauperum Christi invenit necessitas, quam quod de vobis ausa est sperare caritas. Ecce enim tantum veritate sua et virtute vestra nititur Cantuariensis

ecclesia, impugnantibus illis qui se pro ea proponere debuerant propugnaculum. Scimus quidem quod adversarii nostri, ut vel specietenus causam justam fovere videantur, quod intendunt, se pro Dei gloriosi martyris Thomæ asserant velle reverentia. Et vox quidem "vox Jacob est, manus autem manus sunt "Esau." Opera enim illorum mentiri convincunt illos. Spoliis enim nostris jam lætantur et exultant; quippe, cum de bonis hujus illam ditare proposuerint, necessario crescente illa, ista patietur detrimentum, et nos quod professioni nostræ gravius est, tranquillitatis et pacis perpetuum incurremus dispendium. Cæterum si dominus Urbanus papa, qui principem non agnovit cum disceptaret cum paupere, si modicum superstes in rigore concepto perstitisset, jam ecclesiæ Dei, ut creditur, pax esset reddita, et didicissent in pœna unius viri ecclesiastici sacrosanctæ sedis apostolicæ non contemnere majestatem. Mirabatur siquidem orbis occiduus, quod tam diu dissimularet et differret negotium, et in contemptu tam manifesto tanta incederet modestia. Nunc autem, eo de medio sublato, defecit gaudium cordis nostri; versus est in luctum chorus noster. In promotione enim novi papæ spem conceperunt adversarii nostri, omne propositum suum ad finem perducendi quem desiderant; et tanquam non sit in homine veritas aut justitia, pauperes Christi potenter humiliare proponunt, quasi non habentes protectorem. Confidentiam præstat eis gratia quam se statim in initio congratulantur invenisse, et nobis timorem non modicum incussit. Papa namque Gregorius, cum omnes litteras domini Urbani prædecessoris sui a tribus mensibus ante mortem ejus datas, eandem firmitatem quam si adhuc viveret, habere decreverit, quod contra dominum Cantuariensem impetratum est viribus ad præsens evacuavit, et misericordiam quam generali ecclesiæ indulget nobis subtrahit, qui miserabiliores omnibus hominibus effecti, majori indigemus misericordia. Nos vero etiam si nos occiderit, sperantes in Eum, et de gratia vestra, cui quod vivimus debemus, non dubii, quod habemus, hoc facimus; funeri materno, quod vitam restituere non valemus, lacrymas debitæ dilectionis impendimus, clementiam sedis apostolicæ expectantes et expetentes justitiam: litteris quas ad sanctitatis vestræ servos direxistis in stupido prius pectore cor novum creantibus, ut videamur nobis pro defensione ecclesiæ nostræ, si casus inciderit, bibere posse calicem patrum nostrorum. Gratias igitur paternitati vestræ super omnibus beneficiis rependentes quas possumus, nos et ecclesiæ nostræ causam in manus vestras commendamus. Quæ circa nos sunt, dominus prior et fratres nostri quibus ea seriatim significavimus, plenius poterunt enarrare. Vitam

A.D. 1187. December.

Their enemies falsely pretend to have in view the honour of S. Thomas.

Gen. xxvii. 22.

If pope Urban had lived and persisted in his course, they would now have been at peace.

Job xxxiv. 19.

He delayed too long, but now that he is gone we are quite helpless.

Lam. v. 15.

Pope Gregory by his recent edict has quashed the mandate against the archbishop.

1 Cor. xv. 19

Job xiii. 15.

Your letters have refreshed our heart.

A.D. 1187. December. vestram et incolumitatem, substantiam nostram, pietas divina conservet, et pia vota promoveat, carissime pater et domine.

CXLVI. Magistro Meliori cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.

December. The convent is not less grateful to cardinal Melior than if his efforts for them had been more effectual.

Gratias agimus benignitati vestræ, de gratia quam se dominus prior et fratres nostri in oculis vestris gratulantur invenisse. Sinum etenim clementiæ vestræ nunquam sibi clausum reperiunt, sed vultum benigniorem et hilarem, et animum ad promovenda negotia quæ agunt paratum semper et immobilem. Quamvis namque tot sacrosanctæ sedis apostolicæ rescripta nos, bonis jam fere omnibus spoliatos post appellationem, in nullo reformare prævaluerint, diligentiæ tamen vestræ non adeo minores exsolvimus gratiarum actiones, quam si restituta essent universa, Deo volente, gratiæ vestræ, cum feliciora fuerint tempora, gratias uberiores acturi. Cæterum si piæ

If pope Urban had lived and persisted, the church would have had a lesson of respect to the apostolic see.

recordationis dominus Urbanus papa modicum superstes in rigore concepto perstitisset, jam ecclesia Dei ut creditur, debita pace gauderet, et edocti essent viri ecclesiastici sacrosanctæ sedis apostolicæ non contemnere majestatem. Verumtamen quia non debet oppressorum conditio deterior fieri ex novi papæ promotione, qui tamen spem non modicam dedit iis qui nos opprimunt, nec curventur qui portant orbem, et frequens est injuste prægravatos non Romana curia justitiæ plenitudinem reportare, quod passim omnibus impendit, nobis in causa tam conspicua non negabit. Quam enim fide et constantia in negotio præsenti pro Cantuariensi, sed et pro Anglicana, sed pro Romana et universali ecclesia steteritis, usque ad mundi terminos, fama divulgante, pervolavit; et exitus rei imponendus, qualiscunque fuerit, orbem Romanam non latebit. Itaque paternitatis vestræ obvoluti genibus supplicamus, omnes et singuli, quatenus pro Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ reverentia, et qui in pectore vestro vigere dignoscitur, zelo justitiæ, sicut laudabiliter cœpistis, justitiam causæ nostræ confovere velitis, et statum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ in integritate sua illæsum conservare; causam etiam jurgiorum et malorum omnium materiam, capellam juxta nos erectam et de bonis ecclesiæ nostræ ditandam, ne procederet impedire. Alioquin certum est hanc in qua divino officio deputati sumus, honestatis suæ et status miserabile incurrere detrimentum, et nos perpetuum debitæ pacis dispendium. Valete.

The pope will surely not refuse us the grace he bestows on all suitors.

Job ix. 13.

fo. 31 v°.

We entreat your influence for the saving of our church and the demolition of the new one.

In eundem modum omnibus cardinalibus excepto Ostiensi.

CXLVII. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis.[1]

A.D. 1188. January.

Universali ecclesiæ jam credimus innotuisse appellationem quam ad apostolicæ sedis audientiam enormiter prægravati interposuimus, statum ecclesiæ cui subversionem vidimus imminere, nos et nostra omnia sub apostolica collocantes protectione. Novit nihilominus mundus quam quotidianam et quasi continuam extunc passi sumus injuriam. Et quidem vivente adhuc in carne sanctæ recordationis papa Urbano, quamvis qui[2] nos opprimunt et impugnant, gravamina de die in diem graviora inferant, tamen zelum justitiæ in eo formidantes cohibuerunt a totali subversione ecclesiæ cujus servi sumus manus suas, ne eos animadversionis apostolicæ gladius inveniret. Cæterum postquam idem in fata concessit, et promotus est summæ sanctitatis papa Gregorius, nescimus qua de re animati, statim contempta tanti temporis possessione, cartis regum et pontificum, privilegiis sedis apostolicæ, et tam solemniter interposita appellatione, universa invaserunt: omnibus possessionibus nostris et libertatibus, quas ab ingressu Christiani nominis in Angliam habuisse dinoscimur, nos spoliantes, adeo ut venerabilis pater noster, auctor omnium, illustrissimum Anglorum regem dominum nostrum, quem semper propitium habuimus, ad læsionem nostram inducere et incitare conetur, arctius inhibens per officiales suos sicut olim per se ipsum, ne aliqua ratione septa ecclesiæ nostræ exire audeamus. Jussus est thesaurus ecclesiæ conscribi et signari, et sigillum nostrum nobis auferri; populus vicinus publice prohibitus nobis alimenta vendere, et servientes proprii ministrare. Si ergo aliquo modo præsens pauperum Christi conquestio ad vos prævaluerit pervenire, rogamus et obsecramus in Domino Jesu, ut tam manifestum sedis apostolicæ contemptum zelo justitiæ accensi amplius non dissimuletis, quorum patientiam in tantæ ecclesiæ subversione mundus miratur et queritur. Credimus enim et per gloriosum martyrem Thomam satis edocti sumus, quia in gladio beati Petri liberabimur. Exsurgite itaque reverendi patres et domini, et ascendite ex adverso pro domo Israel: non prævaleat homo adversus eam. Quod si differre decreveritis, cum jam expulsi fuerimus aut fame consumpti, difficilius erit ferre remedium. Det vobis Deus ut officium vestrum et velitis et valeatis implere.

The monks remind the cardinals of their sufferings.

In pope Urban's life our enemies did not proceed to our complete subversion, but now they have seized all our property in contempt of our charters and privileges.

We are forbidden to quit the monastery; our treasures are put under seal; we are robbed of our provisions and of our servants (Jan. 9.)

We trust to be delivered by the sword of Saint Peter; it may soon be too late.

2 Thess. iii. 12.

Gervase, 1482.

Ezek. xiii. 5.

2 Chron. xiv. 11.

[1] Written after the visit of the bishop of Rochester to Canterbury on the 9th of January, and before the attack on the monastery on the 13th. See No. CLI.

[2] *qui*] om. MS.

A.D. 1187. Nov. or Dec.

CXLVIII. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.[1]

The prior reminds the convent that times and seasons are in God's hands.

Creator omnium rerum atque Dispensator, sub illo dispensationis moderamine tam superiora quam inferiora inevitabiliter coarctatur, quatenus ea quæ a temporum æternitate in arcana sui consilii providentia voluntarie trutinantur, non humanæ conditionis fragilitas declinare, nulla mundanæ rationis argumentosa subtilitas usquequaque poterit avertere, quando secundum divinæ dispositionis seriem suo revertuntur tempore, sibi deputatis atque dispositis dominicaliter terminis et eventibus. Cum ergo Largitor bonorum et Auctor ecclesiam Cantuariensem a Suæ creationis primordio, crebris et fere continuis subjacere tunsionibus præordinaverit, ita tamen eam hactenus in ipsis tribulationibus visus est confovisse, quatenus ex suarum cumulo semper incrementum consequeretur et gloriam. Licet jam solito vehementius in Suis temporibus, forte demeritis nostris exigentibus, malis vallata fuerit et angustiis, si fidem habuerimus et unitatis constantiam, respiciet eam desuper Omnipotens pietate solita, eritque nobis turris fortitudinis a facie tribulationis. Quantoque gravius et immanius tunditur et deprimitur, tanto celebriorem obtinebit victoriam et exaltationem; instar justi, quem plerumque cadere permittit Omnipotens et frequenti concuti molestatione, quatenus in Dei timore et fortius resurgat, et ad pugnam providum se rependat et expeditum. Verum, expectatæ diuque desideratæ consolationis remedia si differantur, non auferuntur. "Grata namque," divina procurante clementia, "superveniet, quæ non sperabitur hora," quæ luctum nostrum convertet in gaudium, dies mœroris et desolationis mutabit in tripudium et exultationem. Licet vero votivum nondum meruimus reportare desiderium, sub expectatione tamen bona tempus protrahimus, spem certam habentes quod aliquod vobis consolatorium in proximo destinabimus. Multoties namque dominum papam super negotio nostro opportune, importune, tum in publico, tum in occulto convenimus in gemitu et lacrymis, supplicantes quatenus quæ de auctoritate prædecessoris sui et communi cardinalium disceptatione super causæ nostræ ventilatione processerant, suum haberent vigorem et effectum. Ipse vero satis benignum nobis dabat responsum, dicens se super hoc cum fratribus suis velle deliberare, et

fo. 32 r°. If we bear our trials patiently, he will have mercy.

Ps. lxi. 3.

Horace, Epist. I. iv. 14.

We have several times addressed the pope on the subject of our cause, and he has answered kindly.

[1] The first part of this letter has been effaced with oak galls, so that the reading cannot be entirely trusted. It was written between the 29th of November, when the pope was at Parma, and the 17th of December, when he died.

secundum quod sibi dictaret conscientia, mediante judicio et justitia nobis misericorditer providere. Cumque Parmis[1] essemus, ubi nos sicut et alios expedire disposuerat, nunciis imperatoris et universis episcopis Italiæ supervenientibus, oportebat eum de pace et statu ecclesiæ tractare et universa suspendere negotia, usque in eum locum quo contingat eum aliquantum facere moram. Nos vero sequemur eum quocunque ierit, parati pro vobis ad omnes labores, ad omnia tædia sustinenda quæ nobis voluerit Dominus ministrare. Consolamini, fatres, et nolite terreri, sed causam vestram absque intermissione coram Deo et meritis sanctorum vestrorum allegate. Multæ enim sunt misericordiæ Domini, Qui liberabit vos de manibus angustiæ et ab instanti persecutione. Postquam recessit ille noster manifestus oppugnator, omnes cardinales in nostræ causæ tuitione credimus habere propitios, et super hoc certi sumus, si qua fides est in homine. Bene valete, et indesinenter orate pro nobis, sicut pro vobis.

A.D. 1187. Nov. or Dec. At Parma we lost our opportunity in the pressure of business.

We will follow him wherever he goes.

Since our enemy left (the bishop of Albano), all the cardinals have been on our side.

CXLIX. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.[2]

November.

Benedictus Deus Qui miserationum Suarum semper reminiscens, ecclesiam Suam continua pietate contuetur et continet, adeo ut quod ei detractum videtur in destitutione rectorum qui morte prohibentur permanere, feliciori abundanter reparet eorum successione. Unde et merito de piæ memoriæ Urbano papæ prædecessoris vestri raptu desolata lugeret, nisi ei majorem promotio vestra consolationem præstitisset. Gratias autem Deo, Qui discretionem speculatricem dedit domui Israel, Qui sanctam paternitatem vestram constituit super gentes et
Jerem. i. 10. regna, ut evellat et destruat et dispergat et dissipet et ædificet et plantet. Quoniam ergo sanctitas vestra oppressiones et angustias quas jamdudum passi sumus et quotidie patimur graviores, ignorare non potest, utpote ad quem prior et fratres nostri confidenter et crebrius olim recurrentes omnia pertulisse noscuntur, genibus majestatis vestræ obvoluti, attentius supplicamus omnes et singuli, martyris Thomæ reverentia, causæ nostræ justitiam confovere dignemini, et Cantuariensis ecclesiæ non jam ne ruat prospicere, sed magis ruinam reparare. Ex quo in rebus et personis enormiter prægravati audientiam apostolicam appellavimus, possessionibus quas ab ingressu Christiani nominis in Angliam

The monks tell the pope that his promotion consoles them for his predecessor's death.

Your holiness has heard of our troubles.

[1] *Parmis*] Paremus MS. The pope was at Parma, Nov. 28 and 29.

[2] Written before the receipt of pope Gregory's edict of October 29, No. CXXXIX.

A.D. 1187. We hope in you for deliverance.

in rebus nostris habuisse dinoscimur, mirabile dictu et miserabile nimis, [per] dominum et patrem nostrum lugemus spoliati, ad Deum et vos oculos levantes, donec misericordiam invenire mereamur. Moveat itaque pietatem vestram, benignissime pater, ecclesiæ cui deservimus miseranda dejectio, quatenus privilegia ei a sede apostolica dudum indulta debitum robur obtineant, et cartæ regum et pontificum ei sicut hactenus firmius observentur, nec alicujus detis suggestioni, ut honor ejus excidat, vel status bonus et rectus temporibus vestris, quæ dignatio divina feliciter disponat, immutetur. Credimus namque gloriam hujus operis vobis Deum reservasse, quatenus quos beatissimus papa Gregorius per Sanctum Augustinum primum fundavit in Anglia, ad honorem Dei Gregorius conservet, quamque vigilator ille constituit, vigilantia vestra non negligat, et sibi coronam immarcescibilem sanctitas vestra, quam officii suscepti sollicitudo [mereatur], in cœlis accumulet.

We believe that Gregory VIII. will deliver the church that Gregory I. founded.

fo. 32 v°.

The cause of our trouble is the new church of clerks.

Causam vero afflictionis nostræ, ecclesiam clericorum quam de bonis nostræ venerabilis pater noster juxta nos fundare intendit, esse noveritis et efficere. Quæ nisi cessaverit, proculdubio humiliatio nostra et subversio cessare non poterit. Unde et cum litteræ piæ recordationis Urbani papæ de capellulæ quæ post appellationem erecta dinoscitur, demolitione, et omnium restitutione quæ tempore appellationis habuimus, longe antequam de transitu ipsius rumor insonuisset, domino Cantuariensi porrectæ fuissent et publicatæ, Anglia, Normannia et Gallia, et multæ circumquaque nationes tanto exultaverunt uberiori gaudio, quanto ecclesiam in qua divino officio deputati sumus, maxime pro novi martyris Thomæ gloria, majori amplectentes devotione, ex novæ ecclesiæ constructione huic non dubitant destitutionem imminere. Placeat ergo majestati vestræ priori nostro nostrisque fratribus, qui cum eo præsentiæ vestræ assistunt, aurem clementer inclinare et in justis petitionibus suis eos benignus exaudire, ut lumen justitiæ tenebras occidentis irradiet, et sacrosanctæ sedis apostolicæ, cui Deo auctore præsides, auctoritas semper reverenda permaneat. Vitam et incolumitatem vestram Deus ecclesiæ suæ in tempora longiora conservet.

Pope Urban's last mandate was received with great joy.

We entreat your favour for the prior.

A.D. 1187. Nov. or Dec.

CL. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.

The prior has no good news yet for the convent.

Hucusque, dilectissimi fratres, verbum plenæ consolationis vobis mandare desideravimus, sed desiderium animæ nostræ nondum tribuit nobis Dominus, et tamen in ea spe et fiducia qua stamus, vos constantes esse et confidenter stare monemus, ne aliqua frangat tribulatio, quos gloriosi finis expectat con-

summatio. Quamvis enim per mortem felicis memoriæ Urbani papæ impedimentum causæ nostræ et dispendium ad præsens incurrimus, in cujus morte fere ad mortem afflixit nos Dominus, tamen pro certo scire vos volumus, quia totam curiam etiam cum justitia nostra nobiscum habemus: ita quidem quod omnium pro nobis apud dominum papam supplicat devotio, omniumque devote pro nobis intervenit supplicatio. Unde licet dominus papa ad tempus justitiam nostram distulerit, tamen processu temporis quod justum fuerit nobis denegare non poterit. Nec aliquo modo sustineret Romana ecclesia, quod nobis et ecclesiæ nostræ tam manifesta fieret injuria. Ideoque consolamur vos et exhortamur in Domino ne deficiatis in tentationibus et tribulationibus istis, scientes quia probatio fidei patientiam operatur, patientia autem opus perfectum habeat, ut sitis in nullo deficientes. Et fidelis Dominus non permittet vos tentari ultra quam poteritis sustinere, sed faciet cum tentatione proventum ut sustinere possitis. Præterea super aliquo adhuc vos certificare non possumus, quia nondum in aliquo certificati sumus; quod tamen in proximo fieri non dubitamus. Vos autem quam citius poteritis calamitates nostras et gravamina domino papæ ex ordine significetis, sicut prædecessori suo fecistis. Litteras enim decani Remensis impetrare non omittatis: quem dominus papa præ cæteris ultramontanis ut dicitur, diligit, et ei majorem habet fidem, et præ cæteris certius credit. Dominus conservet pacem et constantiam vestram. Amen.

A.D. 1187.

Although we have lost a good friend in pope Urban, the whole court is on our side, so that although the pope may delay for a time, we are sure to win in the end.

S. James. i. 3, 4.

1 Cor. x. 13.

We doubt not that we shall soon have good news; get letters from the dean of Rheims to the pope.

CLI. Honorio priori et socii Conventus Cantuariensis.[1]

A.D. 1188. January.

Nihil aliud vobis porrigere possumus, quam quod nobis propinat qui nos potat absinthio et felle: non enim facile est quæ in nos facta sunt scripto mandare, sed quas molestias jam non patiamur difficile. Veniens in Angliam pater noster[2] durior virgæ in qua semper venerat non oblitus, signa præmisit adventus sui, et mare cautius et arctius observari fecit et publice per portus per ministros regis edici, ne permitteretur monachus mare transire. Die sequenti proxima, quinta videlicet secundæ Dominicæ Nativitatis, id est, Epiphaniæ, die, Rofensis episcopus in capitulum veniens cum militibus tribus

1 Cor. iv. 21.

The convent informs the prior that the archbishop since his return has closed the ports of the kingdom to the monks.

The bishop of Rochester, with soldiers and clerks, on the fifth

[1] Written between January 10, the day after the bishop of Rochester's visit, and January 13, when the monastery was seized.

[2] The archbishop landed at Dover on the 11th of January.

A.D. 1188. January. day after the Epiphany came and offered to restore our manors on the terms which the king had defined. The brethren refused these terms, and the bishops forbad them to quit the

domini regis, et clericis de Hakentun quampluribus et aliis multis, obtulerunt nobis maneria quibus spoliati sumus, eo modo et conditione tenenda, quo coram domino rege ordinatum fuerat in Normannia. Ad quod fratres quibus commendanda erant, Robertus sacrista et Symon camerarius et Rogerus [1] olim thesaurarius, constanter asserebant singuli, se nullatenus in hoc consentire etiam si vellet conventus. Inhibuit itaque dominus Rofensis omnibus et singulis in virtute obedientiæ, ne quis nostrum septa egrederetur, ex parte domini archiepiscopi. Ex parte ejusdem et domini regis præcepit thesaurum ecclesiæ sibi ostendi, et sigillum nostrum eis tradi. Quæ cum omnia usque ad adventum regis, ut dicebatur, in proximo venturi, peteremus differri, ipsum audituri, et pro eo quicquid possemus super his et aliis cum Deo facturi, exeuntes milites sicut eis jussum fuerat, possessiones omnes quæ nobis relictæ erant invaserunt, et curiam nostram occupare volentes et irrumpere, dicebant se ex parte domini regis et domini archiepiscopi destinatos, ut conventui necessaria invenirent, et hospitibus similiter necessaria; sed non sunt admissi. In crastino vero, quæ fecerint, quæ edicta ediderint, et quantas comminationes emiserint, quas non verba et voces esse factis comprobarunt, longum esset enarrare et turpe. Præsentium latores omnia vobis plenius norunt et poterunt enarrare, et vos ea seriatim ex rescripto domini papæ potestis perpendere. Spiritu quidem prompto simus, quamvis carne debiles. Vitam vestram Deus nobis conservet.

fo. 33 r°. house, and ordered the treasures to be put under seal, and the seal to be delivered. The soldiers tried to seize the court of the monastery. On the following day, Sunday, January 10, the soldiers proceeded to further enormities.

S. Matt. xxvi. 41.

CLII. Omnibus filiis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ Conventus.

A.D. 1188. January.

The convent entreats all the faithful to intercede for the church of Canterbury.

Omnibus sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ filiis, servi ejusdem loci miserabiles et afflicti, salutem et sui meminisse. Universitatis vestræ genibus obvoluti gratias agimus super devotione quam circa matrem, morbo graviori laborantem, hactenus habuistis. Verumtamen quia jam spiritu in pectore tantum palpitante quasi in extremis posita est, non nisi respectum gratiæ desuper expectans, obnixius supplicamus, quatenus quanto acrius infestata est et morti proxima, tanto magis necessariis insistentes suffragiis, pias lacrymas propensius impendatis, ut precibus vestris exoratus Dominus, si dissimulat propter peccata nostra, exaudiat propter reverentiam vestram, et si non ad voluntatem, saltem ad salutem. Quæ enim mala patiatur non jam facile est, sed quibus angustiis non angustiatur enarrare difficile. Valete.

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[1] *Rogerus*] Robertus, MS.

CLIII. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.[1]

A.D. 1188. January.

Sicut alias sanctitati vestræ significavimus, audito verbo de promotione vestræ, intelligentes ecclesiæ Dei provisum esse in ea, ad vos appellationem solemnem innovavimus, tanto certiores de consequenda justitia, quanto majoris justitiæ zelo virtutem vestram fervere cognoscimus; statum ecclesiæ nostræ, nos et nostra omnia quæ adhuc manus venerabilis patris nostri nobis reliquerat, sub beati Petri et vestra ponentes protectione. Licet enim, vivente adhuc in carne sanctæ recordationis papa Urbano, qui nos opprimunt et impugnant gravamina de die in diem graviora inferant, tamen animum ejus zelo justitiæ attendentes accensum, et invincibilem admirantes constantiam, a totali ecclesiæ cujus servi sumus subversione cohibuerunt manus suas, ne eos animadversionis apostolicæ gladius inveniret. Cæterum postquam is pauperum protector, heu, heu! jam ereptione nostra proxima et malorum causa prope dejecta, in fata concessit, et sanctitas vestra cathedram apostolorum implevit, statim majorem, nescimus qua de re, concipientes fiduciam pauperes Christi liberius impugnare cœperunt et acrius, quasi non habentes protectorem, et contempta tanti temporis possessione cartis regum et pontificum, privilegiis etiam sedis apostolicæ, et tam solemniter et toties ad vos interposita appellatione, bona ecclesiæ universa invaserunt, possessionibus omnibus et libertatibus quas ab ingressu Christiani nominis in Angliam habuisse dinoscimur, nos spoliantes, nec volentes restituere quæ tulerunt, nisi velimus in modum et conditionem servilem consentire, quam præscribunt. Venerabilis enim pater noster, heu! grave verbum et dictum onerosum, officii suscepti nimis immemor, illustrissimum Anglorum regem dominum nostrum quem semper propitium habuimus et benignum, ad nos lædendum inducere et incitare conatur: arctius inhibens per officiales suos, ne aliquo modo aut mare transire, aut septa ecclesiæ nostræ exire audeamus. Jussus est thesaurus ecclesiæ nostræ conscribi et signari; sigillum nostrum nobis auferri: populus vicinus publice prohibitus nobis alimenta vendere, et proprii servientes ministrare. Forte, pater sancte, quia nos a misericordia excepistis, quam generali gratia vestra indulsit ecclesiæ, arbitrantur vos subversionem nostram vel dissimulare velle vel posse certe æquanimiter sustinere. Hoc enim publice improperant clerici

The convent informs the pope that since his promotion their enemies have oppressed them more and more.

They have set at nought their charters and privileges, and seized their goods.

The archbishop incites the king against them.

He has ordered the treasure to be sealed, the seal to be surrendered, &c., &c., trusting in the friendship of the pope.

[1] Written between the 10th and 13th of January, and probably despatched by one of the four brethren who met at St. Omer's on the 20th of January. See below, No. CLXV., and compare CXLVII.

A.D. 1188. January.

domini et patris nostri, quorum manibus cædimur, sed illius viribus, quod omnia rescripta quæ a sede apostolica pro reparatione nostra Urbanus papa quamvis inaniter emisit, in verbo uno quam facillime cassaverunt, quasi auctoritatem inde sumentes et audaciam. Verum in paternitate vestra sperantes, etiam si nos occiderit, non credentes aliquo modo pauperum et oppressorum conditionem ex promotione vestra fieri posse deteriorem, ad sinum clementiæ vestræ confugimus, suppliciter obsecrantes, ut vel nunc cum immanitas doloris modum excedit, nec permittimur ad audientiam vestram querelam perferre, aut juris publici subsidium expetere, dum adhuc spiritus quasi extremus palpitat in pectore, remedium laborantibus ferre non differatis, ne sero sit velle, cum jam aut expulsi fuerimus aut fame consumpti. Quid enim aliud expectemus? Quibus nec suis uti licet, nec ab aliis alimenta mendicare. Et forte dum hæc auribus vestris intimantur, accidunt omnia quæ verebamur. Et quidem, domine reverende, facile esset nobis ex ecclesiæ nostræ discrimine clausis oculis sub silentio præterire, sed manus nostras vel consentiendo funere materno commaculare credimus omnino damnabile. Unde præ oculis habentes in martyre nostro glorioso, et laborem certaminis et mercedem laboris, malumus et gratia juvante decrevimus calicem quem dederit Dominus pro ipsius bibere defensione, quam animarum nostrarum detrimentum facere. Miseremini ergo, pater sancte, miseremini ecclesiæ tantæ tam desolatæ et nostræ conditionis extremæ; miseremini familiæ sub protectione vestra in sinu sanctitatis vestræ tam enormiter tam miserabiliter afflictæ; miseremini, quam viri ecclesiastici hodie minus reverentur apud nos, majestatis apostolicæ; et quæ etiam in orbe hoc occiduo periculum in nobis patitur, fidei Christianæ. Quia si vera sunt senum nostrorum somnia, si juvenum nostrorum visiones, in gladio beati Petri machina contra ecclesiam Cantuariensem consurgens disparebit et dissipabitur. Nunc ultimo calamitates vobis credimus enarrare. Multa tamen habemus, domine, quæ atramento mandari nolunt. Miseremini itaque, quia tempus miserendi est, ut per merita et intercessione gloriosi martyris Thomæ universali ecclesiæ quam vestro commisit regimini, misereatur Altissimus. Vitam vestram ad ecclesiæ Suæ honorem et tuitionem Deus in tempora longiora conservet.

But the monks trust in the pope.

fo. 33 v°.

They beseech him not to forsake them.

They have determined to suffer anything rather than consent to the destruction of the church.

Acts ii. 17

Gervase, 1482.

Ps. cii. 13.

A.D. 1187. Nov. 30.

CLIV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.

The prior comforts the convent as

Quoniam fraternitatis vestræ sanctitatem continuæ afflictionis comprimit tribulatio, competens et necesse est nos assidue con-

solationis remedio relevari. In hoc vero deficit et liquefacta est anima nostra, quia in quantum desideramus vos ad præsens consolari, non possumus. Et tamen mutua et communis nobis inde debet provenire consolatio, quod nobis pro tuenda justitia, tam manifesta irrogatur injuria et persecutio. Beati enim qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam: gaudendum ergo est nobis, etiam si oporteret nos mori in tribulationibus suis istis, quia pretiosa est mors nostra in conspectu Domini Dei, dummodo pro Deo et in Deo dimicamus et morimur. Memores ergo estote, fratres mei, quomodo salvi facti sunt patres nostri. Per multas namque tribulationes oportet nos intrare in regnum cœlorum, quemadmodum et ipsi intraverunt. Unde quicquid adversitatis nobis contingat in via, patienter sustinere debemus propter gaudium quod expectamus in patria. Non enim sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis. Cæterum inter cætera quæ patimur, illa maxima passio nostra est; quod compatientes vobis, citius subvenire non possumus. Sed licet ista dilatio utriusque generet fastidium, tamen bene credimus et certi sumus, quia tandem prosperum sortietur effectum, si de Romana ecclesia judicii et justitiæ reportanda est fiducia. Præterea studiose agendum est, ut eodem animo, eadem constantia qua concepimus, constantes et unanimes esse studeamus, donec visitaverit nos Oriens ex alto, Qui ex abundantia misericordiæ Suæ nunquam deserit sperantes in Se. Adhuc quidem ne tamen videamur de nobis præsumere, parati sumus in dilectione, quæ Deus est, pro ecclesia nostra et fratribus nostris, corpora et animas nostras ponere, si casus daretur et occasio, sicut data est voluntas et devotio. Quibus tamen minus per omnem modum esset et levius, semel et simul mori, quam quotidie innumeris cruciari mortibus. Postquam namque decessit piæ recordationis Urbanus, fere quotidianus nobis accessit et urgebat nos interitus. Sed si viriliter egerimus, si constanter fideliterque steterimus, de omnibus his liberabit nos Dominus. Ista vobis a Parmis,[1] quadam videlicet civitate Lumbardiæ, in festivitate Sancti Andreæ transmisimus, cum citra ulteriores Alpes iter apud Romam arripuimus, orantes et deprecantes ut corda vestra confirmet et consoletur Omnipotens, Pius, et Misericors Dominus. Amen.

S. Matt. v. 10.

Psalm cxvi. 13.

Acts. xiv. 21.

Rom. viii. 18.

S. Luke i. 78.

Judith xiii. 17.

1 S. John iv. 8.

A.D. 1187. Nov. 30. well as he can in their common tribulation.

If there is any faith in Rome, our cause must have a good issue.

Ever since pope Urban's death we have been in daily danger.

This letter is written from Parma, on the route to Rome, Nov. 30.

[1] The pope was at Parma on the 28th and 29th of November. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum*, 868.

A.D. 1187. November.

CLV. Conventui Cantuariensi quidam fratrum a curia.

A pious exhortation to faith and perseverance.

Ut a verbis Jacobi apostoli exordiar, "omne gaudium existi-
"mate, fratres carissimi, cum in tentationes varias incideritis." S. James i. 2.
In vobis enim Christus persecutionem de novo patitur, in Quo
et vos state fortes, a Quo aliquando audituri estis, "Qui per-
"mansistis Mecum in tentationibus Meis, et ideo dispono
"vobis sicut disposuit Mihi Pater Meus regnum." Hortamur S. Luke xxii. 28.
ad perseverantiam, quia "non sunt condignæ passiones hujus
"temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis." Rom. viii. 18.
Mementote quia filii sanctorum estis, si persecutionem susti-
netis, quia beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam. S. Matt. v. 10

fo. 34 r°.

Remember the former examples of patience in our church;

Ad principia nascentis ecclesiæ nostræ recurrat vestræ discre-
tionis memoria. Recolat cum patribus tempora, et vix invenietis
aliquem patrum vestrorum qui non sit passus pro libertate
ecclesiæ vestræ exilium vel mortem: sic de patribus loquimur.
Nec fratres excipere possumus, si tempora prædecessorum nos-
trorum non præterimus. Si ergo pro libertate illius ecclesiæ
constanter statis, vere filii illorum estis. Degeneres filii sunt

and especially the martyr of our own times.

qui bonitatem parentum non sequuntur. Et ut alios ad præsens
omittamus, illum ad memoriam revocate, qui temporibus vestris
sex annis exul effectus, tandem in oculis vestris in ecclesia
vestra et pro ecclesia martyrio coronatus est. Et si recte
recolimus, ipse aliquando vos præmunivit et hortatus est ad
constantiam, dicens, quia ipse certamen inceperat pro libertate
ecclesiæ quod vos expectabat. Animemini ergo ad certamen
monitu beati martyris. Mundus laudat causam vestram: com-

The Roman court is on our side, although the pope delays justice for a time.

mendet et constantiam vestram. Tota Romana curia vobiscum
est, nec negabit vobis justitiam Romanus pontifex licet ad
tempus differat. Quicquid pro vobis impetratum est de auc-
toritate Romani pontificis et de consilio fratrum processit, quia
in occulto locuti sumus nihil, nec est vobis aliquo modo diffi-
dendum, quia cardinales contra proprium consilium non venient,
maxime cum petamus de justitia quicquid petimus. Jam finis
datus fuisset causæ vestræ, si beatæ memoriæ Urbanus non
esset sublatus de medio, sicut de ultimis ejus litteris potestis
perpendere. Novus surrexit, utinam in novitate spiritus, qui Rom. vii. 6.
licet non sit nobis ita propitius sicut prædecessor ejus fuit,
tamen, si fides potest haberi verbis ejus, vobis in justitia vestra

The new pope is a friend of the archbishop, but also he loves us, and professes that he will

non deerit; quia, ut dicunt, diligit archiepiscopum, vos autem
dilectionis ejus non estis expertes, nec aliquis sibi ita amatus
est pro quo propriam animam perdere velit. Confitetur etiam
quia bene novit tribulationem nostram et in brevi providebit
nobis consolationem. Instantia nostra quotidiana est, nec ipse

miratur. Angustiæ vestræ semper præ oculis nostris sunt, quæ et nostræ sunt, præter sollicitudines et continuos labores. Dolorem et angustiam nostram quis potest scribere, cum viderimus illum mortuum quem scivimus ita tenerrime ecclesiam nostram diligere, quod non fuit ei satis defendere, sed intimo cordis affectu proposuerat confovere? Testis est mihi Deus in Cujus conspectu loquor, quia die qua vidi eum mortuum, vellem dedisse vitam meam pro vita ipsius, nec unquam accessit mihi dolor similis illi dolori. Verumtamen omnia libenter sustinemus, propter Eum Qui nos subjecit in spe, sperantes quoniam post tantam tribulationem, fœcundior nobis ventura sit consolatio; nec timemus quin evincamus, quia constantia vestra, Deo præstante, nobis donabit victoriam. Nos quidem parati sumus in carcerem et in mortem pro libertate vestra ire; nec id nobis, sed meritis et orationibus vestris ascribimus, sicut et victoriam constantiæ vestræ ascribere tenebimur. Valeat fraternitas vestra.

A.D. 1187. November. soon console us.

The writer would gladly have died to save pope Urban's life.

Rom. viii. 20.

CLVI. Gregorio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.[1]

A.D. 1188. Jan. 14–17.

Quantas et quam continuas a patre et domino nostro Cantuariensi archiepiscopo sustinuerimus oppressiones, [sanctitati][2] vestræ prout credimus satis innotuit. Quæ autem de novo superaddita sunt, tum quia ob sui enormitatem incredibilia videntur, tum quia patris nostri et tantæ opinionis viri inhonestant auctoritatem, nobis confusio est enarrare. Sed quoniam causa potens est ecclesiæ nostræ subversio et exterminatio nostra, in januis omnino silere non possumus, quin ea quæ nobis illata sunt sanctitati vestræ proponamus, misericordiam postulantes. Siquidem in ingressu dicti patris nostri in Angliam, statim nos villis et possessionibus, quas usque tunc nobis reliquerat spoliavit universis. Factumque est ut qui, obtentu urgentis mandati sanctæ recordationis prædecessoris vestri Urbani papæ reformando statu ecclesiæ nostræ, ablatorum speraveramus restitutionem, jam in omnium incidimus destitutionem. Adjecit autem his dominus et pater noster satis duriora. Tertia die adventus ejus in Angliam, directi sunt a latere ipsius aliqui de clericis novæ capellæ quæ totius scandali materia est, et cum eis milites non sine multa sequela, qui curiam nostram invaderent. Quo præ-

The convent cannot refrain from telling the pope their new troubles.

Three days after the archbishop's return his clerks besieged (January 13) the court of the monastery.

[1] This and the following letter were written between the attack on the monastery, January 13, and the excommunication of the sub-prior, January 17. Gervase, 1518.

[2] *sanctitati*] om. MS.

A.D. 1188. January. fo. 34 v°. We closed the gates, but they broke through the wall, and seized the offices.

cognito, januas nostras obseravimus eis: ex parte Dei et vestra appellaveramus inhibentes, adjicientes nos ad vestram appellasse sanctitatem, priorem nostrum cum fratribus in causæ nostræ executione vestræ assistere præsentiæ. Illi autem inhibitionem nostram et Dei et vestram postponentes reverentiam, muro curiæ nostræ perforato et diruto irruperunt, januas, seras et ostia hinc inde confringentes, officinas nostras usque ad claustrum omnes occupaverunt, equos et alia quæ sibi necessaria videbantur diripientes. Eodem autem die, antequam hæc fierent, dum dominus archiepiscopus nondum venisset Cantuariam, duos de fratribus nostris ad ipsum misimus requisituros, an,[1] juxta quod moris archiepiscopis de transmarinis venientibus, solemni vellet suscipi processione. Quibus ille, antequam ipsius apparerent conspectui, mandavit quod excommunicati erant, cum tamen indulserat nobis prædictus felicis memoriæ prædecessor vester, quod non liceat prædicto archiepiscopo, lite pendente, in quenquam nostrum excommunicationis vel suspensionis sententiam promulgare. Quod etsi non esset, ad ipsorum fratrum protectionem suffecisse debuerat interposita ad majestatem vestram appellatio. Ulterius autem adversus dictos fratres concepta domini archiepiscopi processit indignatio, et quod auditu quoque indignum est, ipsos, equis super quos venerant ablatis, pede ad nos usque remisit. Sequenti vero nocte, repleta est curia nostra armatis, portas et ostia circumquaque diligenter observantibus, ne cui nostrum aliquo modo pateret exitus, ea scilicet ut dicitur intentione, ut quæ faciunt enormia, vestram possint latere sanctitatem. Sed et ipsi servientes nostri tactis sacrosanctis jurare compulsi sunt, quod si quis eorum quemlibet nostrum exeuntem compererit, ipsum impediet, et quam citius poterit, officialibus domini archiepiscopi rem indicabit. Hæc ideo, pater sanctissime, majestati vestræ innotescimus, ut nobis servis suis tam miserrimis sinum misericordiæ vestra dignetur aperire misericordia, et ecclesiam Cantuariensem, jam ut videtur in extremis agentem, paterna celerius benignitate respicere. Et quidem nocte ipsa qua hæc scripta sunt, obsessi circumquaque, et quid de nobis in crastino futurum esset incerti, in mœrore expectabamus, oratione clamantes ad Dominum. Valeat in tempora longiora sanctitas vestra, pater reverendissime.

(Jan. 13.) The same day we sent two monks to offer the archbishop a procession, and he declared that they were excommunicated, and sent them home on foot.

That night the monastery was occupied by the soldiers.

CLVII. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensi.

A.D. 1188. January 14–17. The convent complains to the king,

Ad regiam præcipue spectat benignitatem injuste oppressos misericorditer liberare. Pro hoc enim maxime commendatur, Deo

[1] *an*] ad, MS.

placens et hominibus, principis clementia. Quod utique discretionis vestræ prudentiæ clarere non ambigimus. Ideoque majestati vestræ miseriæ et tribulationis nostræ confidentius significamus immanitatem; sperantes a misericordia vestra dolorum nostrorum reportare solatium. Siquidem quæ et quanta a domino et patre nostro archiepiscopo fere a promotionis ipsius initio sustinuerimus gravamina, vestra pro parte novit excellentia. Quæ autem [post][1] reversionem suam in Angliam superaddiderit, piæ aures audire refugient. Et quidem in ipso ingressu suo, nos omnibus possessionibus nostris quas nobis ante reliquerat spoliavit. Duos tamen de fratribus nostris, ut ipsum ex parte conventus salutarent, eique de more antiquo processionem offerrent, Wingeham missos, antequam ad eum accessum habere potuissent, per internuncios excommunicatos denunciavit, eosque, equis in quibus venerant ablatis, pede remisit. Ipso die directi sunt a latere ejus quidam cum sequela multa, qui murum curiæ nostræ perforantes, januas et seras et ostia usque ad ipsum claustrum confringentes, curiam totam occupaverunt; nihil obstante ex Dei parte et vestra facta inhibitione. Qui, victualibus etiam nostris asportatis, aditus et exitus curiæ nostræ, sed et monasterii portas, nocte et die adeo vigilanter observant, ut neque nobis alimenta deferre, nec ad sanctorum nostrorum corpora introire volentibus liber possit esse accessus. Servientes nostros quosdam in curia nostra, quosdam in ipso cœmeterio interceptos, cæsos et spoliatos in vincula projecerunt et carceres. Sic igitur, serenissime domine, novo et inaudito more intra ecclesiam nostram obsessi, quotidie finem nostrum expectamus cum lacrymis. In proximo enim est ut fame deficiamus et inedia, nisi manum misericordiæ vestra citius interposuerit celsitudo. Moveat igitur, domine, pietatem vestram afflictio nostra, quam teste Deo et conscientia nostra sustinemus, quia ecclesiæ Cantuariensis et ordinis nostri subversionem sustinere non possumus. Moveat, domine, pietatem vestram vox populi pro nobis in gemitu clamantis ad Dominum. Recordamini, si placet, quod ante ipsius patris nostri electionem nobis in capitulo nostro vestra promiserit magnificentia. Miseremini nostri, domine, dum tempus miserendi, dum adhuc nobis remedium pollicetur spes sola Dei et vestra misericordia concepta. Valeat magnitudo vestra in tempora longiora.

A.D. 1188. January 14-17.

that the archbishop has seized their possessions, declared their brethren excommunicated, and taken away their horses. (Jan. 13.)

His agents have broken through the wall of the court, deprived them of their victuals, and hindered them from quitting the house.

fo. 35 r°.

They remind the king of his promises.

[1] *post*] om. MS.

A.D. 1187. Nov. or Dec.

CLVIII. [Henricus rex Angliæ, Randulfo de Glanvilla.]

The king reminds Ranulf Glanvill that his son Richard has taken the cross, and that he wants the counsel of the archbishop, whom he retains in Normandy.

Henricus rex Angliæ, *etc.*, Randulfo de Glanvilla, salutem. Nosti quanta mala nunciata sunt nobis de destructione terræ Jerosolimitanæ, et qualiter propter hoc filius meus Ricardus crucem accepit. Quoniam autem in tanta deliberatione negotii præsentia venerabilis patris nostri Baldewini, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ primatis, nobis plurimum utilis et necessaria exstitit, ipsum ad præsens nobiscum duximus retinendum, donec in Anglia pariter veniamus, quod in proximo per Dei misericordiam speramus. Verum quia monachi Cantuarienses contra ipsum, immo contra nos, in multis errasse noscuntur, sicut tu ipse bene scis, nec nos insolentiam eorum ulterius volumus sustinere, mandamus et districte præcipimus

He orders him to support with assistance and advice the messengers whom the archbishop is sending to Canterbury.

quatenus, sicut diligis amorem nostrum et honorem nostrum desideras ampliari, tale auxilium et consilium nunciis præfati Baldewini archiepiscopi, quos propter hæc ad te miserit, impendas, ut domus Cantuariensis in suo statu valeat conservari, et ordo monasticus et disciplina ejus archiepiscopi auctoritate teneri. Quia sicuti tibi per alias litteras mandavimus, opus illud inchoatæ ecclesiæ in manu nostra recepimus et nostrum reputamus. Et quia, sicut fere omnibus innotuit, tanta est destructio terræ Jerosolimitanæ, ut ad ejus subventionem etiam thesauros ecclesiarum expendere pium sit et honestum, districte tibi præcipimus, ut thesaurum ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, et illud præcipue quod factum est de capsa Beati Thomæ, et alia quæ thesauri nomine in eadem ecclesia continentur, diligenter inspici facias et signari, ne sine nostra conscientia distrahi valeant, et quod inde sublatum est facias inquiri, et hospitalitatem domus et statum antiquum in integrum reformari sicut tempore nostro melius fuit, et tempore prædecessorum nostrorum; et Willelmo de Albervilla, et Willelmo filio Nigelli, et Willelmo filio Philippi ex parte nostra sub omni districtione præcipias, ut prædictis omnibus intersint, fieri faciant loco meo, et custodibus illis quos prædictus archiepiscopus ad domum illam custodiendam ibidem statuerit, benignius et fortius assistant, et auxilium quale oportuerit impendere nullo modo postponant, sed cooperatores et coadjutores mandata archiepiscopi exequendi pro tanta devotione existant, ut nobis de iis quæ acta fuerint plenum et fidele testimonium valeant perhibere.

Cf. No. cxxxiii.

He orders him to register and seal the treasure of the church,

and to demand the assistance of William of Albervill, William Fitz Neal, and William Fitz Philip.

CLIX. Randulfus de Glanvilla dilecto sibi Conventui Cantuariensi.

A.D. 1188. January.

Ranulf Glanvill informs the monks that the bishop of Rochester is coming to them on behalf of the king and the archbishop.

Sciatis quod dominus rex et dominus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus mittunt ad vos dominum Rofensem episcopum pro statu ecclesiæ vestræ meliorando et reformando. Et ideo vobis mando et moneo et consulo, quatenus vos in hoc ita provide et sollerter et circumspecte habeatis, ne per pravitatem[1] aut insolentiam vestram debeat status ecclesiæ vestræ turbari in quoquam et deteriorari. Teste Hugone Bardulfo, dapifero domini regis.

CLX. Honorio priori et fratribus, Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1187.

The convent warns the prior that the archbishop is now bringing the rule of S. Benedict to bear, not on their breeches only, but on all their goods.

Petit archiepiscopus quatenus liceat ei nos regere et coercere secundum regulam beati Benedicti. Quæ petitio quanto simplicior est in superficie, tanto plus habet latentis malitiæ. Non enim in hoc verbo femoralia nostra persequitur, sed universorum sibi vendicat dispositionem, juxta illud regulæ, "Omnia in dispositione abbatis sint." Viriliter agite et vigilanter, nec sperantes veniam nec expectantes gratiam. Quia enim Spiritui Sancto non restitistis, neque dissimulanter egistis, certum habeatis, quia neque hic remittet ex animo, neque in futuro. Diligentissime videte ne impetret a curia unde occasionem possit habere adversum nos. Si enim habuerit, actum est de nobis. Formam fraternitatis quam fecit vobis mittimus, in qua mendacium novæ capellæ primo ponit fundamentum, quod videlicet Sanctus Anselmus et Beatus Thomas habuerint in proposito eam facere. De Sancto Anselmo probari non potest. Beati martyris duo sunt in ecclesia nostra capellani, qui constanter asserunt nunquam se super hac re ex ore ejus verbum audisse. Cæterum, non omnis cogitatio sanctorum diem festum agit Domino, sed relliquiæ cogitationis. Verumtamen uterque ecclesiam Dei ædificavit; uterque pro ipsa exulavit, alter pro ipsa occubuit, quam istius patientia in Anglia penitus destruxit. Quicquid enim alter labore suo, alter labore et sanguine evicit, hodie tenet cum prius non tenuerit. In ipsa fraternitatis forma videre potestis, quomodo proponit, instar, ut asserit, sanctorum, ecclesiam protomartyri Stephano ædificare. In fine ejusdem, Sanctus Thomas solus commemoratur. Si utriusque futura est, neutrius erit. Hac

They instruct him how to meet the arguments drawn from the designs of SS. Anselm and Thomas. fo. 35 v°.

There are in the house two chaplains of S. Thomas, who never heard a word about the new church.

Psalm lxxvi. 10. Cf. No. lv.

No. viii.

The archbishop's project is full of inconsistency.

He says, S. Thomas has

[1] *per pravitatem*] probitatem, MS.

A.D. 1187. no church to himself, so I will build one for him and S. Stephen conjointly.

enim ratione dicit Cantuariensis, Sanctum Thomam ecclesiam nullam habere, quia multorum una cum eo in ecclesia Cantuariensi est veneratio. Si Thomæ tantum, non tenet prædecessorum suorum propositum, neque eos sequitur in hoc opere. Si Stephani tantum, etiam si facta fuerit, nullam habebit sui nominis Sanctus Thomas mentionem, nisi sicut nunc habet. Ecce quomodo nec aliis convenit archiepiscopus, et secum dissidet ipse. Si potestis et expedire videritis, efficite erga dominum papam subtiliter, ut dominus Albanensis mittatur ubicunque in legatione, quia ut audivimus impedimento vobis est quo minus jus nostrum consequi valeatis. Valete.

A.D. 1187. December.

CLXI. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi de morte S. R. papæ.

The prior informs the monks of an unexpected remedy for their troubles.

Omnipotentis Dei clementiæ abundantiam omnimoda et abundanti gratiarum actione prosequimur, fratres dilectissimi, de Cujus munere provenit et gratia, nos inter pressuras tribulationum vehementissimas subito et inopinato remedio refoveri, ita quidem quod omnes una voce una devotione dicere possumus et debemus, Benedictus Deus Qui consolatur nos in omnibus tribulationibus nostris. Nunc enim certo certius credimus 2 Cor. i. 3, 4. et speramus, quia in proximo eripiet nos Dominus de manu tribulantis, et de manu contra legem ordinis et religionis nobiscum agentis. Quoniam cum in angustioribus constituti fuimus angustiis, supra omnem spem nostram et etiam opinionem omnium misertus nostri, dilatavit nobis Dominus. Piæ namque recordationis papa Gregorius octavus proxima die Jovis post festum beatæ Barbaræ virginis viam universæ carnis est ingressus, et Paulus[1] Prænestinus episcopus per gratiam Dei sequenti die Sabbati in papam est electus, qui nunc Clemens est vocatus. Ille siquidem Gregorius, licet vir pius esset et religiosus, fautorque justitiæ et zelator devotissimus, tamen justis et piis factis prædecessoris sui felicis memoriæ boni Urbani minus juste ac pie videbatur favere. Unde contigit quod justitiam quam idem Urbanus nobis fecerat, toto tempore suo vobis exhibere denegavit Gregorius et distulit. Alius etiam casus nobis et causæ nostræ utilis ex

Pope Gregory VIII. is dead (Dec 17), and Clement III. has (Dec. 19) succeeded him.

Gregory VIII., though a good man, was inferior to Urban III.

[1] Gregory VIII. died at Pisa, Dec. 17. Paul Scolari, made cardinal priest, tit. SS. Sergius and Bacchus, and in 1180 cardinal bishop of Præneste, by Pope Alexander III.; elected pope at Pisa, 1187, Dec. 19, under the name of Clement III.; crowned Dec. 20; and died in March 1191.

inopinato accessit, quod ille qui nos et causam nostram semper impediebat longe ante a curia longius recessit. Ab isto siquidem qui nunc præsidet, nullum nobis juris nostri formidamus fieri prejudicium; qui hactenus in negotiis nostris studiosus adjutor exstitit nobis et consiliator fidelissimus. Ideoque, dilectissimi fratres, unanimes et constantes estote. Videbitis enim in brevi auxilium Domini super vos, et gaudebit cor vestrum, et gaudium vestrum nemo tollet a vobis. Gaudete ergo gaudio magno, iterum dicimus gaudete, constantia namque vestra nota est omnibus hominibus, consolatio vestra prope est, nihil solliciti sitis, quia in omni petitione vestra orationes vestræ innotescunt apud Deum. Valete, et pax Dei, [quæ] exsuperat omnem sensum, custodiat corda vestra et intelligentias vestras.

A.D. 1187. December. Fortunately our enemy (the bishop of Albano) has left the court. The new pope has always been our friend. There is great cause for rejoicing.

S. John xvi. 22.
Phil. iv. 4.
Phil. iv. 6.
Phil. iv. 7.

CLXII. Honorius prior Gaufrido suppriori Cantuariensi.

A.D. 1187. December.

Consolamini, consolamini, dilecte frater, et nolite timere. Ecce enim Deus videns vidit afflictionem et tribulationem nostram, et suscitavit nobis patrem et pastorem piissimum defensoremque ecclesiæ nostræ strenuum et devotissimum. Proxima namque die Jovis post festum Beatæ Barbaræ virginis ex hac luce migravit piæ recordationis Gregorius, cui sequenti sabbato successit Paulus Prænestinus episcopus, qui modo Clemens est vocatus. Hic semper nobis et ecclesiæ nostræ fidelis extitit et devotissimus. Ostiensis quidem eadem die electus fuit, qui nullo modo onus et sollicitudinem illius suscipere voluit, sed prostratus ad pedes fratrum suorum, ne promoveretur, cum gemitibus et lacrymis misericordiam postulavit. Unde bene certi sumus ipsum de cætero in curia posse quicquid juri et rationi innititur: de quo ita plene sicut de nobismet ipsis confidimus, quia ut secretius tamen dictum sit, nobis secreto revelavit, quod ante recederet a curia quam deficeret in causa nostra. Unde nullatenus dubitare velitis, quin ad bonum et optatum effectum perducatur negotium nostrum. Præterea proprio ore dixit nobis clementissimus Clemens noster, post promotionem suam in secretis suis, quod liberaret nos a faucibus mortis. Qua occasione tamen hoc dixerit, annuente Deo et vita comite, vobis aliquando viva voce dicemus. Ad hæc etiam illud specialiter vestræ commendamus memoriæ, ne sepulti et memorandi Urbani penes vos sepeliatur memoria, nec a devotione vestra successor ipsius excludatur Gregorius, quia in memoria æterna erit justus. Isti siquidem qui nunc præsidet, negotia vestra, calamitates et injurias transcribere faciatis, tanto studiosius et confidentius quanto de ipso ampliorem spem et fiduciam reportatis. Valete.

The prior informs the subprior that pope Gregory VIII. is dead (Dec. 17), and Clement III. has succeeded. (Dec. 19). The bishop of Ostia was elected, but refused to serve.

fo. 36 r°.

From which we may be sure that he will always get his own way in future.

Clement has secretly promised to deliver us.

Acts. vii. 34.
Ps. cxii. 6.

A.D. 1187. December.

CLXIII. Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi.

The cardinal has no need to profess a friendship which he has proved.

Quam puro corde et sincero affectu sacrum collegium vestrum diligamus, et utilitati et honori vestro pro posse nostro intendamus, non est opus verbis vel litteris exprimere, cum carissimi nostri prior et fratres vestri, qui in curia moram faciunt, ipsum id efficaciter juxta nostram possibilitatem sint experti, et ipsa rerum indicia evidenter declarent. Verum ut melius nostram noscatis voluntatem, et in veritate sciatis nos vestram indubitanter diligere ecclesiam, et pro negotiis vestris promovendis partes nostras sollicite et diligenter interponere, incunctanter noverit vestra dilectio, quod ad honorem et indemnitatem vestram promptam et paratam, quoties vobis opus fuerit, adhibebimus sollicitudinem; et de nobis tanquam de speciali amico vestro certam et securam potestis fiduciam reportare. Sane quia domino papæ Gregorio felicis recordationis sublato de medio, qui per paucos dies in ecclesia Dei sedit, et substituto domino Clemente, quondam Prænestino, negotium vestrum, immo beati martyris Thomæ archipræsulis, non potuit adhuc ad optatum finem perduci: oportuit ut prior et alii fratres vestri longiorem in curia facerent moram, et propter consolationem vestram et proprium commodum, quod ut nostrum desideramus in Domino, quod beati martyris Thomæ intercedentibus meritis, ecclesiæ vestræ negotium optatum sortietur effectum, ita quod et Deo Qui non derelinquit sperantes in Se, multimodas persolvetis gratiarum actiones, et nos et alios benefactores vestros habebitis cariores. Ad hæc, sicut perpendere veraciter potuimus, speramus quod dominus papa vobis clemens erit et propitius, et vestræ intendet utilitati.

He is always at the service of the convent.

Clement III. has succeeded Gregory VIII.: it is needful that the prior should stay longer at the court.

A.D. 1187. December.

CLXIV. Gaufrido suppriori quidam fratrum a Curia.

One of the brethren at the court of Rome writes to tell the subprior the good news.

Dilatavit Dominus tabernacula fortitudinis vestræ, quia jam mundus clamat, quia fuistis fortes in bello et fixius stetistis pro castris Israel. Vere stabit vestra prudentia, si finem sortita fuerit vestra constantia. Omni constantiæ vestræ deputabitur nostra victoria. Et si nos poterimus castra construere, vestrum est beneficium quæsita conservare. Si infirmitatem nostram confitemur, stultum reddit desperatum; verumtamen [infirma] hujus mundi elegit Deus, ut fortia quæque confunderet. 1 Cor. i. 27. Memorandum novistis Urbanum magis virtute quam verbo, si bene recolitis quæ dicta sunt, quia bene animosus fuit in opere

Urban III. was good in word and deed.

et sermone. Huic successit Gregorius octavus, sed non fuit in signo sicut numero, quia nulli fuit propitius. In octonario hebdomadarum decessit, forte quia non fuit dignus ogdoade; quia delevit eum Dominus a facie tribulantis, quia tribulati clamaverunt ad Dominum. Surrexit clementia voce Clementii, quoniam ante Clementem, clemente accepimus et pro Christo solidissimum fundamentum.[1] Verborum sylvam non novit, sed constantiam præstiterunt verba, non argumentum. Is surrexit qui Urbanum reformabit, et si non nomine, fructu et ex fructu recognoscetis eum. Nunc ergo vestra constantia stet fixius, stet et constantius; nec hoc dicimus, quod de vobis diffidamus, cum certissimam confidentiam de caritate vestra reportemus, sed quia prudentiam vestram infirmos roborare desideramus. Valeat dominus et prior noster, et utinam videant vos oculi nostri antequam moriamur. Sanum me sciatis servum vestrum, et incolumem, ad et adversa toleranda fortem, pro libertate ecclesiæ Dei. Constantiam vestram nobis conservet Omnipotens Deus. Salutet omnes fratres nostros vestra dilectio.

A.D. 1187. December. Gregory VIII. was not as propitious as his number signified; he died in eight weeks because he was not worthy of his number eight. Clemency succeeds in the name of Clement.

CLXV. Conventui fratres missi ad curiam.[2]

A.D. 1188. January 20.

Omnibus quatuor, salutem et consolationem in Spiritu Sancto. Quoties angustias et dolores, quas pro Deo et ecclesiæ cujus servi estis defensione sustinetis, attendimus, adeo medullas cordium nostrorum vis mœroris penetrat et perurget, ut quamvis circumdederint nos dolores mortis pro vobis, obliviscamur tamen omnium præ angustia spiritus gementis in nobis. Quando vero salutem quam circa vos operatur Altissimus intuemur, et exemplum passionis in ecclesia Sua patentissimum, supra quam credi potest exultavimus, et a vobis alios formam virtutis accipere, et vos vitam sanctorum exprimere in vobis, ac toti præferre mundo spectabilem. Cæterum quamvis dura est pendentium expectatio, speramus misericordiam Dei citius affuturam. Jam enim vultum nobis videtur sereniorem exhibere. Statim cum arenæ primum transmarinæ pedes impressimus, de morte Gregorii papæ certos accepimus rumores et nuncium. Qui cum dextra manus fuerit domini archiepiscopi, quondam cancellarius, dedit ei in omnibus; papa factus, eorum quæ adhuc patimur auctor et occasio fuisse dinoscitur. Clemens autem qui promotus est, episcopus olim Prænestinus, vir ut asseritur constans et justus, ubi etiam Ostiensis tacuit,

fo. 36 v°. The monks sent to the court of Rome console those at home.

Psalm. xvi. 3.

As soon as they landed on the continent they heard of pope Gregory's death,

The bishop of Prænesto is the new pope, a good friend.

[1] This passage is unintelligible, but there is probably some obscure play on the word *Clemens* and the Greek θεμέλιον.

[2] From the monks despatched to the court of Rome with the news of the 9th of January.

A.D. 1188. January 20.

causam nostram dicitur aliquando suscepisse. Is itaque quid facturus credatur hoc tempore, cum nihil clamet mundus nisi abominationes in vos perpetratas, nihil nisi inauditam adversariorum rabiem! Tempora etenim martyrum præterita si percurramus, vix vel unum hoc genere martyrii maceratum invenimus. Si tormentorum qualitates et carnificum cruciatus, qui vos torquet subtilior erit multis, sed nullus imitator in modo cruciandi. Libenter igitur interim bibite quod dolet, ut quod optatis gaudium subsequatur. Nos vero in festivitate Sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani apud Sanctum Audomarum omnes sex e diverso convenimus; in crastino profecturi quantum corpora nostra pati poterunt vel jumenta. Valete. Scribendum novo papæ si possitis. Sin autem, quod minus erit in littera vox viva supplebit. Conservet in vobis Dominus unitatem Spiritus in vinculo pacis. Amen.

They met at S. Omer's on Jan. 20. They go forward on the morrow.

Eph. iv. 3.

A.D. 1188. January.

CLXVI. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.[1]

The convent inform the pope of their joy at his promotion.

Sanctissimo patri et domino Clementi, Dei gratia, summo pontifici, conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, flebilis et afflictus, debitam ac devotam in Domino obedientiam. In luctu et lacrymis jam multo tempore constituti, auditis de sanctitatis vestræ promotione rumoribus gavisi sumus gaudio magno, Illi soli in exultatione cordis gratias referentes, Qui nunc unxit vos oleo exultationis præ consortibus vestris. Speramus enim de misericordia Ejus Qui non derelinquit sperantes in Se, quod per manum Clementiæ vestræ visitabit nos Oriens ex alto, et calamitatibus quas pro causa Christi et ecclesiæ passi sumus, et de die in diem patimur graviores, dum adhuc est tempus miserendi, miserebitur sollicitudo vestra, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum. Quæ et quanta, pater sanctissime, a domino nostro Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, postquam eum in patrem et pastorem suscepimus, pertulerimus gravamina, nisi quia ultima necessitate urgente compellimur, sanctitati vestræ confundimur enarrare. Cantuariensis siquidem ecclesia, quæ prima inter occidentales tenebras prædicante Augustino, a beatissimo papa Gregorio transmisso, veri luminis in tabernaculo suo cognovit et suscepit Auctorem; in his diebus novissimis facta est omnium ecclesiarum tanquam novissima. Et quæ ordinis et honestatis forma et exemplum occidentalibus radiabat in tenebris,

Heb. i. 9.

S. Luke i. 78.

2 Cor. xi. 28.

They are ashamed to tell the pope to what misery they are now reduced.

[1] The news of the death of pope Gregory did not reach Canterbury before the latter end of January 1188, and this letter was written immediately after the receipt of it.

et, juxta apostolum hospitalitatem non oblivisceus, non solum peregrinis et pauperibus, verum etiam in omnibus se petentibus, largam et liberalem exhibuit, nunc omnium miserrima etiam mendicantium compulsa est mendicare suffragia. Dominus enim et pater noster Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, nec prædecessorum suorum nec regum cartis, sed nec summorum pontificum deferens privilegiis, statim a promotione sua xenia nostra nobis abstulit, ecclesias sustentationi pauperum et peregrinorum deputatas et auctoritate apostolica eorundem usibus confirmatas, clericis suis, nobis reclamantibus et ad sedem apostolicam appellantibus, assignavit. Post hæc, nihil omnino obstante ad sedem apostolicam solemniter facta appellatione, prior et fratres quidam suspensi sunt. Canonici instituti, nova capella erecta post novi operis nunciationem. Celebratum etiam est in ea post inhibitionem apostolicam. Redditus nostri, et pensiones ecclesiarum quas Londoniis habuimus, interdicti. Quidam fratrum excommunicati. Nec multo post, transiturus ad regem in Normanniam villis nos et possessionibus maxima pro parte spoliavit. In Normannia igitur constitutus, suscepto inibi sanctæ recordationis Urbani papæ urgenti mandato super reformando in integrum ecclesiæ nostræ statu, et de demolitione novæ capellæ, et eorum qui in ipsa capella, post inhibitionem ne progrederetur opus, celebraverunt suspensione, et de circa statum ecclesiæ nostræ lite pendente nihil immutando, nihil fecit ex omnibus, sed et amplius de die in diem manum in nos duriorem extendit et nostra, quo apostolicam videbamur implorare suffragium, et ad appellationis confugisse remedium. Emenso igitur aliquanto temporis spatio, revertens in Angliam, in ipso ingressu suo rebus nos et possessionibus universis quas ante nobis reliquerat, spoliavit. Nos tamen de antiqua ecclesiæ nostræ consuetudine duos de fratribus nostris offerendæ ei processionis gratia, ad ipsum destinavimus. Quos ille antequam cum eo verbum communicarent, per internuncios denunciavit excommunicatos, et equis in quibus ad eum venerant ablatis, per quinque fere milliaria eos ad nos usque pede fecit reverti. Ipso die directi sunt a latere ejus quidam cum sequela multa, qui muro curiæ nostræ manu valida perforato, januis, seris, et ostiis officinarum nostrarum usque ad ipsum ostium claustri violenter effractis, equis abductis et aliis pro libito direptis, victualia etiam et utensilia immisericorditer asportaverunt. Quorum signiferi capellæ, quæ totius mali seminarium est, canonici, insultantes et tanquam de nobis triumphantes, conventu quasi expulso et in ecclesia obsesso, omnia in curia nostra pro libito disponunt. Servientes nostros tactis sacrosanctis

A.D. 1188. January.

They recapitulate their complaints against the archbishop, about the presents and the churches;

fo. 37 r°.

the suspension of the prior, and the foundation of the new chapel;

the archbishop's contempt of pope Urban's last mandate.

On his return to England (Jan. 11) he has seized the property of the monks, declared two of them excommunicate (Jan. 13), and taken away their horses. His agents have broken into the court, up to the door of the cloister;

A.D. 1188. January. have made the servants of the house swear to keep their masters in custody.

jurare compulerunt, quod in nos si forte pro[1] causa nostra egrederemur manus mitterent, retinere possent, publico clamore notarent. Ipsorum quoque servientium nostrorum quosdam in curia nostra, quosdam in cœmeterio ipso interceptos, alios spoliatos, alios verberibus afflictos, in vincula projecerunt et compedes; ita sane ut nec clericis quidem ordinatis cum aliis interceptis, sacri loci aut ordinis quicquam patrocinaretur auctoritas. Pro his igitur et aliis nobis et sanctæ, ad quam appellavimus, sedi apostolicæ irrogatis injuriis, celebrare non præsumentes, ab octavis Epiphaniæ a divinis cessavimus. Ab eo igitur die manu armata circumquaque obsessi sumus, et primis quidem diebus portas cœmeterii obseratis, nec peregrinis a longinqua venientibus ad sanctorum corpora licuit introire. Postmodum vero tantum peregrinis et civibus, de mandato officialium domini regis patuit ingressus, nobis vero et nostris pro causa nostra sive ex quacunque necessitate exire volentibus, usque adhuc omnino negatur egressus. Sed et portus circa maris et exitus viarum circumquaque constituti sunt nobis quidam in insidiis, ne scilicet ad sanctitatem vestram nostra debeat pervenire miseria, aut a clementia vestra nobis aliqua possit destinari misericordia. Cæterum nec in his omnibus domini et patris nostri sæpe dicti archiepiscopi semel adversum nos concepta quievit indignatio. Sed et suppriorem nostrum, occasione suspensionis ecclesiæ, per omnes civitatis parochias excommunicari, et excommunicatum publice fecit denunciari; nec solum eum sed et omnes in causa nostra consentientes, tanquam non nobis omnibus cor unum esset et anima una. Ad pedes igitur majestatis vestræ, pater sanctissime, omnes et singuli provoluti, in spiritu humilitatis et animo contrito postulamus, ut Cantuariensem ecclesiam, cujus vita et redemptio est in manibus vestris, antequam penitus expiret, oculo misericordiæ respiciatis, ne in diebus vestris, quos Deus augeat, ecclesia tam celebris cessante religione redigatur in solitudinem, et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ specialis filia, quam ipsa plantavit a principio, eradicetur ab hominibus. Quicquid tamen de nobis contingat, quorum mors et ejectio jam in januis est, priorem et fratres nostros, cum causa Christi et ecclesiæ quam hactenus misericorditer fovistis, in manus clementiæ vestræ commendamus, orantes et obsecrantes, ut propter miserias inopum et gemitum exsurgatis, et respicientes ab oriente in occidentem, miseriis et calamitatibus

Divine service has been interrupted ever since.

The monks are forbidden egress.

The sub-prior and his brethren are (Jan. 17) declared excommunicated.

They entreat the pope's aid for the church of Canterbury.

fo. 37 v°.

[1] *pro*] per, MS.

Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, priusquam ex toto subvertatur, misericorditer subveniatis, ne cum subversa fuerit jam nimis sero sit subvenire. Vitam vestram ecclesiæ Suæ ad honorem et relevationem conservet Altissimus. A.D. 1188. January.

CLXVII. [Honorio priori Conventus Cantuariensis.][1]

A.D. 1188. January.

De instabili statu nostro per litteras pendentes pro tempore vobis sufficienter significatum est. His jam inspectis et prima certius et quædam nova vobis innotescent. Præmissi sunt igitur ad nos a domino Cantuariensi, ante adventum ejus in Angliam, episcopus Rofensis, et cum[2] eo tres milites ex parte regis, ut dicebant, nos nescimus, Willelmus de Albewilla, Willelmus filius Philippi, Willelmus filius Nigelli. Venientes itaque in capitulum minas, terrores, gladium quoque in quo venerant commiserunt pontifici. Qui principium sermonis sui dolum constituens, informem prætendens[3] formam, ex parte archiepiscopi nostra nobis obtulit; sed ut universis spoliaret, et factum est ita. Petiit insuper ex parte regis, sibi et iis qui cum eo venerant thesaurum ecclesiæ ostendi et annotari, et annotatum dispositioni regiæ conservari, ut in auro Cantuariensi captivos redimeret Jerusalem. Sigillum quoque ecclesiæ videre voluerunt, arctiori et tutiori per manus eorum deputandum custodiæ. Pontifex etiam iniquitatem parturiens quam conceperat, et in Domino nihil, sed dolo loquens omnia, juravit et dixit: Bonum nobis esse, cum patre nostro pacis inire fœdus; perierat enim omnis labor noster, et expensæ a primo die usque ad ultimum: et nullius esse momenti nec etiam ad pretium unius denarii, nec robur aliquod habere quæcunque a sede apostolica pro nobis fuerant impetrata, et idcirco consiliosum nobis fore, regi et regno et clero discussionem litis committere, asserens nullatenus causam nostram nisi per os regis finem posse sortiri. Ut cessavit autem loqui, petivimus nobis inducias per noctem dari, ad conferendum super his quæ proposuerant, quibus vix impetratis egressi sunt. Mane vero facto, in capitulum reversi sunt, assumptis secum magnatibus quibusdam, qui ea nocte venerant Cantuariam, et in responso dictum est eis; in nulla eorum quæ proposuerant formam juris contineri aut pacis, sed in omnibus

An account of the recent troubles.

The visit of the bishop of Rochester. (Jan. 9.)

The bishop's proposal;

the treasure to be enrolled and sealed.

The end of the bishop's speech.

(Jan. 10.)

The next day we refused the proposal,

[1] Om. MS. This letter, which is perhaps the composition of the sub-prior, contains a more circumstantial account of the transactions at Canterbury from Jan. 9 to Jan. 17, and was probably written directly after the receipt of the news of pope Gregory's death.

[2] *cum*] causa, *ins.* MS.

[3] *prætendens*] præcedens, MS.

A.D. 1188. January. and the bishop forbade them to quit the house.

antiquas deperire consuetudines, et ordinis imminere subversionem. Ad hæc quasi commotus pontifex inquit, "Præcipio "vobis ex parte archiepiscopi, in virtute obedientiæ, ne quis "vestrum septa curiæ quacunque de causa exire præsumat." Eadem hora exeuntes milites et cum eis clerici paraverunt se ut curiam nostram occuparent, de quo secretius præmuniti portas curiæ observari jussimus, quibus vix clausis adsunt milites, et cum eis clerici quidam novæ capellæ, ex parte regis et archiepiscopi petentes introitum: quibus serviens qui januis astabat respondit, se nequaquam portas posse aperire, quia claves non haberet. Nunciatum est interim nobis milites astare januis et ingressum expectare, et duobus missis monachis, quæsivimus an pacifici advenissent. At illi dixerunt, se ex parte regis et archiepiscopi advenisse, ut curiam nostram omniaque quæ in ea erant occuparent, et nobis omnibusque circumquaque adventantibus necessaria ministrarent; nobis autem contradicentibus et appellantibus, abierunt, et omnia nostra extra curiam maneria, scilicet, bertonam quoque et hortum invaserunt. Hæc die Dominica ante octavas Epiphaniæ facta sunt. Secunda vero feria de transmarinis veniens apud Dovram applicuit archiepiscopus. Feria tertia venit Wingeham, et communicato cum fratribus consilio, misimus ad eum duos de fratribus ut ei juxta morem processionem offerrent; quos ut jam scitis ad colloquium non admisit, sed appellantes excommunicatos, equis eorum ablatis, pedes remissi sunt Cantuariam; et missis militibus jam sæpedictis, et cum eis quibusdam clericis juxta quod vobis significavimus, curiam nostram occupaverunt, et eo die in aula hospitum ante coquinam comederunt, insultantes nobis et dicentes; "Appellant monachi ad curiam "Romanam, nos autem cardinales effecti causam eorum judi-"cabimus, edentes et bibentes quæ apud illos sunt." Die Dominica sequenti portam clauserunt cœmeterii, et multa armatorum manu admota, per tres dies custodiri fecerunt, ita ut nulli hominum pateret ingressus. Quarta denique die aperta est, et soli peregrini introire permissi, sed ad nos intrare volentes repulsi sunt, et quæ nobis a fidelibus mittebantur victualia retenta et ablata. Nobis adhuc nullus patet egressus, neque locus aliquis derelictus est nisi claustrum et ecclesia, in quibus horam expectamus qua aut fame aut gladio moriamur, aut quod certius credimus, de ecclesia extracti in dispersionem mittamur. His igitur et aliis hujusmodi de causis, a divinis cessavimus et cessabimus quousque de tenebris educat Sol Justitiæ, Christus Deus noster. Moveat quæsumus patrem tanta filiorum et tam gravis desolatio, ne deficiant dum non sit qui eripiat. Super omnia, reverende pater, tam utile quam

The possessions of the convent outside the walls are seized.

The archbishop lands. (Jan. 11.)

He comes to Wingham. (Jan. 12.)

He declares excommunicated the monks sent to salute him. (Jan. 13.)

The court of the convent is occupied. fo. 38 r°. (Jan. 17.)

The cemetery occupied for three days, until Jan. 20.

The monks are still confined.

Divine service is stopped.

necessarium judicamus, quatenus cum multa festinatione, si fieri potest, indulgentiam a felicis memoriæ Urbano papa nobis indultam, lite pendente confirmari faciatis. Jam enim sero suppriorem nostrum et omnes in Christi causa consentientes, totum scilicet conventum, excommunicatos publice denunciari fecit. Eapropter indigemus quatenus per litteras domini papæ sententia non tenere denuncietur. Litteras etiam de demolitione novæ capellæ confirmare petite, et in forma efficaciori si potestis. Non enim nisi in manu forti de demolienda capella quicquam contra voluntatem regis fiet, qui se dominum, fundatorem et advocatum gerit operis. Quod si quid indulserit summus pontifex, duo paria ad minus litterarum dirigite, ne forte uno solo directo, quo amisso vel perdito nostrum omnino impediatur negotium: sed neque nobis per viam porrigendæ mittantur litteræ, si per ipsos nuncios executoribus perferantur; fame enim pereuntibus nobis non patet exitus. Civibus etiam nostris timemus, ne etiam illos excommunicationis sententia feriat, quæ jam eis ut dicitur intentata est, tum quia victualia noctu mittere nobis asseritur, tum quia, ne ab inimicis nostris mancipati, in dispersionem mittamur, ecclesiam nostram magis solito die noctuque vigilanter incolunt. Quæ si forte promulgata fuerit, ut viribus omnimodis careat, nec tenere, per dominum papam efficite. Turpe enim esset et indecens, si benefactores nostros morsibus luporum relinqueremus, et gratiam quam nobis impenderunt eis subtrahamus, quantum vires nobis suppetunt et domini papæ Clementis de qua præsumimus clementia. Gratia Spiritus Sancti cohabitet vobiscum, et vestrum ad laudem nominis Sui promoveat negotium Dominus et Creator omnium.

A.D. 1188. January. Pope Urban's mandate must be confirmed.

The prior must demand the destruction of the chapel.

Measures to be taken for the safety of the messages.

The citizens who have shown kindness to the monks are in danger of excommunication.

CLXVIII. Henrico regi Anglorum Conventus Cantuariensis.

Miseris et injuste oppressis majestatis est regiæ subvenire. In quo enim in patrem nostrum offenderimus non invenimus, nisi forte, cum justum putet ipsum petere quod vult, quod jus nostrum petimus reputet injuriam; et ecce, domine, manum suam de novo super nos aggravavit, et maneria nostra et redditus seisiavit. Quocirca clementiæ vestræ supplicamus omnes ad pedes, quatenus faciatis nos in eo statu permanere, in quo gratia vestra nos semper conservavit usque ad hæc tempora, et mendaces ostendite eos qui garriunt omnia quæ in nos fiunt de consilio vestro procedere et voluntate. Dicunt etiam quod præceperitis justitiariis vestris, quod de nobis et rebus nostris faciant quicquid dominus noster archiepiscopus voluerit. Valeat vita vestra in tempora longiora.

The convent entreat the king not to suffer the archbishop to oppress them, but to disavow his acts.

A.D. 1188. Jan. or Feb.

CLXIX. Clementi papæ Philippus rex Franciæ.[1]

The king of France recommends the church of Canterbury to the pope's justice.

Cum universi fideles Dei Cantuariensem ecclesiam intuitu beati Thomæ martyris diligere teneantur, nos vicinitatis intuitu et genitoris nostri respectu, qui gloriosum martyrem dilexit adhuc viventem, eandem propensiori affectu amplecti tenemur. Audito itaque quod conventus illius ecclesiæ ad pedes vestræ sanctitatis suos dirigit nuncios, vestram pro eadem exoramus paternitatem, ut in suis petitionibus circa suum negotium maturatum sentiant æquitatis vestræ justitiam. Dominus dilatet dies vestros in tempora longiora, pater sancte. Amen.

A.D. 1188. Jan. or Feb.

CLXX. Clementi papæ Conventus Sancti Dionysii.

fo. 38 v°. The convent of S. Denys recommends the church of Canterbury to the pope's continued kindness.

Sanctarum scripturarum documentis et exemplis erudimur ut sanctorum tribulationes nostras compassione faciamus. Hinc est quod conventus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ novis et inauditis afflictionibus ex intimis sancti amoris medullis condolemus. Indignum siquidem nobis videtur, ut ecclesia multorum religiosorum virorum doctrinis et moribus informata, nunc post multa sæcula, quorundam scholarium argutiis archiepiscopi simplicitate abutentium, perturbetur, vexetur, et ad extremas quodammodo favillas attenuetur. Quapropter sanctitati vestræ gratias agimus, quod causam eorum sicut dignum fuit hactenus fovistis, omnium precum instantia exorantes, ut adhuc eis assistatis, donec causa eorum bonum sortiatur finem, et laborantibus debitum subsidium et efficax concedatur. Pia vota vestra promoveat Pater misericordiarum, domine venerande.

A.D. 1188. After Jan. 17.

[CLXXI. Willelmo Wigorniensi episcopo[2] Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent writes to put the bishop of Worcester on his guard against false information.

Licet divulgante fama nostræ circumquaque ventilentur tribulationes et angustiæ, eas tamen paternitati vestræ certius exponere credidimus expedire, ne si quis nobis adversantium, et veritatem nostram obnubilare quærentium, secus quam se res habuerit vobis quicquam forte suggesserit, dubia pro certis, aut certe falsa pro veris recipiatis. Sane quantas a

[1] This and the following letter were probably obtained by the four monks on their way by Paris to the court of Rome.

[2] William Northall, bishop of Worcester, 1186–1190.

patre et domino nostro archiepiscopo fere a promotionis suæ initio sustinuerimus oppressiones, prudentiæ vestræ pro parte innotuisse non dubitamus. Quæ autem in reversione sua in Angliam nuper addiderit, nos tum quia ipsius nimis derogant honestati, tum quia incredibilia videntur, confundimur enarrare. Scribimus ea tamen non ob illius confusionem, sed ut veritate cognita tranquillitati nostræ vestra diligentius intendat paternitas. Siquidem in ipso ingressu suo in Angliam omnibus possessionibus nostris quas nobis ante reliquerat spoliavit. Duos de fratribus nostris ad ipsum ex parte conventus salutandum, et ad ei processionem offerendum, Wingeham destinatos, antequam ad ipsum accessum habere potuissent, per internuncios denunciavit excommunicatos. Qui, equis in quibus venerant sibi ablatis, pede ad nos inhonorifice reversi sunt. Ipso die directi sunt a latere domini archiepiscopi quidam cum sequela multa, qui perforato curiæ nostræ muro, irruperunt, et januas nostras et officinarum nostrarum usque ostium claustri, quod tamen non reliquit intactum, seras et ostia confringentes, curiam totam occupaverunt, equosque et alia quæ sibi necessaria videbantur diripientes, etiam victualia nostra asportaverunt. Qui ab illo die usque adhuc aditus et exitus curiæ nostræ, sed et monasterii portas, nocte et die adeo vigilanter observant, ut neque ad nos nec ad sanctorum nostrorum corpora ecclesiæ nostræ introire, vel nobis alimenta deferre volentibus, liber possit esse accessus. Servientes nostros tactis sacrosanctis jurare compulerunt, ut si quis aliquem nostrum pro causa nostra exire parantem comperiret, ipsum si posset, retineret, si retinere non posset, in exclamationem erumperet. Ex eis autem qui hoc jurare refugerunt, quosdam in curia nostra, quosdam in ipso cœmeterio interceptos, hos verberibus afflictos, hos spoliatos in vincula projecerunt et carceres. Post tot igitur injurias Christo et ecclesiæ nostræ, immo et sacrosanctæ sedi apostolicæ ad quam appellavimus, irrogatas, celebrare non præsumentes, a divinis cessavimus. Unde indignatus dominus archiepiscopus suppriorem nostrum et alios quorum consilio, cum tamen de communi, hoc factum est, denunciari fecit excommunicatos, licet sub domini papæ ad quem appellavimus tuti simus protectione, et sanctæ recordationis papa Urbanus nobis indulserit, quod non liceat domino nostro sæpedicto archiepiscopo in quenquam nostrum lite pendente sententiam excommunicationis vel interdicti promulgare. Hæc et hujusmodi sunt, pater reverende, quæ patimur in veritate non ob aliud nisi quia jura nostra et ecclesiæ nostræ deperire non sustinemus. Et quoniam totius scandali in ecclesia nova, quam dominus

A.D. 1188. January.

The archbishop's new oppressions.

He has declared two brethren excommunicated. (Jan 13.)

His agents have broken into the court,

and occupied it day and night.

The servants of the house are compelled to swear to keep the monks within the walls.

Those who would not swear are beaten.

The subprior excommunicated (Jan. 17),

in spite of the mandat e of pope Urban.

They beg the bishop

A.D. 1188. January. to persuade the archbishop to give up his plan of the new church. fo. 39 r°.

archiepiscopus fundare intendit, summa consistit, paternitatis vestræ pedibus obvoluti supplicamus attentius, quatenus ipsum dominum nostrum a concepto animi rigore et proposito revocare studeatis, ut proinde ab Omnipotenti mercedem reportetis copiosam, et nos omni tempore sanctitatis vestræ servi debeamus existere devotiores. Valeat sancta paternitas vestra in Domino.

In eundem modum Eliensi et Dunelmensi et Menevensi episcopis.[1]

After Jan. 20.

CLXXII. Willelmo[2] Herefordensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

The monks inform the bishop of Hereford of their new troubles.

Quas calamitates et miserias mater nostra sancta Cantuariensis ecclesia a patre et pastore nostro, fere a promotione sua usque nunc, perpessa sit, quoniam mundus agnovit, et sanctitatem vestram latere non potuit. Quæ autem de novo superaddita sunt gravamina præ magnitudinis suæ mole vix credi possunt, cum modum et rationem excedant. Ne autem sinistro interprete aliter quam se res habet referente, ea vobis innotescant, sub brevitate stili compendium veritatis paternitati vestræ dignum duximus manifestare. Revertente itaque domino et patre nostro Cantuariensi archiepiscopo de Normannia in Angliam, statim in ingressu suo visitavit nos in virga ferrea, et brachio extenso, et quod mirabile et miserabile dictu est, inaudito et inusitato hactenus oppressionis modo; in primis enim nos possessionibus omnibus quas nobis ante egressum suum ab Anglia reliquerat spoliavit, ita ut nec passum pedis extra parcum nobis reliquerit. Directi sunt tamen ad eum duo de fratribus nostris, ut moris est antiqui, processionem et omnem honoris reverentiam ex parte conventus ei oblaturi; sed ille nimis sui oblitus, quod sine dolore non dicimus, eos per internuncios denunciari fecit excommunicatos, et quod verecundum est piis auribus audire, equis in quibus venerant sibi ablatis, domum pede redire dimisit. Eadem die aggravata est manus ejus super nos; missi sunt namque a latere ejus quidam servientes cum sequela multa, qui muro curiæ nostræ perforato, portas, ostia, et seras diversarum officinarum circumquaque usque ad ostium claustri confringentes, equos et victualia nostra extrahentes et diripientes, patrimonium Crucifixi dederunt in dilapidationem.

The archbishop on his return home (Jan. 11) has renewed his oppressions,

and excommunicated the two monks. (Jan. 13.)

His agents have broken into the court and occupied it,

[1] Geoffrey Riddell, bishop of Ely, 1174–1189; Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, 1153–1195, and Peter de Leia, bishop of S. David's, 1176–1198.

[2] William de Vere, bishop of Hereford, 1186–1198.

Processit ulterius furor immanis; servientes nostri contra nos jurare compulsi sunt, ut in nos, si forte causa nostra egrederemur, manus injicerent, aut publico clamore notarent. Qui autem jurare renuerunt contumeliis sunt affecti et custodiæ mancipati. Excrevit malitia eorum insuper et ascendit. In cœmeterio nostro ante ostium ecclesiæ quidam de ministris ecclesiæ capti sunt, et incarcerati; quidam spoliati et cæsi; clerici etiam duo ordinati extracti et inhoneste tractati. Porta etiam cœmeterii diebus tribus et totidem noctibus continuis obserata, et armatorum manu etiam adhuc die noctuque vigilanter obsessa est, ut nulli nostrum pro causa ecclesiæ nostræ liber pateat egressus, vel inclusis nobis victualia deferre volentibus liceat esse ingressus. Tantam igitur Christo in ecclesia injuriam non æquanimiter sustinentes irrogatam, neve etiam sacrosanctæ sedis apostolicæ ad quam appellavimus indignationem incurreremus, si post tam enorme sacrilegium perpetratum celebraremus, a divinis et solemni modulatione cessavimus. Unde indignatus dominus archiepiscopus Gaufridum suppriorem nostrum et alios quorum consilio hoc factum fuerit, cum tamen in his et in aliis omnibus consuleret conventum, et nihil de se præsumens solus faceret, per parochiales ecclesias Cantuariensis civitatis excommunicatos denunciari fecit, licet tum per appellationis interpositionem contra hujusmodi sententiam tuti simus, tum per indulgentiam a sanctæ recordationis Urbano papa nobis indultam, ne lite scilicet pendente dominus archiepiscopus excommunicationis vel interdicti sententiam in ecclesiam vel personas ecclesiæ promulgare audeat; vel sententia hujusmodi in aliquo teneat. Sanctitatis itaque vestræ genibus obvoluti supplicamus omnes et singuli, quatenus materno dolori filiali compatientes affectu, dominum et patrem nostrum a concepto animi sui proposito revocare studeatis, ut ecclesiam Cantuariensem debito et privilegiato permittat honore gaudere. Quod utique nullatenus esse poterit, nisi totius scandali fomes et materia, capella juxta nos erecta, fuerit demolita. Moveat itaque viscera vestra quoniam undique obsessi sumus, nec nostra nobis permittitur suffragari justitia, nec domini papæ ad quem appellavimus reverentia. Vitam vestram conservet Altissimus, ut Suæ jam naufraganti ecclesiæ anchoram solatii possitis conferre.

A.D. 1188. January. and sworn the servants to confine the monks.

(Jan. 17–20.) The gate of the cemetery was closed three days altogether, and is still closed to the monks.

Divine service is stopped.

The subprior and others declared excommunicate, contrary to the indulgence of pope Urban.

They entreat the bishop to persuade the archbishop to renounce his design.

fo. 39 v°.

In eundem modum Londoniensi, Saresbericnsi, et Wintoniensi episcopis.[1]

[1] The sees of London and Salisbury were vacant at this time; Richard Toclive was bishop of Winchester from 1174 to 1188.

A.D. 1188. After Jan. 17.

CLXXIII. Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo[1] Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent almost in despair,

In tribulatione et angustia corpore et animo multo tempore constituti, finem nostrum in luctu et lacrymis præstolamur, sperantes et expectantes, si forte convertatur et relinquat Dominus post Se benedictionem, et propter miserias inopum et gemitum nunc saltem exsurgat; Qui etiam iratus misericordiæ consuevit recordari, nec ira Sua continet misericordias Suas. Licet ad aures pietatis vestræ, pater venerande, rumor eorum quæ apud nos nuper acta sunt fama, ut credimus, prævolante pervenerit, nos tamen inviti ea subscribere tandem ex necessitate compellimur, volentes patris nostri verenda, quod non sine mœrore dicimus, detecta tegere, et nudata quantum in nobis est operire. Qui fere a prima promotione sua, contra juris formam et antiquam antecessorum suorum consuetudinem, in nos et nostra manum extendit duriorem, exenia nostra et ecclesias nostras, quæ usibus pauperum et peregrinorum fuerant deputatæ, contra juris ordinem et Romanorum pontificum indulta privilegia, nobis abstulit, et eas clericis suis nihilominus nobis reclamantibus assignavit. Sane in discessu suo ab Anglia quibusdam maneriis nostris nos spoliavit; in reditu vero suo nec passum pedis extra portam nobis reliquit. Processit ulterius prædicti patris nostri inclementia, et infundens vulneribus nostris plus vini quam olei, qua apud nos hactenus inauditum est, in tempore et loco pacis murum curiæ nostræ valida et violenta manu fecit perforare, seris et ostiis officinarum nostrarum usque ad ostium claustri dirutis et confractis, et victualibus nostris exinde asportatis, milites suos et clericos novæ capellæ, quæ totius seminarium est discordiæ, introduxit; non habito respectu vel ad sanctorum merita quorum corpora in Cantuariensi requiescunt ecclesia et pro ejus amore sanguinem suum fuderunt, vel ad Romanæ sedis, ad quam appellavimus reverentiam, in cujus conspectu cum priore nostro et fratribus nostris jam anno secundo stetimus, licet status noster jam pene nullus est, immo penitus adnihilatus. Ad hoc duos de fratribus nostris quos ad offerendam ei processionem Wingeham destinavimus, [antequam] ad eum accederent, per internuncios denunciavit excommunicatos, sed et equis eorum ablatis extraordinarie, ignominiose usque ad nos pedites eos redire permisit. Servientes quoque nostros tactis sacrosanctis jurare coegit, quod in nos si forte egrederemur manus mitterent, et

Joel ii. 14. Psalm xii. 5. Ps. lxxvii. 9.

are compelled to write to the bishop of Bath.

The archbishop has added new oppressions to his former ones.

His agents have broken into the court of the convent and seized the provisions.

He has excommunicated the two brethren sent to salute him.

[1] Reginald Fitz-Jocelin, 1174–1191.

si retinere non possent, tanquam latrones publico clamore notarent. Inire vero volentium, alios in curia, alios in cœmeterio interceptos in carcerem projecerunt et compedes, ita ut nec clericis quidem loci aut ordinis quicquam patrocinaretur auctoritas. Cæterum januas ecclesia et ostia claustri non solum obserare, sed die et nocte armatorum manu observare non desinit, ne vel nostra in publicum prodeat miseria, vel ad obsessos aliqua possit intrare misericordia. Pro his igitur et aliis nobis et ecclesiæ nostræ, immo sedis apostolicæ dignitati irrogatis injuriis, nos et ecclesiam nostram a solita et solemni divinorum celebratione, super flumina Babylonis sedentes et flentes suspendimus organa nostra, quia musica in luctu importuna declaratio, nec minimum universali ecclesiæ matri derogatur, cum spiritualis filia sub materna protectione tam enormiter et impudenter violatur. Cum igitur non haberet "in "nobis jam nova plaga locum," super dolorem vulnerum nostrorum addidit, quod dominum Gaufridum suppriorem nostrum et omnes sibi in causa Christi consentientes, scilicet omnes nos, quia omnibus nobis cor unum et anima una, publice denunciari fecit per parochias Cantuariensis civitatis excommunicatos, licet ab iniquis sententiis excommunicationis et interdicti, et appellationis remedio et speciali sedis apostolicæ privilegio, lite pendente, simus exempti. Hæc igitur perpessi et adhuc graviora pati de die in diem pertimescentes, paternitatis vestræ pedibus provoluti postulamus ut miseriæ nostræ misereri dignemini, et pro his apud Deum et homines partes vestras interponere, ut vitam nostram, si vivere contingat, sollicitudini vestræ debeamus ascribere, et in perpetuum sanctitati vestræ cedat ad gloriam, si naufragantis ecclesiæ navicula per manum misericordiæ vestræ ad portum deducta, protecta fuerit a turbine et a pluvia. Valeat sanctitas vestra in Domino.

A.D. 1188. January. The servants are forced to swear against their masters, or else imprisoned.

Divine service is stopped.

Psalm cxxxvii. 1. Ecclus. xxii. 6.

Ovid, *Ep. ex Ponto*, IV., xvi. 52. Cf. No. clxxxi.

The subprior and others are declared excommunicated.

Acts iv. 32.

fo. 40 r°.

The convent throws itself on the kindness of the bishop.

In eundem modum Lincolniensi, Cicestrensi, et Exoniensi episcopis.[1]

CLXXIV. Odoni abbati de Bello et Conventui Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1188. After Jan. 20.

Cantuariensis ecclesia quam in nomine Suo Ipse fundavit Altissimus, et inter omnes occidentales ecclesias quadam

Psalm lxxxvii. 5.

The wretched state of the convent.

[1] S. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, 1186–1200; Seffrid, bishop of Chichester, 1180 – 1204; John the Chantor, bishop of Exeter, 1186–1191.

A.D. 1188. January.

singularis excellentiæ prærogativa visus est illustrasse, nunc omnium ecclesiarum miserrima, cum non sit qui consoletur eam ex omnibus caris ejus, cum luctu et lacrymis in cinere et cilicio, in auribus omnium ecclesiarum illud lacrymabile cum propheta videtur clamare, "O vos omnes qui transitis Lam. i. 12.
" per viam, attendite et videte, si est dolor sicut dolor meus,
" quia amici mei et proximi mei adversum me appropinqua- Ps. xxxviii.
" verunt et steterunt, dicentes, 'Deus dereliquit eam, perse- 11.
" 'quimini et comprehendite eam, quia non est qui eripiat.'" Ps. lxxi. 9.

Lam. i. 2.

The old troubles small compared with the new: the seizure of the estates,

Quot et quanta a pastore nostro patienter hucusque pertulerimus gravamina, vestram nequaquam credimus ignorare prudentiam, cum ea pro parte oculata fide videritis, pro parte vero celebri commeantium relatu audieritis. Sed nulla vel modica videbuntur præterita, si mala vobis enumeremus præsentia; nuper enim a transmarinis rediens res et possessiones, quotquot extra murorum ambitum potuit invenire,

the occupation of the court,

violenter invasit, et in multitudine equitum et armatorum, perforato muro curiæ nostræ, seris portarum et officinarum nostrarum ostiis usque ad ostium claustri, quod tamen non reliquit intactum, confractis, victualibus et utensilibus nostris immisericorditer absportatis, coquinam etiam nostram clericos novæ capellæ, quæ totius incentivum est discordiæ, occupare permisit, qui non solum in ea, sed et in aliis officinis, cum sequela alterius sectæ et sexus hucusque decubant, quasi non 2 Kings i. 16.
esset Deus in Israel sed in Acharon, dicentes, "non videbit Ps. xciv. 7.

the oppression of the servants,

"hæc Dominus, nec intelligit Deus Jacob." Servientes nostros quosdam in cœmeterio, quosdam in curia interceptos vinculis ferreis et carcerali custodiæ mancipavit. Alios vero publice jurare coegit, quod manus in nos, si forte egrederemur, in-

the excommunication of the two brethren,

jicerent, vel clamore publico exeuntes publicarent. Duos de fratribus nostris, quos ad offerendam ei processionem Wingeham destinavimus, communicato clericorum consilio, antequam cum eis verba communicaret, excommunicatos denunciavit, et suis ac ministrorum suorum equis ibidem ablatis, ad patriarchatus sui sedem populo sectante pede reversi sunt.

the blockade of the cemetery.

Januis etiam cœmeterii arctius obseratis, hominibus suis cum armis undecunque accitis, multitudine inæstimabili nocte ac die circumdedit nos, ut quos nondum vincere potuit violentia,

The convent passed three days like Jonah and Lazarus. (Jan. 17–20.)

processu temporis victualium consumat inedia. Absorpti igitur cum Jona in ventre ceti, et cum Lazaro tribus diebus et tribus noctibus in corde terræ, ab oculis hominum tanquam mortui, a corde sepulcri vix quarto die, plusquam quatriduum in sepulcro mœroris et miseriæ, in lucem optatam prodivimus, et civibus ad aspectum nostrum admissis, nondum tamen amotis custodiis, in sola visione vultus eorum respiravimus.

Suppriorem nostrum et nos omnes, quia cum eo unanimiter sentimus et consentimus in unum, excommunicatos denunciavit. Præ multitudine igitur injuriarum quæ nobis et ecclesiæ nostræ, immo Romanæ, irreverenter illatæ sunt, nolentes in Ps. xxxix. 2. cœlum os nostrum ponere, posuimus custodiam ori nostro, et Lam. v. 15. quia dolor noster renovatus est, versus est in luctum chorus Job xxx. 31. noster, et organum in vocem flentium. In silentio igitur, Dei et domini papæ Clementis præstolantes clementiam, licet afflicti, nondum tamen animo effracti, expectamus unde veniat auxilium nobis, et si quis filiorum matrem in extremis agentem dignum duxerit visitare, ne præ multitudine malorum et inopiæ lamentetur et dicat, "Filios enutrivi et exaltavi, Isaiah i. 2. "ipsi autem spreverunt me;" sed consolata glorietur et S. Matthew iii. 17. dicat "Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui." Ad vos igitur tanquam ad patrem, filium, et fratrem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ spiritualem, sunt oculi nostri, sicut oculi Ps. cxxiii. 2. ancillæ in manibus dominæ suæ, dicentes cum Psalmista, Ps. cvi. 4. "Memento nostri, Domine, in beneplacito populi Tui, visita "nos in salutari Tuo." Valeat et vigeat sanctitas vestra in Domino, et precum thymiamata pro afflictione nostra offeratis Altissimo.

A.D. 1188. January. The sub-prior and others are excommunicated. (Jan. 17.)

They wait in silence for the clemency of Clement.

The monks write to their old prior as to a father, son, and brother. fo. 40 v°.

In eundem modum Benedicto abbati de Burgo, et abbati Theokesberiensi.[1]

CLXXV. Abbati Sancti Albani[2] et Conventui Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1188. January.

Quoniam tribulationum et dolorum quas pro lege Dei sui jam multi tempore Cantuariensis ecclesia perpessa est, participes vos fieri, non de meritis nostris sed de misericordia Sua dignatus est Altissimus, sanctitati vestræ in afflictione miserabiles supplicamus attentius, quatenus fraternæ caritatis intuitu nobis in arctu positis potius subvenire quam subvertere studeatis; ipsum habentes præ oculis, qui ait, "Quod tibi "nonvis fieri, alteri ne feceris." Sicut enim a quibusdam accepimus, quia præelegimus potius obedire Deo quam hominibus, et semitas Dei nostri nolumus derelinquere, et principum mandatis parere, durius aliquid in nos statuere decreverunt, cogitantes ea quæ non posuerunt tollere, quæ non seminaverunt metere, quæ non plantaverunt evellere, quæ non congregaverunt dispergere. Sed Ipse Qui novit

The convent of Canterbury entreats the sympathy of that of S. Albans.

Harsher measures are said to be contemplated.

[1] See above, No. LXIX.

[2] Guarin, abbot of S. Albans, 1183–1195.

A.D. 1188. January. We beg that if we are dispersed from Canterbury, you will not suffer any of your monks to take our places.

cogitationes hominum, et dissipat consilia principum, hujusmodi cogitationes et consilia cum voluerit facilius dissipabit. Unde dilectionem vestram præmunitam esse desideramus et præmonitam, quod si permiserit nos Dominus Qui flagellat omnem filium quem recipit, flagello dispersionis flagellari, ne adquiescatis ad aliquorum instantiam, quasi nostram supplendo absentiam, in ecclesiam nostram qualibet occasione introire. Possetis enim id faciendo famæ vestræ generare infamiam, et ordinis nostri honestatem et opinionem denigrare. Non enim prudentiam vestram credimus ignorare quam sit inhonestum, et omni æquitati contrarium, in alienam messem falcem mittere, et quod suum non est sibi velle usurpare. Noveritis etiam nos super hoc articulo specialiter ad sedem appellasse apostolicam, contra quam si quid in præjudicium nostrum temerarium contingeret attentari, quidquid de nobis contingat processu temporis nec incognitum nec incorrectum relinqueretur. Sane quia pro libertate ecclesiæ a patribus nostris docti sumus dimicare, et dignitates et jura non solum ecclesiæ nostræ sed et totius ordinis nostri, quæ ideo acrius impugnantur in capite, ut facilius expugnentur in membris, elegimus sanguine nostro conservare, et præliantes prælia eorum ponere animas pro fratribus nostris. Melius est enim nobis mori in bello quam videre mala gentis nostræ et sanctorum. Vos igitur estote viri fortes, prope enim est Dominus, et cito revelabitur gloria Ejus. Valete, fratres dilectissimi, et thymiamata precum odorifera pro angustiatis amicis immolate in conspectu Altissimi.

Ps. xxxiii. 10.

Heb. xii. 6.

We have appealed to the pope on this point.

In eundem modum abbatibus et conventibus Sancti Eadmundi, et de Westmonasterio et de Glastonia et aliis pluribus.[1]

After January 17.

CLXXVI. Cuidam amico Gaufridus suprior Cantuariensis.

The subprior writes to a friend, that the reason why he has not obeyed the archbishop's summons was that he was prevented by the convent. (Gervase, 1517.)

Sanctitatis vestræ excellentiæ corpore et animo refero actiones, quia de thesauro scientiæ et sapientiæ vestræ mihi nova et vetera, et super his de quibus sermo, subtiliter et sapienter respondisti. Verumtamen quod ad vocationem domini archiepiscopi continuo non accessi, per me non stetit; nec mihi omnino imputabitur, sed rei veritas et causa facti in luce et non in tenebris coram æquitatis judice ventiletur. Ipso enim teste Qui venit abscondita [illuminare], paratus

S. Matthew xiii. 52.

1 Cor. iv. 4.

[1] Sampson, abbot of S. Edmunds, 1182–1211; Walter, abbot of Westminster, 1176–1191; the abbacy of Glastonbury was vacant.

eram ad eum accedere, nisi me totius conventus consilium et voluntas unanimis, velut quadam violentia prohibendo teneret, asserens in discessu meo universitati imminere periculum, et causæ nostræ et ordinis honestati, si hoc attentare præsumerem, non minimum provenire dispendium. Eapropter voluntatem universorum voluntati propriæ anteponens, ne de singularitate mea læderetur universitas, de communis necessitatis judicio omnibus et solis solus ego consensi, cogitans quod quasi peccatum hariolandi esset resistere, et quasi scelus idololatriæ nolle adquiescere. Cæterum de indulgentia quam nobis papa Urbanus indulsit, noveritis quod domino archiepiscopo satis et sufficienter innotuit. Præsidente enim Rofensi episcopo in synodo Cantuariensi, circa festum Omnium Sanctorum, antequam rumor aliquis de morte mandatoris insinuasset in finibus nostris, solemniter suscepta et lecta est, et circumquaque episcopis et abbatibus nostri ordinis et aliis plurimis destinata. Valeat et vigeat altera corporis mei quantitas, vos scilicet, ut pars ægrota, quæ miser ego sum, convalescat.

A.D. 1188. After January 17.

1 Sam. xv. 23.

The privilege of pope Urban III. (No. cxxxi.) was received and read at Canterbury about Nov. 1.

fo. 41 r°.

CLXXVII. Philippo Francorum regi Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1188. About April.

Nobilitatis vestræ excellentiæ et regii sanguinis generositati, multiplices gratiarum referimus actiones, quia pro nobis miserabilibus et interdictis summo pontifici scribere vestra dignata est serenitas, et amorem quem Christianissimus pater vester rex Lodowicus, cujus memoria in benedictione est, erga gloriosum martyrem Thomam in vita sua habuit, filiis suis post mortem patris voluistis impendere, et paternam imitando clementiam a progenie in progeniem opera pietatis transfundere. Siquidem in Cantuariensi ecclesia gloriosi patris vestra memoria erit æterna, nec delere poterit vicissitudo temporum, quod multitudo meritorum fieri meruit sempiternum. Ecclesiæ etenim Cantuariensi regnum Francorum a generatione et generatione factum est refugium, sed nunquam adeo sicut hodie ipsius auxilio visa est indigere. Dominus enim noster archiepiscopus Cantuariensis quicquid in rebus temporalibus habuimus nobis abstulit, et præter sola corpora et parietes claustri et ecclesiæ nihil omnino reliquit, ita quod perforato et demolito in multitudine armatorum muro curiæ nostræ, et officinis nostris effractis et victualibus asportatis, nos intra claustrum et ecclesiam obsedit, ubi jam tribus fere mensibus pauperum et mendicantium et etiam Judæorum viximus eleemosynis. Multa etiam alia gravia et enormia et a sæculo inaudita, quæ longum esset scribere, excellentiæ vestræ præsen-

The convent thank king Philip for his intercession with the pope. (No. clxix.)

Ecclus. xlv. 1.

The kingdom of France has always been a refuge to the persecuted church of Canterbury.

The new hardships.

A.D. 1188. About April. They entreat him to intercede with king Henry.

tium lator poterit enarrare. Eapropter generositatis vestræ genibus omnes et singuli obvoluti rogamus obnixius, ut intuitu Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ, cui vos gloriosus pater vester, cum apud nos esset commendavit, et nos quotidie in omnibus nostris commendamus attentius, domino nostro regi Anglorum scribere dignemini, ut vestri amoris intuitu, et gloriosæ crucis quam accepit obtuitu, nos in statum nostrum restituat, nec nos ita miserabiliter mori permittat. Vitam vestram in beneplacito Suo disponat Rex regum, et dilatet imperium. Amen.

About April.

CLXXVIII. Philippo comiti Flandriæ,[1] Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent remind the count of Flanders of their unhappy state.

Ad audientiam vestram satis credimus pervenisse, qualiter a domino nostro archiepiscopo, rebus et redditibus spoliati sumus universis, ita quod ab octavis Epiphaniæ, non sine gravi dolore Cf. No. cciii. et verecundia fidelium, utrumque viximus et adhuc utrumque vivimus eleemosynis, quia non consensimus ei, ut juxta nos in subversionem ecclesiæ nostræ et de bonis nostris aliam fundaret et ditaret ecclesiam. Unde cum post appellationem, contra privilegia sedis apostolicæ, cartas et confirmationes antecessorum suorum regum et pontificum, statum nostrum niteretur subvertere, nec ad petitionem nostram, nec ad summi pontificis prohibitionem aliquatenus resipisceret, vel a proposito suo desisteret, ita manum suam super nos de die in diem durius et deterius aggravavit, quod jam victualibus nobis deficientibus publice mendicare compellimur, et qui tot et tantis usque ad hæc tempora ex larga et liberali regum et principum antiquorum munificentia abundavimus, et aliis abundanter exhibere consuevimus, cum non habeamus panem ad vescendum, nec vestimentum ad operiendum, eousque devenimus, quod nisi maturius in mendicitate ista ab amicis et fratribus nostris nobis subventum fuerit, præ inedia universos in proximo oportebit deficere, vel quod dictu miserabile est, nobisque grave admodum et intolerabile, ornamenta ecclesiæ et capsas relliquiarum necesse erit pro victu et vestitu exponere. Hinc est quod vobis, tanquam domino et fratri nostro specialissimo, et ei de quo spem multam et fiduciam concepimus, omnes et singuli supplicamus attentius, quatenus gloriosi martyris Thomæ intuitu, cui toties et tam devote, dum

They are compelled to beg their bread.

[1] Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, 1168–1191. He was an ally and benefactor of archbishop Thomas, and visited Canterbury as a pilgrim in 1177, and again in 1179, in company with Lewis VII.

adhuc viveret, subvenistis, nobis filiis ejus et fratribus vestris in arcto positis, sicut decet generosi sanguinis nobilitatem, subvenire dignemini. Cæterum rogamus ut fratribus nostris H. et O., quos ad excellentiam vestram dirigimus, fidem indubitatam habentes, iis quæ ex parte nostra proponunt, aurem et animum ita inclinare velitis, ut per merita gloriosi martyris, cujus nuncii sunt, vita et honor vester augeatur in terris, et nos qui quotidie pro salute vestra oramus exaudiri mereamur in cœlis. Vale.

A.D. 1188. About April. They send two of the brethren to ask his assistance.

Cf. No. cciii.

CLXXIX. Omnibus sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis Conventus Cantuariensis.

After Jan. 20.

Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis ad quos litteræ præsentes pervenerint, conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ flebilis et afflictus, licet longe sit a salute, salutem, et carcerali mancipatos custodiæ spirituali visitare consolatione. Qui proprio Filio Suo non pepercit, sed in ligno crucis pro nobis omnibus morti Eum tradidit amarissimæ, asportato a Saracenis crucis in qua redempti fuimus patibulo, Cantuariensem ecclesiam non semel, immo sæpius, in capite crucifixam, appropinquante fine sæculorum, in membris suis passus est crucifigi, ut in lapide angulari Qui facit utraque unum, Occidens Orienti cohæreret. Et Qui in carne semel Jerosolimis crucifixus est, et iterum cum Petro Romam venit crucifigi in spiritu, ut jam tertio crucifigatur Cantuariam visus est advenisse. Et Ille Qui convertit corda patrum in filios, cor patris nostri contra nos diutius jam passus est indurari, ut dum populum Suum et oves pascuæ Suæ Pastor pius flagellat et affligit, discamus in hac valle lacrymarum et miseriæ, quam dulce sit de luctu ad lætitiam, de exilio ad patriam, de mundo transire ad Patrem. A transmarinis igitur pater et pastor noster Cantuariensis archiepiscopus nuper reversus, quæcunque extra portas usque modo nostri juris fuerant, tam in rebus, quam in possessionibus, usque ad novissimum quadrantem abstulit, et asportavit: muro etiam curiæ nostræ perforato, januis, seris, et ostiis officinarum usque ad ostium claustri, quod tamen non reliquit intactum, violenter effractis, victualibus quoque et utensilibus nostris, ceu "paries cum proximus ardet," celeriter asportatis: clericos novæ capellæ quam juxta nos in subversionem nostram et ordinis nostri de novo fundavit, Dei et domini papæ posthabita reverentia, introduxit; servientium nostrorum quosdam in curia, quosdam in cœmeterio interceptos, cum quidam etiam eorum infra sacros essent ordines, carcerali custodiæ mancipavit. Duos de fratribus nostris, qui causa honoris

fo. 41 v°. The sufferings of the convent of Canterbury can only fill up the measure of the sorrows of the church universal.

Rom. viii. 32.

Eph. ii. 14, 20.

S. Luke i. 17.

The archbishop on his return has seized the goods of the convent and committed other outrages.

Horace, *Epist.* I. xviii. 84.

A.D. 1188. January. He has excommunicated the sub-prior and others. (Jan. 17.)

et offerendæ processionis missi a nobis ad eum venerant, antequam eum viderent, per internuncios denunciavit excommunicatos, et qui honorem offerebant, ablatis eorum equis, inhonorifice domum pede reversi sunt. Dominum Gaufridum suppriorem nostrum, et omnes sibi consentientes, cum nihil sine nobis vel nos sine ipso, sed de communi capituli consilio fecerimus, per totam Angliam denunciavit excommunicatos: nihil prorsus vel appellationi ad sedem apostolicam interpositæ deferens, vel indulgentiæ quam nobis felicis memoriæ Urbanus papa lite pendente indulsit. Portas cœmeterii nostri tribus diebus et tribus noctibus continuis clausit, ita ut nec esurientibus nobis et fame cruciatis quicquam cibi a civibus posset afferri, nec a peregrinis de longe venientibus ad martyrem introiri. Pro his igitur et aliis quæ nimis nota sunt, et longum esset enumerare et absonum, a solemni campanarum et divinorum celebratione, a die beati Hilarii cessavimus, in luctu et lacrymis plangentes et lugentes tantas et tam enormes ecclesiæ Dei, sponsæ Christi Jesu, irrogatas injurias et oppressiones. Nos igitur, qui dolori et desolationi maternæ et nostræ volentes quidem sed non valentes lacrymas condignas impendere, omnibus vobis et singulis supplicamus attentius, quatenus carcere carnali coarctatos visitatione visitetis spirituali, orantes ut in tempore opportuno visitet nos Oriens ex alto, et miserias pauperum et captivorum non derelinquat in finem, sed det clamantibus et sperantibus in Eum cum tentatione proventum, ut sustinere possint, et iræ Suæ obliviscens, misericordiarum Suarum, quarum numerus non comprehenditur, reminiscatur. Dilatet Dominus corda vestra in vias mandatorum Suorum, et nos in petitionibus nostris exaudiat. Valete.

Divine service has been stopped ever since S. Hilary's day.

We entreat your prayers.

S. Luke i. 78.

1 Cor. x. 13.

Ps. cxix. 32.

About April

CLXXX. Henrico Duci Saxoniæ[1] Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent inform the duke of Saxony of their troubles,

Ad celsitudinis vestræ notitiam credimus pervenisse, qualiter dominus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, quem in patrem et pastorem, cum in Anglia essetis, ad instantiam domini regis recepimus, manum suam super nos aggravavit, quia ei consentire noluimus, ut ecclesiam clericorum sæcularium de bonis nostræ juxta nos fundaret. Nunc vero de novo omnia quæ in mundo habuimus, præter solum claustrum et ecclesiam, nobis abstulit, ita quod nec victum unius diei ab octavis Epiphaniæ usque in presentem diem de omni substantia nostra habere potuimus,

Cf. clxxviii.

[1] Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, and son-in-law of Henry II.

sed eleemosynis pauperum et mendicantium, et etiam Judæorum miserabiliter viximus, et adhuc vivimus. Eapropter excellentiæ vestræ omnes et singuli supplicamus attentius, ut intuitu Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ, domino nostro regi Anglorum pro nobis scribere dignemini, quatenus dominum archiepiscopum ab oppressione nostra cohibeat, et possessiones nostras et redditus nobis restitui faciat, ne in miseria et mendicitate deficiamus miserabiliter affecti, quia ejus non ascribetur gloriæ aut honori, si sub ejus protectione et gratia, vitæ hujus viatico deficiente, consumemur corporali inedia. Prosperitatis vestræ gaudia dilatentur, dux nobilissime, in tempora diuturniora.

A.D. 1188. About April. fo. 42 r°. and entreat his intercession with the king.

In eundem modum Matildæ ducissæ, filiæ Henrici regis Anglorum.

CLXXXI. Amicus amico.

About April.

S. Matthew xxiv. 12.

Quia caritas multorum circa nos jam cœpit refrigescere, et maxime eorum qui benedicebant nobis tota die in prosperis, et nunc abominati sunt nos in adversis, de dilectione et gratia quam non heri vel hodie sed ab antiquo in oculis vestris invenimus, spem et fiduciam ampliorem concepimus. Et dum futurum ex præterito, alienum ex proprio, vestrum ex nostro circa vos metimur affectum, non possumus de vestro non præsumere, nec illius in tribulatione nostra non expectare solatium, cujus semper accincti sumus in obsequium. Sane sicut vobis satis innotuit, ab octavis Epiphaniæ rebus et redditibus spoliati sumus universis, ita quod ab eo tempore nec victum unius diei habuimus, nisi de pauperum et peregrinorum et etiam Judæorum eleemosynis. Sed licet cum tot et tantis pro causa Christi et ecclesia contumeliis affecti sumus et injuriis, ut non immerito possimus dicere, "non habet in nobis jam nova plaga "locum," ut de conscientia proferamus testimonium, maluimus victualium inopia deficere, quam præsentibus et posteris pravum et perniciosum exemplum relinquere, et a semitis Dei nostri, per quas ambulaverunt patres nostri et salvi facti sunt, aliquatenus exorbitando, recedere. Nihil enim gravius pro Christo poterit de cætero nobis accidere, quam vel pro Ipso jam sustinuimus, vel in cordibus nostris posuimus, quo res cunque cadat libenter et fortiter sustinere. Inde est quod deficientibus nobis victualibus, ne in via deficiamus, licet inviti, necessitatem tamen nostram vobis et aliis qui non lingua et sermone, sed fide et opere nos dilexerunt in veritate, compellimur exponere, rogantes quatenus ad memoriam revocantes

A friend informs a friend of the miserable state of the monks who, since Jan. 13, have been living on alms, received even from Jews.

Ovid, *Epist. ex Ponto*, IV. xvi. 52. Cf. No. clxxiii.

They endure hardships willingly rather than set a bad example.

1 S. John iii. 18.

A.D. 1188. About April

tempora quæ transierunt in quibus arctiori vinculo sumus astricti, nobis in hac necessitate subvenire dignemini: et ne infeliciores aliis in infelicitate ista inveniamur, ut velitis et affectuose compati et efficaciter compatiendo misereri. Valete.

A.D. 1188. February.

CLXXXII. Clementi papæ Henricus rex Angliæ.

The king informs the pope that the visit of the archbishop to the Roman court was prevented by the fatal news from the East, and excuses him.

Cum venerabilis pater noster Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in procinctu esset itineris ad sedem apostolicam veniendi, et a nobis jam licentiam habuisset, supervenit rumor ille tristissimus de desolatione terræ Jerosolimitanæ; qui cor nostrum ea quam dicere nequimus amaritudine percussit, et nos et filium nostrum primogenitum Ricardum et multos alios de nobilioribus terrarum nostrarum ad subventionem terræ illius vexillo crucis armavit. Cum igitur in tanti deliberatione negotii, et in tanto mœrore simus constituti, præsentia præfati archiepiscopi his diebus nullo modo carere possemus, cujus sanctitas et prudentia viam nobis in nostris agendis per Dei gratiam plenius ministrabit. Verum ne ei præjudicium generet quod magis debet gratiam comparare, benignitati vestræ de qua a multis diebus rerum experientia certi sumus, preces quantas possumus cum omni devotione porrigimus, ut hoc, quod a nobis sustinuit cogi pro gloria crucis et exaltatione nominis Christi, ei apud vos ad excusationis gratiam cedat, quia magis inde favorem vestrum debet promereri, quo amplius nobis aliis spiritum fortitudinis inspirabit; ne, quod Deus avertat, cum vexillo fidei fides ipsa valeat periclitari. Non autem sufficit nobis eum apud vos excusare, quem necessitas temporis et ratio fidei excusat, sed pro ipso vobis totis visceribus supplicamus, ne clamor monachorum Cantuariensium contra eum prævaleat, quos non de justitia et veritate niti cognovimus, sed sola malignitate armati, non solum archiepiscopum, sed totum regnum nostrum turbare nituntur. Quod enim de ecclesia in honore beatorum martyrum Stephani et Thomæ fabricanda, ab eo noscitur inchoatum, de consilio Romani pontificis, et assensu Romanæ ecclesiæ defluxit, et nos post inspectionem litterarum domini papæ non subito vel temere, sed de consilio episcoporum et baronum totius regni nostri, propositum jam dicti archiepiscopi approbavimus, et opus faciendum confirmavimus, in eo siquidem loco in quo nulli ecclesiæ generatur dispendium; et si qui sunt qui falso timore futuri incommodi trahuntur, eis de omnimoda indemnitate cautionem sufficientem præstari volumus et præstare. Locum ergo illum quem ad honorem martyrum ædificari volumus et confirmavimus, quem

He begs him not to listen to the complaints of the monks against the archbishop, fo. 42 v°.

etiam in nostram manum jam cepimus, oculo benigno respicite, et ei pro amore Dei et nostro benedictionis et confirmationis vestræ gratiam impendite, quia nobis ad confusionem cederet, nec sine gravi molestia totius regni nostri fieri posset, quod opus tam solemniter inchoatum et confirmatum aliquomodo posset in irritum revocari. Præterea monachos Cantuarienses contra jura et honorem regni nostri nullatenus, si placet, audiatis, sed eorum insolentiam reprimite, et ecclesiam Cantuariensem in statu solitæ libertatis propensius conservate, sicut tempore nostro et archiepiscoporum usque ad tempus Ricardi archiepiscopi noscitur exstitisse. Nullo enim modo pati possemus, ut quod ab antiquo statutum est, et usque ad tempora nostra conservatum, aliquatenus in nostræ præjudicium dignitatis posset immutari. Prius enim a capite nostro coronam deponeremus, quam sustineremus quod monachi aliquid obtinerent contra dignitatem archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, quod nunquam temporibus prædecessorum nostrorum fuisset obtentum. Licet autem monachi multa contra dignitatem regni nostri et jura Cantuariensis archiepiscopi hucusque fecerunt eo magis licenter, quo magis impune, sustinuimus tamen omnia ut pacem Cantuariensi ecclesiæ reddere possemus. Nunc autem tanta monachorum ebullivit insania, tantaque contra nos ascendit superbia, quod ecclesiam quæ caput est et corona regni nostri, archiepiscopo suo præsente et non requisito, et me penitus ignorante, omnibusque officialibus meis ignorantibus, subito sua tantum auctoritate supposuerunt interdicto, altaria denudantes, campanas suspendentes, omnem reverentiam beati Thomæ martyris et memoriam excludentes, locum devotioni et orationi addictum penitus profanantes. Cum igitur crucis signum accepissemus dominus rex Francorum et nos, et in regnum nostrum intrare vellemus, in introitu terræ tenebras invenimus pro luce, spiritum mœroris pro cantico exultationis. Hoc autem etiam sine dolore dicere non possumus, quia hoc præsertim tempore regnum nostrum nobis debuit congaudere, quo crucis vexillum portantes crucis injuriam volumus vindicare. Hoc nobis faciunt monachi Cantuarienses; nec ulterius possumus sustinere, immo manus regiæ severitatis fortius apponemus, nisi apostolicæ pietatis prudentia citius occurrat, quæ monachorum supercilium conterat, et archiepiscopo, viro simplici et prudenti, pacem de vestra æquitate reportet. Ipse vero consilio omnium episcoporum, abbatum, religiosorum virorum, et baronum totius regni nostri stare desiderat et promittit, sed monachi, qui lites et contentiones amant ut licentius discurrant, omnem ei obedientiam denegant, et si benedicit, contemnunt, et si male-

A.D. 1188. February. and entreats his favour for the new church.

He will rather resign his crown than suffer the monks to get the better of the archbishop.

They have actually closed the church of Canterbury, putting it under interdict, just at the moment when the king has taken the cross.

If the pope will not punish the monks, the king will.

A.D. 1188. February. The prior does not deserve to be listened to.

dicit, non curant. Hanc igitur dissolutionem celerius vindicate, et priorem qui sine conscientia nostra de regno nostro exivit, et jam in curia Romana per annum dicitur commoratus, et thesauros ecclesiæ Cantuariensis secum detulit, et per nuncios asportavit, et aliter, sicut dicitur, quam deceret expendit, nullatenus exaudire velitis, nec ei aliquid contra nos vel contra archiepiscopum Cantuariensem indulgere velitis, quia totum regnum nostrum in hoc verbo turbatur, nec crucem Domini quam accepimus gratanter bajulare possemus, si in capite nostri regni tantæ dissensionis materiam et tanti schismatis fomitem relinqueremus impunitum, immo quod invite dicimus, nostram nullatenus in tanta confusionis amaritudine deserere et desolatam relinquere sustineremus. Teste Hugone Conventrensi episcopo apud Otheford.[1]

A.D. 1188. March 31.

CLXXXIII. Eidem rex Siciliæ et regina filia Henrici regis.[2]

fo. 43 r°. The king and queen of Sicily entreat the pope to favour the archbishop's new church.

Beatitudini vestræ volumus præsentium significatione liquere, quod illustris Angliæ rex, carissimus socer noster, transmissis ad nos iterato litteris suis, precibus a nobis postulavit, ut super canonia quam ipse, sicut aliis devotionis nostræ litteris paternitati vestræ significavimus, ad honorem beati Thomæ Martyris extra civitatem Cantuariensem per venerabilem Cantuariensem archiepiscopum ædificare incepit, sanctitati vestræ preces transmitteremus. Quapropter indubitatam de vestra gerentes paternitate fiduciam, filialis prece devotionis vestram affectuose præminentiam exoramus, quatenus eundem illustrem regem carissimum socerum nostrum, in causa suæ petitionis pro jam dicta canonia, quæ suis plenius sanctitati vestræ litteris innotescet, ad preces nostras et consideratione ipsius illustris regis, eum effectu velitis desiderato benignius exaudire. Data Panormi, ultimo die Martii, sextæ Indictionis.

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[1] Hugh of Nunant, bishop of Coventry, was consecrated on the 31st of January 1188, and the king landed at Winchelsea the day before. Hoveden, 366. The bishops hastened into Kent to meet the king, and proceeded with him to Gaitington, near Northampton, where a council was held on the 11th of February. The date of this letter is thus fixed to the first week in February.

[2] William II., king of Sicily, and Joan his wife, daughter of Henry II.

CLXXXIV. Eidem Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1188. January.

Tribulationum et dolorum quos pro justitia quotidie patimur, The convent remind the pope of their sufferings during the last three years.

Psalm xix. 4. quia in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, majestatis vestræ auribus, pater clementissime, rumor flebilis satis insonuit, et quod fere ubique notum vestram non credimus latuisse clementiam. Novit enim sedes apostolica quot et quantis jam fere per triennium pro justitia afflicti sumus injuriis, quibus provocati et affecti opprobriis, quam duris oppressi exactionibus et angariis, et qualiter nunc ultimo nos et nostra patuimus deprædationibus et rapinis. Nos vero, quasi ad nihilum redacti, dum non est qui redimat, a spe quam de misericordia et judicio sedis apostolicæ, tum de puritate conscientiæ, tum de justitia causæ concepimus, penitus excidimus, gementes et flentes All their misfortunes arise from their faith in the Holy See. non solum in subversione nostra totius Anglicanæ desolationem ecclesiæ, sed et Romani pontificis in partibus nostris auctoritatem et reverentiam deperire, et quia nomen vestrum invocavimus super nos, facti sumus populo in fabulam, hostibus nostris in direptionem et derisum: sane juxta prophetam qui ait,

Isaiah xxviii. 10. "Expecta, remanda," sub paternæ castigationis verberibus speravimus et expectavimus maternæ consolationis uberibus refoveri. Sed licet frustrati et fraudati sumus a desiderio nostro, prælegimus tamen in his omnibus parere Deo quam hominibus, et obedire potius piscatori quam principi. Possemus siquidem If they would renounce their appeal, they might yet be prosperous, but they will not. posthabita sedis apostolicæ reverentia, si vellemus clausis oculis sub silentio præterisse, et inter omnes occidentales ecclesias longe amplius felicitatis momentaneæ transitoriis gaudere successibus; nec dum adhuc essemus peccatores quoad homines, si adhuc omnium sequeremur voluntates. Sed absit ut matris nostræ jugulo manus ingeramus degeneres, et commoditate nostra universali ecclesiæ generantes incommodum, per pacem nostram ipsius procuremus dispendium.

1 Cor. iv. 9. Malumus enim mundo fieri spectaculum, quam posteritati nostræ tam perniciosum relinquamus exemplum. Unum tamen est Their greatest sorrow is that it is the archbishop who afflicts them. quo inter miserias nostras, cum etiam hostibus miserabiles, sed et omnibus hominibus simus miserabiliores, acrius movemur et affligimur; quia ea qua fundati sumus manu confundimur, qua plantati sumus evellimur, qua ædificati sumus destruimur, et unde gloriosam duximus originem ignominiosum deducti videmur ad finem. Coram Deo et majestatis apostolicæ reverentia loquimur; cui falsa pro veris suggerere valde esset temerarium, et nostræ professionis honestati inhonestum, ab octavis Epiphaniæ, quo die rebus et redditibus spoliati sumus universis, et officinis nostris effractis victualia nostra asportata

A.D. 1188. January. They are living on alms.

sunt; abominatio facti divitum, pauperes et mendici eleemosynis viximus et adhuc vivimus pauperum et mendicantium. De tanta enim rerum opulentia ad tantam redacti sumus inopiam, ut panem nostrum qualemcunque vix in saturitate comedamus, Exod. xvi. 3. bibentes de calice patrum nostrorum, adhuc tamen esurientes S. Matt. v. 6. et sitientes justitiam, quam nobis vestra non dedignetur impendere clementia, ut in extremo examine quando justitia Ps. xciv. 15. convertetur in judicium, a justo Judice recipiatis coronam 2 Tim. iv. 8. justitiæ. Priorem et fratres nostros, quibus causam Dei

fo. 43 v°. They commend the prior and his companions to the pope.

et ecclesiæ unanimi consensu commisimus, sedis apostolicæ sanctitati committimus, omnes et singuli rogantes obnixius, ut intuitu gloriosi martyris Thomæ, qui in ecclesia sua semel in capite passus, adhuc in membris suis quotidie patitur, redivivas vulnerum ejus cicatrices respiciatis, et causam ecclesiæ pro qua, in cujus utero gladiis impiorum occubuit, mediante judicio et justitia, quicquid de nobis contingat, tempore opportuno terminetis. Dum enim hoc vobis scribimus, quid de nobis in crastino fieri statutum sit ignoramus, quia de duobus unum expectamus universi, aut varios detrudi in carceres, aut manu hostium vitam finire per enses. Valeat sancta paternitas vestra in Domino, et seram nimis meminerit esse medicinam quæ vulneratis differtur usque ad mortem.

After Feb. 24.

CLXXXV. Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent has entire confidence in the bishop of Ostia.

Sollicitudini et affectioni quam in negotiis nostris promovendis paternitatis vestræ adhibere dignata est diligentia, omnes et singuli multiplices gratiarum referimus actiones, Ipsum apud Quem nihil est impossibile, voce et voto unanimi S. Matt. xix. 26. deprecantes, ut juxta multitudinem miserationum Suarum, Psalm li. 1. quas nostris impendistis miseriis, retribuat vobis in tempore Cf. No. clxxxix. opportuno pro omnibus quæ retribuistis nobis, et ut digne possimus, antequam moriamur, tantæ liberalitatis vestræ gratiæ respondere votivo desiderio, si rerum et temporum tribuatur nobis facultas et occasio. Serenitatis enim vestræ dignationi debemus et debere fatemur, quicquid papa Urbanus, cujus memoria in benedictione est, de misericordia et judicio sedis Ecclus. xlv. 1. apostolicæ nobis indulsit. Sed quia tot et tantis vulneribus nostris nova de novo superaddita sunt vulnera, et adhuc eisdem graviora superaddenda formidamus, quia mors et dejectio nostra jam in januis est, maturioris et majoris efficaciæ necessaria sunt medicamina. Nisi enim summus pontifex de salute nostra sollicitus, vulneribus nostris dili-

gentiorem curam maturius impenderit, vitæ nostræ dispendium omnes et singuli mortis redimemus compendio, et si tantæ enormitatis excessum et tam manifestum sedis apostolicæ contemptum, exserto gladio Petri, punire dissimulaverit aut distulerit, timemus ne Romana ecclesia in perpetuum magna sui corporis portione privetur, et a maternis sinibus filiam spiritualem irrevocabiliter conqueratur elapsam. Jam enim in partibus nostris, sedis apostolicæ, quod salva pace omnium dixerimus, evanescit immo vilescit auctoritas, nobis enim eversis, alios subvertere non erit difficile. Dominus siquidem Cantuariensis eo acrius in nos et nostra manum extendit duriorem, quo de statu nostro in integrum reformando et lite pendente nihil immutando de cætero, mandata urgentiora recepit; nec sufficit ei quod universis tam in rebus quam in possessionibus ablatis, murum curiæ nostræ militari manu et clericorum novæ capellæ, cujus creationis causa diutius occultata jam plenius in lucem prodiit, violenter perforavit, et ostiis officinarum nostrarum usque ad ostium claustri effractis, et victualibus omnibus asportatis, omnia pro voto disponens licitum libito coæquavit; sed adhuc manus ejus extenta, cum nihil omnino de omni substantia nostra nobis reliquerit, præter solos ecclesiæ quatuor claustri parietes, inter quos pauperum et peregrinorum eleemosynis utrumque vivimus, vivere non permittit, sed ad nova et excogitata supplicia in subversionem nostram excogitanda vires convertit, justificans se et causam suam coram hominibus, cum super ipsius determinationem, nisi coram complicibus suis, judicium et justitiam semper subire declinet; innocentiam vero et æquitatem nostram sub prætextu justitiæ in conciliis suis in conspectu hominum execrans, superbiæ et insolentiæ nos arguit, cum, teste conscientia, ex his omnibus quæ de jure ei competunt, nihil omnino volumus, nec unquam voluimus usurpare; et coram curia Romana, quam ipse refugit, semper parati fuerimus de operibus nostris reddere rationem. Super his igitur et aliis miseriis nostris, omnibus hominibus facti miserabiliores, pietatis vestræ pedibus provoluti postulamus, ut sinum misericordiæ vestræ justis petitionibus nostris aperientes, priorem et fratres nostros solita benignitate exaudiatis, et quos hactenus justitiæ et pietatis fovistis intuitu, ne deseratis in tempore tribulationis. Utinam, pater venerande, viderent oculi vestri et omnium cardinalium, calamitates quas patimur pro justitia et sedis apostolicæ, cui stamus aut cadimus, reverentia. Confundimur enim nudis etiam verbis ea vobis deponere, quæ inimici nostri sævientes in nos operibus non verentur implere. Verumtamen videat Deus et judicet, et utriusque

A.D. 1188. February. If the pope does not make haste, they will perish.

The dishonour of the Roman See.

The persevering enmity of the archbishop.

He has shut them up in the cloister.

Isaiah v. 25.

S. Luke xvi. 15.

He refuses to plead his cause except before his accomplices.

We will plead ours before the see of Rome.

1 Cor. xv. 19.

fo. 44 r°.

Cf. No. clxxxvii.

A.D. 1188. February. partis merita, quia justus est, justa retributione remuneret. Causam siquidem calamitatis nostræ et miseriæ facile erit subtiliter cogitanti advertere, si habita præteritorum recordatione, intellexerit ubi et quando et quali pullulaverit ex stipite. Vitam et incolumitatem vestram augeat ad relevationem pauperum Suorum miserator et misericors Dominus.

A.D. 1188. After Feb. 24.

CLXXXVI. Honorio priori et sociis Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent inform the prior of their new troubles.

Licet malorum præteritorum crebra sit apud nos recordatio, eorum tamen quæ de novo superaddita sunt gravior et intolerabilior videtur esse afflictio. Si enim statum nostrum sufficienter voluerimus describere, quicquid extra sola corpora et claustri parietes nobis relictum est, totum in hoc verbo "nihil" poterimus comprehendere. Sed quamvis nihil omnino possideamus in temporalibus, crebris tamen adhuc tentamur pulsationibus. Nuper enim revertente domino rege in Angliam, quarta die postquam applicuit, misit ad nos Gaufridum de Sai, Gaufridum filium Petri, Willelmum de Heynesford, magistrum Osbernum de Camera, Stephanum de Torneham et alios cum eis, qui accedentes mandatum domini regis in hæc verba proposuerunt: "Sciatis dominum nostrum regem Angliæ in "terram istam advenisse, qui peregrinationem suam, ut ei "moris est, ad memoriam sanctorum hujus ecclesiæ incepisset, nisi quia statim in ingressu suo in regnum audivit, "unde non magis admiratur quam movetur, ecclesiam istam, "caput scilicet regni sui, a divinis cessare, et quasi contra "adventum ipsius suspensam fuisse. Mandat ergo, vult et "consulit ne ecclesia amplius in silentio maneat, sed ut in ea "divina celebrentur. Et tu, supprior, sis coram eo apud "Norhamtun cum quibusdam de fratribus, et maxime illis "duobus qui missi fuerant ad archiepiscopum Wingeham, et "Robertus sacrista et alii, ut sitis ibi decem vel duodecim "cum consensu capituli." Ad hæc respondimus, quod dominus archiepiscopus suppriorem, et omnes ei in suspensione ecclesiæ consentientes, per totam provinciam fecit excommunicari; nec nos aliquatenus de ecclesia excommunicatos debeant velle egredi, vel tales in conspectu principis, cleri, et populi apparere, maxime cum ex inhibitione archiepiscopi pacificus nobis non esset egressus; sed pace nobis reddita, et sententia in nos lata non tenere denunciata, licet ei nullam in nos lite pendente liceat ferre sententiam, ut præcepto patet apostolico, nos ad dominum nostrum regem paratos esse venire. Illi autem

(February 4, Gervase, 1520.) The king, shortly after his arrival in England, sent to Canterbury to insist that divine service should be restored in the church;

and to summon the sub-prior and others to Northampton.

The monks reply that they cannot obey as they are excommunicated: but will obey the summons if the sentence is annulled.

his auditis cum festinatione reversi sunt ad regem, nunciantes ei quæ apud nos viderant et audierant. Habuit autem in proximo dominus rex apud Norhamtun colloquium cum episcopis totius Angliæ et Walliæ et principibus et procuratoribus terræ. Quorum in conspectu archiepiscopus de vobis conquestus est dicens, quod ab exili vos elevaverat, et quod contra eum vestrum levastis calcaneum, et conversus ad nos dixit, quia nullam omnino ei volebamus exhibere obedientiam, et quod eo inconsulto et in ejus despectum ecclesiam suspendimus. Denunciavit ibi etiam suppriorem excommunicatum propter inobedientiam, cum in provincia Cantuariensi propter ecclesiæ suspensionem denunciatus fuerit excommunicatus. Suscitavit autem Dominus spiritum episcopi Bathoniensis, et exsurgens coram populo, archiepiscopo restitit in faciem, asserens quod nullam in nos haberet potestatem, nec tales in nos posset promulgare sententias, tum propter appellationem, tum propter privilegium quo lite pendente dominus papa potestatem ejus suspendit. Quod cum vidissent fratres sui, aliquantulum conversi sunt retrorsum, et alia via quam proposuerant processerunt. Instabat enim archiepiscopus opportune et importune, ut supprior tanquam excommunicatus caperetur per regem, et ad hoc episcoporum allexerat sibi voluntatem et consilium; sed Bathoniensis, murum opponens se pro domo Domini, super indulgentiam Urbani papæ plura constanter proposuit. Unde exterriti sunt a facie ejus, et fere universorum in hoc resedit consilium, ut transmissis nunciis probaretur utrum talem haberemus indulgentiam. Venerunt igitur ad nos, Seffridus Cicestrensis, Willelmus Wigorniensis, Willelmus Herefordensis episcopi, et Walterius abbas de Waltham et magister Osbernus de Camera, missi a domino rege cum litteris suis in hæc verba,[1] "Henricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ et dux Normanniæ "et Aquitanniæ et comes Andegaviæ, toti conventui ecclesiæ "Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ, salutem. Mittimus ad vos "dilectos et familiares et fideles nostros, Seffridum Cices- "trensem, et Willelmum Herefordensem, et Willelmum Wi- "gorniensem episcopos, et Walterium abbatem de Waltham "et magistrum Osbernum clericum nostrum de camera nostra, "per quos significamus vobis quædam quæ, sicut intelligimus "et credimus, commodum et honorem ecclesiæ vestræ et "vestrum contingunt. Diligenter ergo intendatis his quæ ex "parte nostra vobis dixerint, et occasione remota ea faciatis, "certam fidem eis adhibendo super his quæ ex parte nostra "vobis [proponent]. Teste Johanne episcopo Norwicensi, "apud [Gaitinton]." His lectis, proposuerunt nobis qualiter

A.D. 1188. February. (Feb. 11, Gervase, 1522.) The king holds a council at Northampton, in which the archbishop lays his complaint against the monks.

S. John xiii. 18.

2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. Gal. ii. 11. The bishop of Bath took the side of the convent.

Isaiah xlii. 17.

The archbishop urges the king to arrest the sub-prior,

Ezek. xiii. 5. but the bishop of Bath opposes it.

fo. 44 v°.

The king sends certain bishops and others to Canterbury to endeavour to make peace.

[1] Gervase, *Chron.* 1523.

A.D. 1188. February. The envoys beg the monks to obey the royal summons.

dominus archiepiscopus conquestus erat de nobis in concilio, et qualiter se offerebat super iis quæ inter nos et eum vertuntur, regis scilicet et regni stare judicio, rogantes ut qui primo ad vocationem regis non venimus, saltem ad citationem secundam accederemus, et exponeremus ei gravamina nobis illata. Respondimus vero, ideo nos ad regem non venisse, quia obsessi fuimus, nec ulli nostrum licebat exiri. De suspensione vero diximus, quod propter violentiam manifestam et enormitatem operum celebrare non præsumpsimus. Ad regem vero libenter aliquos de fratribus nostris ad exponenda gravamina, et non ad causandum transmitteremus, si salvum et securum nobis præstarent conductum. Ipsi autem ex timore nostro, sive metuentes periculum, ut et nobis et sibi prospicerent, Wigorniensem ad archiepiscopum transmiserunt, qui super negotio præscripto in hac forma litteras reportavit.

They promise to send some of their body under safe conduct.

The archbishop's warrant for the safe conduct.

" Baldewinus, Dei gratia, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius
" Angliæ primas, venerabilibus fratribus Cicestrensi, Wigor-
" niensi et Herefordensi episcopis, et dilectis filiis abbati de
" Waltham et magistro Osberno de Camera, salutem. Ad
" omnium notitiam volumus pervenire, quod nos warantizamus
" securitatem quam promisistis monachis Sanctæ Trinitatis,
" scilicet ut secure et in pace domini regis et nostra ire possint
" et redire ad curiam domini regis. Quapropter firmiter præ-
" cipimus ne quis præfatis monachis euntibus vel redeuntibus in
" hujus itineris progressu et reditu molestiam vel gravamen in-
" ferre præsumat. Litteræ autem istæ [1] penes vos reserventur ut
" nobis restituantur. Valete." Dederunt etiam nobis episcopi, quia instanter hoc postulavimus, litteras pendentes de salvo in eundo et redeundo conductu, in hæc verba. " Seffridus Cices-

The safe conduct.

" trensis, et Willelmus Wigorniensis, et Willelmus Herefordensis Dei gratia episcopi, et Walterius eadem gratia abbas de
" Waltham, et magister Osbernus de Camera, dilectis fratribus suis in Christo monachis ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ,
" salutem. Securitatem vobis promittimus ex parte domini regis
" et domini archiepiscopi, ut monachi [2] quos ex parte vestra
" ad curiam domini regis destinaretis securitatem in eundo
" et redeundo haberent, quam nos per has litteras patentes
" warantizamus, et dominum regem et dominum archiepisco-
" pum hujus securitatis auctores laudamus in Domino, Valete."
Ex quibus satis potestis perpendere in quanta sumus amaritudine. Unde, quia consiliosum nobis et amicis nostris videbatur, quatuor de fratribus nostris ad dominum regem destinavimus, qui cum redierint, ea quæ nobis ab ipso reportaverint

Four monks sent to the king. (Feb. 24, Gervase, 1527.)

[1] *Litteræ autem istæ*] Litteras autem istas, MS.

[2] *monachi*] monachos, MS.

maturius vobis significare curabimus. Cæterum, noveritis quod Rogerus Norreis, qui a nobis recessit, nobis in quantum potest persequitur, et sicut audivimus, secreta capituli nostri adversariis nostris denudat. Walterius vero de Ba in hospitali de Blen remoratur, habens ibi quotidie de curia nostra sufficientem sibi et suis procurationem. Dominus archiepiscopus apud Norhamtun crucem accepit, in nostrum, ut multi asserunt, detrimentum: sic enim putat et nos confundere, et ipsius obtentu judicium et justitiam declinare. Constanter igitur coram summo pontifice et tota curia miseriarum nostrarum multitudinem et magnitudinem exponite; pro certo scientes quod plusquam quadraginta diebus antequam præsentium lator a nobis recederet, eleemosynis viximus pauperum et mendicantium, et etiam Judæorum qui nobis compatiuntur: et quod nullum sub sole nisi a solo Deo et a curia Romana speramus vel expectamus auxilium. Quod si subvenire nobis dissimulaverit vel judicium tardaverit, deficiente nobis in via ista viatico, omnes præ dolore et inedia in proximo deficiemus. Omnes enim de quibus ultra quam debuimus in tempore prosperitatis præsumebamus, in tribulatione ista terga vertunt nobis et non faciem, nolentes propter nos incidere in manus hominum. Dominus vero servavit eos, ita quod nec super aliquo beneficio nobis impenso ab quolibet possint argui, nec nos in aliquo eis, si tempora gratiora arriserint, teneamur obligati. Si qua executio facienda est in negotio nostro, abbati de Bello, quia infirmus est non committatur, sed abbati de Waltham, cum tamen de commissione aliqua parvum aut nullum speremus emolumentum, quapropter nobis necessarium esset, et magnorum virorum hoc esse noveritis, quod si dominus papa miseriis nostris proposuit finem imponere, sub arctioris temporis termino et gravioris pœnæ interminatione scribat archiepiscopo. Alioquin circa hoc opera peribit et impensa. Procurate etiam quam citius poteritis, ut dominus papa, reservata sibi de malefactoribus vindicta, ecclesiam a suspensione absolvat, et nobis celebrare præcipiat, et sententiam in suppriorem et alios promulgatam non tenere denunciet, et ut indulgentiam saltem papæ Urbani confirmet, si majus vel melius aliquid impetrare non potestis. Quid vero de domino papa et curia in nostra causa de cætero sperare debeamus, maturius significate, quia mora solatii nobis suspecta est, et afflictio ista qua graviter opprimimur plusquam credi possit onerosa. Si quid vero contra nos impetratum fuerit, quid nobis agendum sit cum omni festinatione nos præmunire studeatis. Valete.

A.D. 1188. February. Roger Norreys has left the convent and betrayed the secrets of the chapter.

The prior is requested to tell the pope the distressed state of the convent.

Jer. ii. 27.

fo. 45 r°.

Let the abbot of Waltham be put in the place of the abbot of Battle as judge-delegate of a new mandate.

Let the pope order the restoration of divine service.

CLXXXVII. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1188. After Feb. 24.

The monks remind the pope that their reverence for the Holy See is the cause of their troubles.

Super crebris et continuis petitionibus nostris et querelis, vestra, pater reverende, satis posset admirari clementia, nisi oppressionem nostram et oppressionis causam plenius adverteret et diligentia patris et sollicitudo pastoralis. Licet enim vellemus, quod nullatenus possumus, innumerabiles afflictionis nostræ enumerare injurias, nequaquam ordinis et honestatis nostræ id posset sustinere verecundia, nec epistolaris sufficeret adimplere modestia. Jam enim ultra numerum et mensuram calamitatum nostrarum cumulus excrevit, ita quod ad multitudinem et enormitatem operum verba non sufficiunt admittentium. Verumtamen hæc omnia patimur quia pro libertate ecclesiæ Cantuariensis et pro conservanda sedis apostolicæ reverentia, ausi sumus aliis tacentibus os nostrum aperire, et invocare nomen vestrum super nos, sperantes quod universale afflictorum nobis solum non deesset suffragium, nec suam in nobis sedes illa pateretur deperire justitiam, quæ non solum propriam sed etiam alienam acrius consuevit vindicare injuriam. Attendat, si placet, sanctitatis vestræ discretio, quam subtiliter Cantuariensis ecclesiæ fuerit subversio excogitata, quam callide machinata, quam operose dissimulata, et sub prætextu pietatis tandem coram populo palliata. Considerate, si placet, quia, quoties ad apostolicam appellavimus clementiam, ut expellamur ab adversariis nostris, acrius impugnamur et impellimur, et gravioribus de die in diem afflicti injuriis, cum luctu et lacrymis ad extrema deducimur. Quando enim hoc vobis scripsimus plusquam quadraginta jam dies effluxerant, quibus continue intra ecclesiam et claustrum nostrum arctius obsessi pauperum et mendicantium utrumque sustentati sumus eleemosynis; et quia, Salomone testante, amici divitum multi, pauper vero etiam amico suo odiosus erit, in manus fortunæ gravioris incidimus, divitibus facti sumus subsannationi et despectui, pauperibus vero præ longitudine dierum tædio cœpimus esse et oneri. Ut ergo de statu nostro, de quo in integrum reformando dominus archiepiscopus in obedientiæ virtute præceptum receperat Urbani sanctæ recordationis prædecessoris vestri, plenius vestram certificemus clementiam; noveritis canonicos loci illius maledicti et profani omnes curiæ nostræ officinas occupasse, et præter sola corpora et nudos ecclesiæ parietes nihil nobis in mundo reliquisse. Sed hoc patri et pastori nostro domino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo nequaquam adhuc videtur sufficere, sed coram principibus et populo terræ in conciliis suis superbiæ et insuper nos arguit, quia de his quæ inter nos et ipsum vertuntur, regis et regni formidamus subire judicium, et in eorum, quia

How craftily is this attack on them veiled with a pretended piety.

They have been forty days shut up in the church and cloister, living on alms.

Prov. xiv. 20.

Those wretched canons have seized the court and offices.

nobis suspecti sunt, nolumus compromittere arbitrium. Nos vero in omnibus prompti et parati sumus et semper fuimus sedis apostolicæ, cui stamus et cadimus, stare judicio, et de operibus nostris in lumine, et non in tenebris, coram non suspectis judicibus reddere rationem. Eapropter sanctitatis vestræ pedibus omnes et singuli provoluti postulamus, ut secundum judicium et justitiam, intuitu Dei et beati Thomæ martyris, cujus passioni in persecutione nostra perhibemus testimonium, finem maturius nostris imponatis miseriis. Solum enim post Deum clementiæ vestræ speramus et expectamus auxilium, quod si vel modicum tardaverit, Cantuariensis ecclesia præ multitudine dolorum suorum in perpetuum non respirabit. Valeat sancta paternitas vestra, domine clementissime, ut nos per eam valeamus respirare.

A.D. 1188. February. fo. 45 v°. They are ready to abide by the pope's decision.

Cf. No. clxxxv.

CLXXXVIII. Clementi papæ Nicholaus suus alumnus et clericus. February.

Quanto sanctitati vestræ, pater reverende, parvitatis meæ devotio arctius tenetur astricta, tanto confidentius ea quæ vos contingunt et ad majestatis vestræ spectant reverentiam, excellentiæ vestræ possumus suggerere. Hinc est quod miserabilis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ statum miserabilem, quem in ea positus oculata fide inspexi, vestræ quamcitius significare clementiæ omnimodis credidi expedire. Monachi siquidem prædictæ ecclesiæ a domino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo rebus et redditibus spoliati sunt universis, et muris eorum perforatis, et officinis effractis, victualia eorum asportata sunt, et ipsi intra claustrum et ecclesiam retrusi et obsessi. Clerici vero illius novæ capellæ, quam prædictus fundavit archiepiscopus, curiam et officinas monachorum occupantes, omnia in eis pro libitu disponunt. Unde clamor populorum utriusque regni de die in diem prævalescit, et ascendit in cœlum. Prædicti enim monachi pauperum et mendicantium jam multo tempore vixerunt et adhuc vivunt eleemosynis, qui quanto nomen vestrum super se invocare non desinunt, tanto gravioribus affliguntur et opprimuntur injuriis. Ipsi vero beati martyris Thomæ patroni sui imitantes constantiam, pro tuenda libertate ecclesiæ et servanda sedis apostolicæ reverentia parati sunt in carcerem et in mortem. Quapropter sanctitatis vestræ pedibus provolutus humiliter postulo, ut tam nobilis ecclesiæ oppressiones et miserias misericorditer respiciatis, scientes pro certo, quod nisi maturius a manibus quærentium animam ejus in manu forti eam liberaveritis, non erit in proximo in partibus illis, qui ad sedem præsumat appellare apostolicam, vel

Nicolas calls the pope's attention to the troubles of the church of Canterbury.

The clerks of the new church have seized the court and offices; and the monks are living on alms.

A.D. 1188. February. The danger extends to the Holy See.

aliquis ei exhibeat reverentiam, si de sua justitia Cantuariensem non contingat triumphare ecclesiam. Vitam vestram et incolumitatem conservet Dominus dominantium, dilectissime pater.

After Feb. 11.

CLXXXIX. Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent heartily thanks the bishop of Bath for his advocacy of their cause at Gaitington. (No. clxxxvi.)

Usu et experimento didicimus, quam sit utilis et necessaria quando adversitas, quæ simulatos amores non dissimulat, et veras celare non potest amicitias. Hinc est quod sanctitatis vestræ pedibus omnes et singuli obvoluti, gratiarum ex animo referimus actiones, Ipsum deprecantes obnixius, Qui in conspectu concilii os vestrum aperuit, et implevit illud, quatenus secundum multitudinem miserationum quas nostris impendistis miseriis retribuat vobis, cum sederit cum senatoribus terræ. Vos enim solum invenimus qui martyris nostri sequeretur vestigia, et ex amore veritatis et justitiæ, causam Dei tueretur et ecclesiæ. Unde sanctitati vestræ, cui ultra possibilitatem, sed non ultra voluntatem, tenemur, si sincerioris auræ spiritus nobis aliquando aspiraverit, desideramus respondere. Verumtamen quod in nobis ex pietatis et justitiæ incepistis affectu, intuitu Dei et beati martyris Thomæ, usque in finem perseverantes dignum perducere non dedignemini ad effectum, et quos tanto eripuistis a naufragio, antequam ad portum perveniant, undoso ne patiamini periclitari in pelago. Vitam vestram et incolumitatem, ad sublevationem ecclesiæ Suæ cui subvenire decrevistis, conservet misericordiarum Dominus, pater dilectissime.

Cf. No. clxxxv.

Prov. xxxi. 23.

They entreat him to continue to protect them.

After Feb. 11.

CXC. Clementi Henricus, papæ rex Anglie.

fo. 46 r°. The king informs the pope that he has attempted to induce the monks to yield to the archbishop.

Ex quo per gratiam Dei accepimus signum crucis, operam dedimus diligentem, pacem in omnibus terris nostris statuere in firmam. Unde cum in ecclesia Cantuariensi, quæ est caput et gloria regni nostri, consilio episcoporum et magnatum terræ pacem vellemus inter sanctissimum patrem nostrum Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et monachos ejusdem ecclesiæ procurare, præfatus archiepiscopus firmiter proponens velle se iis esse contentum quæ, usque ad tempora Ricardi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi qui novissime ibi sedit, omnes sui antecessores habuerant; de omnibus controversiis inter eos habitis, judicio sive consilio omnium episcoporum atque abbatum terræ humiliter ac devote se obtulit, et eorum se stare

arbitrio, tanquam pacis amicus et filius, promisit. Porro monachi, eos solos timentes qui rei veritatem plenius cognoverunt, atque per varios et frequentes excursus virum sanctum diffamare vestramque religionem fictis contra eum mendaciis corrumpere malitiose attentantes, nec arbitrio religiosorum, nec nostro aut episcoporum vel abbatum consilio acquiescere voluerunt. Baldewinus sane præfatus archiepiscopus ad gloriam et honorem Dei et solatium populi Sui signum crucis accepit, cui facto plurimum congaudemus; nam in societate ipsius laborem pro quiete, pericula pro securitate, peregrinationem pro patria reputamus. Si ergo nostram nostrique regni pacem et quietem diligitis, immo quia diligitis, paternitatem vestram rogamus humiliter et devote, ut præfatum archiepiscopum per contumaciam et rebellionem monachorum suorum nequaquam turbari de cætero permittatis. Turbatio enim ejus redundat in omnes. Cumque hodie omnia pacificet crux Christi, crucem Ejus gratanter ferre non poterimus, quamdiu viderimus hominem innocentem et justum per contumaciam et mendacium talium hominum molestari. Confidunt siquidem in mendaciis suis, et in thesauris ecclesiæ quos ibi posuerunt progenitores nostri, quorum partem maximam absportasse, et insuper ecclesiam prægravasse, dicuntur. Sed cum ad nos illius ecclesiæ advocatio et tutela pertineat, ita, dante Domino, manus eorum studebimus cohibere, ut necessariis abundent, et ecclesiæ thesauros eisdem ulterius non liceat dissipare.

A.D. 1188. February. The archbishop undertook to abide by the decision of the king and prelates, but the monks refuse.

The king, as a soldier of the cross, cannot bear to see an innocent man vilified.

CXCI. Clementi papæ Baldewinus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis.

February.

Satis audivit et novit eminentia sedis vestræ, quanto tempore et quanta pertinacia monachi Cantuarienses nomen meum persequi, meque omnibus odibilem reddere vanis excursibus, multiplicibus expensis, et aliis quampluribus modis, me quasi Romanæ ecclesiæ inobedientem et rebellem arguere moliti sunt, et adhuc manus eorum extenta est, atque ab inceptis injuriis non desistunt. Scimus et publice profitemur, quod non est humanæ inventionis obedientia Romanæ ecclesiæ debita, sed de sententia Christi, de schola evangelicæ disciplinæ, et de fidei Christianæ fundamento processit. Duxissem inconsultissime, immo perditissime, dies meos, si in hac vespera vitæ meæ, quando me negotiis salutis æternæ vigilantius procurare oportet, rebellioni aut inobedientiæ consentirem, si adversus Romanam ecclesiam rebellionis aut inobedientiæ spiritum concepissem. Absit a me, pater sanctissime, rem hujusmodi cogitare aut facere; absit et a sanctitate vestra me ita fatuum

The archbishop hearing that he has been called by the monks a rebel against the Holy See, professes his reverence for it.

A.D. 1188. February. reputare et impium, ut contra jus aut sedem sanctissimam præsumam aliquid attentare.

February 24. CXCII. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis.

(Gervase, 1527.) The convent reminds the king of the oppressions of the archbishop, and commends the messengers to his favour.

Excellentiæ vestræ, domine et princeps serenissime, satis innotuit, qualiter dominus et pater noster Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, postquam eum ad petitionem et voluntatem vestram in patrem et pastorem suscepimus, manum suam super nos aggravavit, et nos et statum nostrum perturbavit, et pene ad nihilum redegit, et qualiter libertates et possessiones, quas habuimus a tempore Sancti Edwardi regis et Willelmi, et regis Henrici avi vestri, et toto tempore vestro usque nunc, nobis abstulit contra cartas antecessorum vestrorum et vestras. Quapropter celsitudini vestræ supplicamus omnes et singuli, quatenus pro amore Dei et beati martyris Thomæ, et aliorum sanctorum quorum corpora in Cantuariensi requiescunt ecclesia, statum quem ante promotionem domini archiepiscopi habuimus, faciatis reformari, ut in ea pace qua hactenus sub vestra protectione viximus, de cætero vivere possimus. Fratres vero nostros quos ad excellentiam vestram mittimus, ut miserias et gravamina nostra vobis exponant, rogamus, quatenus benigne [sicut] semper consuevistis, suscipiatis, et animam petitionibus nostris pro Deo inclinetis, quatenus ab Ipso Qui est Rex regum regnum percipiatis æternum.

A.D. 1188. January 26. CXCIII. Clemens papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.[1]

The pope reminds the archbishop that the greater his fo. 46 v°. dignity, the greater should be his moderation.

Quanto in ecclesia Dei scientiæ munere et religionis præmines honestate, dignitatisque apicem in partibus Anglicanis obtines digniorem, tanto decet caritatem tuam vigilantiori studio a subjectorum injuriis vel oppressionibus temperare, et iis postpositis quæ justitiæ pulchritudinem decolorant, odoremque bonæ opinionis extinguunt, obedientiam et reverentiam debitam majoribus exhibere. Unde non sine causa miramur, quod, sicut nobis proponitur, post appellationem ad sedem apostolicam factam et bonæ memoriæ Urbani prædecessoris nostri prohibitionem, adeo circa novæ capellæ constructionem et alia multa, manus tuas in ecclesiæ tibi commissæ fratrum molestias aggravasti, ut nihil eis de interpositæ appellationis remedio accessisse, prout ratio juris expostulat, æstimetur, nec tu honori sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ matris tuæ

He wonders at his disobedience.

[1] Gervase, *Chron.* 1528. This letter was delivered to the archbishop on the of 22nd March. See No. ccxxiii.

videaris, prout oportuit detulisse. Licet autem propositum nobis sit, fraternitati tuæ quantum cum Deo possumus deferendi, et personam tuam in omnibus quæ ex officio nobis incumbunt statuerimus honorare, quia tamen eorundem fratrum pressuras pariter et clamores cum bona conscientia præterire clausis oculis nec possumus nec debemus, fraternitati tuæ de consilio fratrum nostrorum per apostolica scripta præcipiendo mandamus,[1] quatenus omni contradictione et occasione postposita, eo etiam non obstante si te abesse contigerit ab ecclesia tua, quicquid post appellationem ad sedem apostolicam factam, vel prædecessoris nostri prohibitionem, in opere capellæ actum est, non differas demoliri, revocans et deducens prorsus in irritum quicquid de instituendis canonicis et aliis circa capellam factum est, et perperam innovatum. Eos etiam qui, post inhibitionem sæpedicti prædecessoris, in capella ipsa celebrare divina officia præsumpserunt, donec condignam nobis satisfactionem exhibeant, ab officio et beneficio habeas interdictos. Ministros etiam conventus, quos post appellationem interpositam amovisti, quos et idem prædecessor restituit, habeas restitutos, et eos quos pariter post appellationem excommunicare vel suspendere voluisti, habeas nihilominus absolutos, et universa quæ post appellationem in eorum gravamen attentata sunt, videlicet in invasione villarum et possessionum suarum, reddituum quoque et aliorum quæ ante appellationem habuerant, et ablatione similiter aliarum rerum, in statum pristinum, cessante appellatione et contradictione, reducas. Ad hæc, quia secundum formam juris post appellationem nihil est innovandum, volumus et præcipimus, ut pendente judicio, in eorundem fratrum detrimentum circa statum monasterii nihil omnino satagas immutare. Alioquin grave nobis existeret modis omnibus et molestum, nec possemus sine coercitione debita æquanimiter sustinere. Datum Senis, vii. kalendas Februarias, Indictione sexta.

A.D. 1188. January 26. Making all allowance for the archbishop, he commands him to demolish the chapel, annul the foundation, excommunicate the clergy, absolve the excommunicated, restore the property of the convent and abstain from injuring the brethren.

CXCIV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.

After January 26.

Jam per terras et per mare vestræ desolationis calamitas diffunditur, laudabilis vestræ perseverantiæ unanimitas circumquaque prædicatur. Jam mundo vestræ causæ justitia, fama crebrescente, lucidius innotuit, ut non solum amici vestri et proximi, verum etiam advenæ et peregrini, vestris compatiantur

The prior extols the perseverance of the brethren.

[1] *præcipiendo mandamus*] prædecessores domus, MS.

A.D. 1188. January. Their cause meets with sympathy everywhere.

miseriis. Nationes etiam barbaræ, tanquam res propria ageretur, vestris pietate devota pressuris ingemiscunt. Jam clamor vester et gemitus videntur de terris ad cœlestia transcendisse; querimonias vestras et causæ nostræ merita in conspectu Summi Judicis efficaciter allegasse, et fortasse, sicut præsumimus, tum sanctorum nostrorum intercessionibus, tum orationum vestrarum instantia perorasse. Quippe cum a Domino crederemus aliquanto tempore derelicti, utpote qui super flumina Babylonis diutius sedimus et flevimus, dum recordaremur nostræ Syon; nec ei subvenire, nec ejus qui præcipitium intentabant angustias aliquatenus relevare valentes; factus est nobis Omnipotens turris fortitudinis a facie tribulantis, et nobis in agonia suprema laborantibus solatia respirationis conferendo, nosque pristinæ benignitatis gratia misericorditer recreando. Gratias ergo omnium bonorum Largitori referatis uberrimas, Qui respexit orationem humilium, et non sprevit precem eorum. Negotium vestrum coram summo pontifice et cardinalibus multoties discussum, multoties sufficienter ventilatum, eventum quem ex litteris domini papæ potestis perpendere de communi cardinalium consilio, in nobis oppugnantium confusionem est executum. Quod licet ad unguem nondum sit consummatum, nisi dominus Cantuariensis, absque dilationis subterfugio, mandatis apostolicis inpræsentiarum parere inclinaverit, congruum absque dubio consequenter sortietur effectum. Inusitatum hactenus esse solet, quod dominus papa in suæ novitatis promotione coruscationes emitteret et tonitrua, nimis aspera, nimis dura per orbem terrarum demandando. Propter hujusmodi ergo omissam ad tempus severitatem nolite expavescere, sed interim more solito viriliter agite, et in Eo spem vestram præfigite, Qui nunquam deserit sperantes in Se. In mora namque modici temporis non erit periculum. Dilatate de cæterò terminos exultationis, et assumite dies lætitiæ, cum tamen jugi orationum et devotionum perseverantia; quoniam quæ nobis usque modo feliciter accesserunt ad gloriam, magis divinæ gratiæ quam humanæ possunt attribui eloquentiæ vel industriæ, ut certio certius dicere possimus cum propheta, "Non "nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini Tuo da gloriam." Cæterum non vos, fratres et domini carissimi, terrores principum concutiant, nec quorumlibet dealbationes subvertant, quoniam inspecta rerum qualitate et magnatum considerata conspiratione, dabit Deus finem tempore opportuno, qui faciet locum vestrum et sedem cum tranquillitate possidere. Aliis negotiis nostris expletis, mittemus ad vos unum de fratribus nostris, qui vos de statu nostro vivæ vocis alloquio certifi-

Ps. cxxxvii. 1.

A new deliverance.

Ps. xi. 3.

Ps. cii. 17.

The cause has come before the pope and cardinals; and letters are issued in favour of the convent. (No. cxciii.)

fo. 47 r°.

Reasons for the pope's moderation.

Judith xiii. 17.

He exhorts to patience and faith.

Ps. cxv. 1.

cabit, et alacriora de vobis per Dei gratiam reportabit. Bene valete in Domino. A.D. 1188. January.

CXCV. Gaufrido suppriori Magister Humfridus monachus. Before January 26.

Master Humphrey calls the attention of the subprior to the signs of the times.

Inter fluctuantis sæculi varias et insolitas alterationes, tum pro summorum videlicet pontificum raptu tam repentino, tum pro terræ Jerosolimitanæ desolatione tam dolorosa, vir constantissimus, nedum idiota quilibet vel insipiens, metu justo concuti possit et moveri, satisque majori stupore duci vel admiratione, ubi gentis adversæ merita iram superni Judicis super se provocassent, quare casus lugubres et tam detestabiles modernis debeant temporibus præter solitum germinare. In tantum namque hæreses diebus istis pullulant et vitia, et non solum per vicos et castella, sed civitates et regiones sectis variis commaculavere et nefariis; et gens contra gentem, et regnum adversus regnum, in sese consurgunt ad invicem: cæteraque per prophetas latius enumerata modernis jam emersere temporibus, quod totus tam veteris quam novi Testamenti sermo propheticus per exempla imminentia videretur adimpletus, si filius ille perditionis caput exsereret in medio populorum, et prodiret in lucem gentium, viresque evidenter exerceret atque potestatem. Hunc utique certis argumentis advenisse, vel in proximo crederemus affuturum, nisi status universalis ecclesiæ, qui terribiliter ecliptitare videbatur, a sui languoris volutabro feliciter respirasset, et vigorem jam diu deperditum triumphaliter resumpisset. Quæ vero post domini Urbani transitum aliquamdiu, proh dolor! ruinam minabatur et defectum, in Clementis papæ clementia revixit cum exultatione, et in solido Petri refloruit stabilitatis fundamento. Unde nos, et ii qui Deum diligunt in veritate, gratias Omnipotenti Deo referre tenemur merito devotissimas, Qui in præsidentis papæ sublimatione plebem Suam visitavit, et erexit in medio ecclesiæ cornu salutis nostræ, per ipsum quod perierat reformando, præteriti damna temporis cum lucro multiplicato singulis et universis resarciendo. Gaudemus igitur et exultemus et demus gloriam Deo, quoniam ecce advenit dominator Dominus, ante Cujus adventum ita nos ludibrium aquilonis deterruerat, sic nos fortuna severior præcipitaverat, quod nobis, in quorum perniciem et eradicationem hinc mundi elementa, hinc regnum et sacerdotium conspiraverant, nihil aliud superesse videbatur, nisi cum tam enormi dispendio vel causæ renunciare, vel montana conscendere, et cum feris et avibus victitare, de supernis cœlorum aliquando subsidium præstolando, vel qualemcunque consolationem. Dum hæc agerentur, dumque talibus per duos

S. Luke xxi. 10.

2 Thess. ii. 3.

The Son of perdition seemed to be come.

But the accession of pope Clement has restored the hopes of the faithful.

S. Luke i. 68, 69.

Isaiah iii. 1.

A.D. 1188. January. fere menses jactaremur fluctibus, ecce repente nova facta sunt 2 Cor. v. 17.
omnia; ortus est Sol Justitiæ, "leo duris, mitibus agnus:" Qui
The Sun of righteousness is risen. resident in throno judicat æquitatem, et humilibus et mansuetis Ps. ix. 4.
corde præcepta vitæ dispensat. Hic est qui a patrum suorum
vestigiis et traditionibus renuit exorbitare, omnia cum consilio,
A pope, not to be corrupted with bribes, who will accept only free gifts. omni cum deliberatione mature disceptans. Hic est quem cor-
ruptelæ munerum, licet a Romanis traxerit originem, nunquam
potuerunt hactenus suffocare, qui nunc etiam manus suas ex- Isaiah xxxiii.
cutit ab omni munere, nisi a sinceræ liberalitatis fonte sibi 15.
gratuito donationis titulo conferantur. Hic est qui, justissima
licet motus ratione, sententiam præcipitare, vel in aliquem se-
verius, nisi causa cognita, nequaquam hactenus visus est pro-
fo. 47 v°. mulgare, sed secundum merita causarum quilibet, prout juris
ordo discernit, suam æqua lance reportat æquitatem. Quid
plura? Non sufficeret dies singula præconia, singulas ante
A pope, holy *ex officio*. papatum suas enarrare virtutes. Quid sibi postmodum sanc-
titatis vel gratiæ infuderit Omnipotens, non est nostræ facul- S. Mark i. 7.
tatis solvere corrigiam. Sed quis sanctum esse dubitet, quem
apex tantæ dignitatis attollit? quem ad regimen summi culmi-
nis Dominus invitavit? Nullus. Sicut enim instar est sacri-
legii dubitare utrum dignus sit quem elegerit imperator, ita
nimirum longe detestabilius, longe profanius, non credere jus-
tum esse vel sanctum, quem Dominus Petri successorem præor-
dinavit, et ad erudiendam plebem Suam constituit, nisi casus
propter peccata populorum aliud inducat. Vos igitur, fratres
reverendi, qui in pulvere et mœrore diutius consedistis, exper- Isaiah xxvi.
giscimini et respirate. Veniet enim in proximo gloria Domini 19.
super vos ab excelso: et pridem desideratam diuque postula-
The pope and cardinals have examined the cause, and will shortly announce a favourable decision. tam recipietis consolationem. Dominus namque papa super
negotio nostro cum cardinalibus deliberavit, et quid nobis fac-
turus fuerit præordinavit, volens videlicet domini Urbani præ-
decessoris sui vestigiis inhærere, et quæ nobis ante decessum
suum indulserat innovare. Quibus consummatis, per aliquem
fortasse de fratribus nostris ad vos destinabuntur, ut vos vivæ
vocis colloquio plenius possit consolari, et de statu nostro cer-
tiorare. Non vos aliquorum blandimenta seducant, vel terrores
principum concutiant, sed more solito constantes estote et ro-
busti, quia securi estote, quia non prævalebit adversum vos
homo. Bene valete, et orate pro nobis.

Before January 26. ## CXCVI. Gaufrido suppriori Magister Eadmundus monachus.

Multoties calamum arripui, multoties, ut vobis scriberem, cartam et atramentum adaptavi, et fortasse de nos contingentibus aliqua vestræ sinceritati plerumque denotassem, nisi

meam hinc inde modicitatem tum tanti patris et domini majestas a tantæ præsumptionis supercilio revocasset, tum eloquentiæ dispendium et peritiæ ori silentium imponere maturius invitasset. Vanum etiam esset et supervacuum litteras vobis singulares destinare, cum unus omnium et singulorum nomine scribere sufficiat, quorum unam et eandem in nostrorum prosecutione negotiorum constat esse voluntatem et affectum. Verumtamen quia solito feliciora claruerunt tempora, et inclementioris fortunæ ludibrium disparere, et ad terminos contendere lætiores coangustetur, totus in scriptis præ gaudio, totus in litteris cum tripudio, ad sacra vestra carmen affero nostrum, quatenus qui nimiæ desolationis infortunium diutius deplorastis, consolationis instantis participium nobiscum vultu gratiore degustetis. Sicut igitur per domini Urbani urbanitatem et scientiam, universalem ecclesiarum statum jam pridem amissum aspirare, et solitæ dignitatis littora contingere videbatur, ita post ipsius ad cœlestia transitum, aliquamdiu satis gemebunde nutare censebatur, et, ut verum fatear, lapsum intentabat et occasum. Dum sic vero Petri navicula fluctibus jactaretur et turbine, dumque procellosa undarum voragine
S. Luke i. 78. crederetur absorpta, visitavit eam Oriens ex alto, ipsamque de profundo iniquitatis eripuit et tuto jam in littore collocavit,
Jer. iii. 15. dans illi rectorem et pastorem secundum cor Suum, qui faciet judicium et justitiam omnibus invocantibus eum. In præsidentis siquidem papæ promotione, nobis sedentibus in tenebris
S. Matt. iv. 16. et umbra mortis, illuxit dies reparationis amissæ felicitatis
Haggai ii. 8. futuræ. Advenit namque desideratus omnibus gentibus; sed et nobis tanto specialius et fructuosius, quanto de ipsius gratia et benignitate uberiorem meruimus usque in diem hodiernum reportare confidentiam: utpote de cujus industria, ad cujus instantiam quicquid egimus emanavit, quod et ipse in sublimi constitutus solio firmiter recolit, et per rerum argumenta subsequentium memoriæ commendavit. Tempus est ergo, domine mi, respirandi, tempus est lugubrem vultum de medio tollendi; quoniam causam nostram quæ perierat, respexit Dominus, et humilitatem servorum Suorum non despexit, Qui semper adest propitius de Ipsius misericordia præsumentibus. Dabitur maxillis hostium nostrorum in brevi frænum, et confringentur, divina procurante clementia, cornua vestram persequentium innocentiam. Sicut vero domini Gregorii severitas et inclementia, in cujus corde aliud latitabat quam ore prætenderet, causæ nostræ merita evacuare nitebatur et deprimere, sic per domini Clementis clementiam ad debitum aspirare contendit effectum, et in optatæ libertatis privilegio residere. Per ipsum enim et a pressura quæ circumdedit nos, et a faucibus mor-

A.D. 1188. January. Brother Edmund excuses himself for not having written to the subprior before.

The troubles that followed the death of pope Urban are over: happier times are come; the new pope is a worthy ruler and pastor;

and our especial friend.

Pope Gregory was a hypocrite. fo. 48 r°.

A.D. 1188. January.

tis, per Dei gratiam in proximo credimus liberari. Considerate diligenter et videte, si esset dolor, sicut dolor noster ; nisi is papa Gregorius naturæ maturius concessisset, qui de plenitudine gaudebat potestatis, nos per orbem terrarum essemus dispergendi et de terra viventium extirpandi. Considerate etiam quam miraculose vobiscum egerit Omnipotens de illo alio, Albanensi,[1] oppugnatore vestro adhuc superstite, cujus licet morte mandatoris exspirasset auctoritas, tamen ex abundanti, ne ulterius procederet quæ non seminaverat congregando et accumulando, per mandatum apostolicum de consilio cardinalium est cum sua confusione revocatus. Dignum namque fuit et rationi consonum, ut quod inconsultis fratribus modo hactenus inusitato inoleverat, eadem facilitate qua et factum est solemniter irritaretur, et nullius censeretur esse momenti. Non suffecit ei per regnum Teutonicorum debacchare, et suas exercere jurisdictiones, nisi et in regno Francorum et Anglorum generali fungeretur legatione, utpote qui summum tunc temporis pontificem suis blandimentis circumvenerat, quatenus si voluisset omnia regna mundi suis nutibus exposuisset. Verumtamen, antequam terminos Alemanniæ plene subintrasset, suus ipsum delusit Apollo, et eum litteræ revocatoriæ comprehenderunt. Sive redierit in proximo sive non, minus solito ipsum verebimur, qui minimum poterit, qui de cætero solus erit, et væ soli, *etc.* Quicunque confluunt ad curiam, sive fuerint de clericis regis, sive non, sive fuerint divites, sive mediocri fortuna laborantes, se nobis opponunt adversarios, ita vero quod a clericis publicus hostis reputatur, qui nobis serenum vultum a partibus vestris veniens ostenderit, aut in sermone aut alio communicare præsumpserit. Quanto vero plures adveniunt et plura confingunt, tanto eis minor fides habetur, nosque minus eos formidamus, quia si venerint mille vel decem millia, ad nos per Dei gratiam non appropinquabunt. In omnibus litteris regis domino papæ directis inseritur hæc clausula, "Quicquid pro domino Cantuariensi "feceritis, personæ nostræ impensum reputabimus;" de opere vero sive de aliis nos contingentibus nihil expressius mandatur. Bene valete, et orate pro nobis.

If he had lived, the convent of Canterbury must have been broken up.

Lam. i. 12.

Our enemy, the bishop of Albano, has lost his power, and been recalled.

Before he reached Germany his letters of recall overtook him.

Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 344.

Eccles. iv. 10.

The clerks and others who arrive from England are hostile to us.

[1] Henry, cardinal bishop of Albano, 1179–1188, was legate to Germany at this time : it was from his hands that Frederick Barbarossa took the cross in the spring of 1188. The bishop of Albano died in the following July.

CXCVII. Gaufrido suppriori frater Johannes.

A.D. 1188. February.

Litem instaurarem contra me ipsum, quod varios viarum eventus vobis mandare [negligerem] si me negligentiæ arguendum intelligerem. Verum quia multiplex hucusque necessitas calamum cohibuit, dummodo cur non scribam dixerim, mihi indulgendum. In Monte ergo Jovis positus, hinc cœlos montium suspiciens, hinc infera vallium abhorrens, cœlo jam vicinior et fidentior audiri, "Domine," inquam, "restitue me fratribus meis, S. Luke xvi. 28. " ut annunciem illis, ne et ipsi veniant in locum hunc tormen- " torum." Loca namque tormentorum non immerito nuncupaverim, ubi terram saxeam glacierum marmora consternunt, ubi pedem figere non est, immo nec sine periculo ponere, et mirum in modum cum in lubrico stare non possis, in mortem corruis si labaris. Hic manum in peram conjeci, ut sinceritati vestræ vel syllabas unas exararem, invenique atramentarium a renibus dependens humore sicco repletum et indurato. Sed nec digitos movere potui ad scribendum. Barba quoque gelu rigebat, et de spiritu oris concreto glacies prominebat prolixior. Hæc ibi me causa, cum domini prioris nuncius optato advenisset, scripto quod volueram mandare prohibuit. De litteris autem quas ad vos detulit papæ Clementis, quæ rigoris minus aliquid habere videntur, propositum erat scribere, ne terreremini, quia debile principium, melior prosperabit eventus. Valete.

Brother John tells the subprior that he could not write to him from the Great S. Bernard, where, although nearer heaven, he thought himself in hell.

His ink was frozen, and his fingers benumbed.

Pope Clement's letters are a good sign, though too mild.

CXCVIII. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

March.

Benedictus Deus qui ecclesiæ Suæ, quam in sanguine Suo supra petram fundavit firmissimam, talem præordinavit et præfecit pastorem, qui Primi Pastoris imitando instantiam, paratus sit pauperem eripere a potente, et posthabita personarum acceptione, orbem terrarum judicet in justitia et æquitate. Ps. xcviii. 10. Condignum enim est ut Ipsius imitetur virtutem et constantiam, ad Cujus vicem implendam Ejus adeptus est potestatem et cathedram. Hinc est quod sanctitati vestræ, pater reverende, fo. 48 v°. corde toto et ore devotissimas gratiarum referimus actiones, Ps. cii. 20. quia inclinavit aurem suam ut audiret gemitus compeditorum, et Ps. cvii. 20. misit verbum suum, ut eriperet eos de interitionibus eorum. Sed quia nondum in aliquo ab oppressione nostra et afflictione cessatum est, sed nec præceptis delatum vel obtemperatum apostolicis, ad vestram frequentius clamamus clementiam, quia fortior de die in diem nobis instat cruciatus, et vicinior videtur esse interitus. Et quia tot et tantis exacerbati et affecti sumus contumeliis et injuriis, jam omni fortunæ expositi, casum quem-

The convent thank the pope for his help.

They are not yet delivered, and renew their complaints.

A.D. 1188. March. libet non possumus non timere. Sane dominus Cantuariensis, ad solatium populi sui, non utinam ad desolationem conventus sui, ut multi asserunt, crucem accepit. Cujus licet nobis multoties molesta fuerit præsentia, nequaquam tamen possumus illius æquanimiter sustinere absentiam. Ipso enim teste Qui novit abscondita, personam illius sincera in Domino caritate diligimus, licet pro tuenda ecclesiæ libertate et ordinis nostri honestate conservanda in posterum operibus ejus reclamemus. Absit enim a nobis ut aliquid faciamus quod patrem nostrum dedeceat, vel aliquid de operibus ejus loquamur in occulto, quod non possimus probare in publico. Licet enim tam per se quam per suos diffamaverit, et longe aliter quam se habeat rei veritas, sui de nobis prædicaverint, dicentes quod mendaciis nostris eum opprimere et famam ejus denigrare contendimus; nos tamen, nisi quod mundus clamat, et opera manifesta loquuntur, nihil prædicamus aut dicimus. Majestatis ergo vestræ pedibus, pater sanctissime, clementissime, omnes et singuli provoluti, cum lacrymis postulamus, quatenus divinæ miserationis intuitu et beati Thomæ martyris, oculo misericordiæ miserias nostras intueri et relevare dignemini, et sollicitudine pastorali ita providere subjectis, ne nos, qui quotidie fame et inedia multipliciter cruciamur, obtentu crucis in perpetuum crucifigamur, et signum humanæ redemptionis nobis fiat, quod nimium formidamus, patibulum afflictionis. Vitam et incolumitatem vestram conservet Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, pater clementissime.

The archbishop has taken the cross, to their great dismay.

Ps. xliv. 21.

They will say nothing harsh against the archbishop.

February. CXCIX. Domino Gratiano Cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.

Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, cujus statum miserabilem describere nec scimus nec sufficimus, calamitates et miserias sanctitati vestræ satis credimus innotuisse, tum per fratres nostros qui ad curiam causa exponendæ flebilis afflictionis nostræ et oppressionis inauditæ profecti sunt, tum per frequentiam commeantium ab utroque regno, quorum clamor ascendens in cœlum, jam pervenit in universum orbem terrarum. Dominus siquidem archiepiscopus, præter sola corpora et claustri parietes, nihil nobis reliquit in mundo, sed clerici illius novæ capellæ, quam prædictus archiepiscopus in subversionem matris ecclesiæ fundavit, curiam nostram, villas et possessiones et prædia invaserunt. Quæ omnia qualiter ipsi distrahant et diripiant, enarrare nobis valde esset difficile. Sane cum dominus archiepiscopus de reformando in integrum statu nostro, et de novi operis demolitione, sæpius mandatum receperit apostolicum, in nullo ei penitus obtemperans, nec appellationi in aliquo

The convent remind cardinal Gratian of their troubles.

The archbishop's clerks have seized their court and possessions.

deferens, manum suam de die in diem in nos et nostra aggravare non cessat. Non sufficit ei quod omnia exteriora nostra abstulit, et quod nos intra claustrum et ecclesiam multo tempore in mendicitate et ferro obsederit, nisi modis omnibus satagat procurare, quatenus de iis quæ inter ipsum et nos vertuntur, spreto sedis apostolicæ judicio, in eorum quæ sibi sunt subditi et nobis suspecti compromittamus arbitrium, et eorum etiam ante restitutionem aliquam subiremus judicium, de quibus non confidimus, quod quamvis justitiam prædicent, in causa nostra juste judicarent. Eapropter sanctitati vestræ, pater reverende, omnes et singuli supplicamus attentius, quatenus intuitu Dei et beati martyris Thomæ, cui in persecutione sua speciale patrocinium impendistis, vulnera patris in passione filiorum respiciatis, et gratiam quam in filio gratiæ, prout martyris adhuc scripta testantur, ipse martyr assecutus est, Cantuariensi ecclesiæ continuare dignemini, et privilegia amoris quæ in sanguine suo conscripta, in morte martyris confirmata sunt, filiis suis et famulis vestris illibata servare velitis, quatenus cum eo coronam constantiæ et justitiæ percipiatis n cœlis, cui pro justitia dimicanti constanter subvenistis in terris. Vitæ et prosperitatis vestræ gaudia dilatentur, pater piissime, in tempora longiora.

A.D. 1188. February.

Cf. No. cciv. Ps. cvii. 10.

The archbishop has shut them up within the cloister to starve.

They beg for the continuance of his favour.

CC. Domino Jacincto cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis. February.

fo. 49 r°.

Cantuariensis ecclesia, postquam a beato Gregorio per venerabilem Augustinum apud occidentes fundata est, et in religione monastici ordinis nobiliter est instituta, quot et quantas perpessa est tribulationes et pressuras, de facili non posset enarrari; nunc autem appropinquante senescentis sæculi termino, abundantioris tristitiæ castigata est flagello. Dominus etenim Cantuariensis, obtentu illius novæ capellæ quam, post appellationem et prohibitionem etiam apostolicam, in subversionem matricis ecclesiæ fundavit, eousque in nos et nostra manum suam extendit et aggravavit, quod de universis rerum substantiis, nihil nobis in mundo præter solum claustrum et corpora nuda reliquit. Cum enim in virtute obedientiæ præceptum recepisset apostolicum, ut nos in statum nostrum restitueret et prædictam capellam suis expensis faceret demoliri, murum curiæ nostræ demolitus est, et clericos jam dictæ capellæ in curiam nostram intrusit, qui usque hodie non solum in curia nostra, sed etiam in omnibus villis et possessionibus nostris, omnem substantiam nostram distrahentes et lapidantes pro libitu debacchantur. Et quod hucusque in partibus nostris inauditum est, multitudine armatorum tam interius quam exterius circumquaque sumus obsessi, ita

The troubles of the church of Canterbury increase as the world grows older.

The archbishop has forced his clerks into the court and possessions of the convent.

A.D. 1188. February. The monks depend on beggars and Jews for food.

quod ab eisdem a quibus victualia nostra ablata et asportata sunt, pauperum et mendicantium et etiam Judæorum per quos vivimus eleemosynæ prohibitæ sunt ad nos introire; sed et intrantes in introitu ipso ab ipsis retentæ. Hæc et alia multa, quorum non est numerus, non minus terribilia quam detestabilia, dominus archiepiscopus tam per se faciens quam per suos passim fieri permittens, nec etiam præcepto summi pontificis recepto, in aliquo paruit vel pepercit, et quod inauditæ crudelitatis est, nomen vestrum, quod invocatum est super nos, et universis contra oppressiones solet esse remedium, nobis solis afflictionis semper accessit ad augmentum. Et juxta id quod a clericis domini archiepiscopi a principio improperatum est, et adhuc quotidie improperatur, "Vos "appelletis et nos expilabimus." Et quotiescunque appellavimus, conditionis nostræ terminos deteriorari sensimus. Superbiæ etiam et insolentiæ non minimum ascribitur, quod aliquatenus præsumpsimus vel ausi sumus ad appellationis verbum, ne dicamus remedium, convolare, et judicium Romanæ sedis, quod semper optavimus et optamus, Anglicanæ præferre ecclesiæ. Fecimus igitur quod potuimus, et adhuc servi inutiles sumus. Maternis sinibus filia spiritualis suas deploravit miserias, et adhuc sub luto et latere subjecta est servituti. Sanctitatis igitur vestræ pedibus omnes et singuli provoluti postulamus, ut intuitu Dei et beati martyris Thomæ, cui pro veritate exulanti sanctitatis vestræ gratia patrocinari non destitit, Cantuariensi ecclesiæ, in cujus gremio martyr gloriosus occubuit, subvenire dignemini, ut per manum miserationis vestræ de laqueo erepta venantium vobis et vestris teneatur inperpetuum; et quæ toties per vos erepta est a naufragio, curam si placet periclitanti apponite, ne hac tempestate penitus demergatur in profundo. Valete, pater dulcissime, et Spiritus Sancti gratia vos instruat quæ loqui debeatis et facere.

Their condition is worse after each appeal they make to Rome.

They entreat cardinal Hyacinth to aid them.

S. Luke xvii. 10.

Judith v. 10.

Ps. cxxiv. 6.

In eundem modum aliis cardinalibus.

March. CCI. HONORIO PRIORI ET FRATRIBUS CONVENTUS CANTUARIENSIS.

The convent cannot tell the prior all their troubles.

A tribulatione malorum et dolore triste scribendi sumentes initium, vita cum calamo concordante, tristia tristes scribimus, nondum tamen de unica Ipsius desolatione desperati, Qui prope est iis qui tribulati sunt corde, et humiles spiritu consuevit salvare. Licet malorum nostrorum numerus jam innumerabilis effectus epistolarum brevitate non possit comprehendi, solito tamen crebrius de statu nostro, qui jam penitus destructus est, vobis scribimus, quia de die in diem

Ps. xxxiv. 18

cum multa et gravia passi fuerimus, adhuc tamen graviora pati formidamus. Dominus siquidem archiepiscopus, ut nos in perpetuum crucifigat, crucem accepit temporalem; sed avertat Dominus cor ejus a cogitatu maligno, ne crux ipsius fiat nobis crux scandali et offensionis. Universorum tamen assertio est, qui dominum archiepiscopum et quid facere decreverit plenius, si tamen cognosci potest, cognoverunt, videlicet quod obtentu crucis summi pontificis præcepta omnia nostrum contingentia negotium, declinabit, nec aliquid pro hujusmodi mandatis, donec a peregrinatione sua redierit, adimplebit. Sic enim per crucem proposuit nos, dum absens est, affligere, ut cum reversus fuerit, quod Deus avertat, nec unus supersit, qui possit affligi. Nuper autem, antequam litteras domini papæ recepisset, cum rescripta earum a clericis suis sibi transmissa recitari fecisset, magister Silvester non siluit, sed deridendo et subsannando sic summo pontifici coram pontifice suo respondit, "Prut," et his dictis statim rescripta litterarum destinavit, ut audivimus, ad regem. Cæterum rescripta litterarum regis et archiepiscopi, qui pro nobis domino papæ scripserunt, vobis transmittimus. Unde liquido potestis perpendere, quo utriusque vergat intentio, et quid vel qualiter pro nobis debeatis respondere. Constanter igitur coram summo pontifice proponite, quod nisi velocius et maxima cum celeritate nobis subvenerit, nos et ecclesia penitus subvertemur, nec erit de cætero qui velit vel audeat ad Romanam appellare ecclesiam. Noveritis igitur quod nihil est de cætero dissimulandum, sed omnia nude et aperte summo insinuanda pontifici, qui nisi durius et districtius et sub gravioris interminatione pœnæ hac vice scripserit, et etiam aliis executionem præcepti cum potestate magna et manifesta commiserit, actum est de nobis. Si enim dominus papa ad instantiam regis archiepiscopo indulserit, ut juxta voluntatem liceat ei vel nos tractare vel de rebus nostris disponere, quod tamen non credimus, omnes exterminati sumus. Pauperes enim qui nos hucusque suis sustentaverunt eleemosynis, spem habentes quod per curiam Romanam citius erueremur ab ærumnis, præ multitudine dierum confecti sunt. Cum enim totam provinciam victualium affligat inopia, penes mendicantes fames residere minatur stationaria. A divitibus vero, qui etiam a salutatione nostra se cohibent, quid sperare possimus solatii vel expectare consilii? Certe aut nihil aut modicum. Non enim nostri sed prosperitatis amici sunt, prout ex fructibus eorum nihil gustando percipimus. Spiritus Sancti gratia sit coadjutrix et cooperatrix vobis in omnibus necessitatibus vestris et operibus.

A.D. 1188. March. The archbishop has taken the cross in order to elude the precepts of the pope.

He has received copies of fo. 49 v°. the pope's letters, and sent them to the king.

If the pope does not quickly interfere, we are undone.

A.D. 1188. April.

CCII. Abbati et Conventui Cluniacensi Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent of Canterbury thank the convent of Cluny for their letters.

Susceptis sanctitatis vestræ apicibus, quibus nos in amaritudine nostra amarissima, vestra visitare et consolari dignata est dilectio, gavisi sumus gaudio magno, et de sancti amoris vestri desiderio et caritatis fervore, quam nec potuerunt aquæ præterfluentes extinguere, exultavimus et delectati sumus. Voci enim vestræ vita concordat, affectum animi operatio indicat; odor bonæ opinionis ad amorem familiaritatis invitat, nec est quod sanctitatis suavitatem non redoleat, si quis opera verbis consona subtilius attendat. Hinc est quod sanctæ dilectionis vestræ gratiam non de meritis nostris, sed de mera liberalitate vestri adepti, gratulamur et gloriamur in Domino, in Quo universitatem vestram miserabiles et mendici rogamus et obsecramur attentius, quatenus pro nobis Patrem misericordiarum et Deum totius consolationis exorare dignemini, ut Ipse, Cujus est misereri et parcere, convertatur et ignoscat, et relinquens post Se benedictionem visitet nos in misericordia uberi. Quia non est dolor sicut dolor noster. Dominus etenim et pater noster Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, in subversionem ecclesiæ nostræ et ordinis monastici, ecclesiam clericorum juxta nos fundavit, et quia in dispendium ordinis et honestatis nostræ præbere ei assensum noluimus, variis et inauditis affecti sumus suppliciis, duris et indebitis oppressi angariis, novis et exquisitis vexati injuriis, multis et magnis provocati opprobriis, et ad ultimum rebus et redditibus spoliati universis, ita ut præter solum claustrum et ecclesiam, quæ vix nuda nobis relicta sunt, nihil penitus possideamus in mundo. Ab octavis enim Epiphaniæ usque in hunc diem, pauperum et mendicantium, sed etiam Judæorum, viximus eleemosynis, eligentes magis in camino paupertatis fame et inedia deficere, vel si necesse fuerit cervices exponere, quam semitas Dei nostri derelinquere, et ordinis nostri honestatem dehonestare. Sanctitatis igitur vestræ pedibus provoluti omnes et singuli postulamus, quatenus divinæ miserationis intuitu et beati martyris Thomæ, domino papæ et domino Ostiensi pro nobis scribere dignemini, ut Cantuariensi ecclesiæ jam in extremis agenti subvenire non differant; quia si distulerint, mora trahente periculum, serum erit post ruinam salutare adhibere remedium. Cæterum sanctitatis vestræ largitati et liberalitati multiplices ex animo gratiarum referimus actiones, super honore domino priori nostro et fratribus nostris impenso. Omnia enim et singula membra nostra nostro honorastis in capite et

2 Cor. i. 3.

Joel ii. 14.

Lam. i. 12.

The archbishop, because the monks will not consent to the erection of the new church, oppresses them, so that they are living on alms.

They ask him to write to the pope and to the bishop of Ostia for them.

filiorum affectionem in perpetuum vobis obligastis in patre. Universa enim quæ magnifice a vobis ei sunt exhibita, nobis omnibus reputamus impensa. Unde cum nobis dies optatæ prosperitatis illuxerit, et flatus clementioris auræ arriserit, memorum nostrorum non poterimus esse immemores; non eorum non recordari in prosperis, qui non dereliquerunt nos in adversis. Ordinis vestri honestatem et communionem sanctissimam adaugeat et custodiat Jesus Christus, Qui supremam gerit potestatem. Valete, fratres dilectissimi, et memoriam memorum vestrorum offeratis in conspectu Altissimi.

A.D. 1188. April.

They thank him for his kindness to the prior.

CCIII. Conventui Sancti Bertini Conventus Cantuariensis.

April.

Cf. Nos. clxxvii., clxxviii.

Quanto carius esse solet in adversitate amicos, et in die afflictionis invenire fautores, tanto gloriosius est in tempore tribulationis subvenire oppressis, et in caritate superna consolari afflictos; longeque gratiosius et laudabilius est quicquid, non præcedentibus meritis, sola pietatis gratia erogatur egenis. Hinc est quod sanctitati vestræ, quam circa nos et nostros largam semper et liberalem sumus experti, multiplices gratiarum ex animo referimus actiones, Ipsum deprecantes attentius Qui dives est in omnes qui invocant Illum, quatenus juxta multitudinem miserationum quas nostris impendistis calamitatibus et miseriis, vobis retribuat in tempore opportuno. Ex quo enim in manus fortunæ gravioris incidimus, et prosperitatis fœdera, quæ nobiscum Dea cæca visa est pepigisse, solita mutabilitate dissolvit, præter vos vix aliquem invenimus, qui vel subveniendo nostram relevaret inopiam, vel compatiendo saltem verbo tenus consolaretur tristitiam, sed universi, qui nequaquam nos sed fortunam nostram sequebantur in prosperis, velut agmine facto, cum ea recesserunt in adversis. Vos autem non sic, sed tanto semper affectuosius subvenistis afflictis, quanto fortius in nos fortuna desævit. Unde non minimum formidamus, ne dum necessitas nostra nos facit importunos, ipsa importunitas vobis et vestris non reddat onerosos. De statu igitur nostro, immo de destructione nostra, dominus H. frater noster, pro quo vobis gratias referimus uberiores, satis poterit enarrare. Verumtamen, ut malorum nostrorum multitudo breviter enumeretur, præter sola corpora, claustrum et ecclesiam, nihil nobis relictum est in mundo, ita quod fere jam a tribus mensibus, pauperum et mendicantium et etiam Judæorum viximus et adhuc utrumque vivimus eleemosynis. Eapropter sanctitati vestræ preces porrigimus affectuosas, quatenus Deum pro nobis exorare dignemini, ut non secundum merita nostra, sed juxta multitudinem misericordiæ

Rom. x. 12.

fo. 50 r°.

The convent of Canterbury thanks the convent of S. Bertin for their friendship and liberality.

They have been shut up in the church and cloister for three months.

A.D. 1188. April. Suæ educat nos de carcere isto, et quos diutius voluit flagellari, dignetur maturius misericorditer consolari. Pia vota vestra conservet vobis Dominus, pater venerande.

February. CCIV. Conventus Cantuariensis Radulfo decano Remensi.

The convent have heard from a messenger of the provost of S. Bernard's that the dean of Rheims is in trouble, and sympathize with him.

Transiens per nos sacerdos quidam, nuncius præpositi Sancti Bernardi de Monte Jovis, vulnera superaddidit vulneribus nostris, et totius corporis nostri membrum spectatissimum, quod reliquo sauciato corpore adhuc nobis reservari credebamus intactum, subito nunciavit vulneratum. Asserebat enim vos in tribulatione non minima constitutum, et super quibusdam casibus contristatum recenter angustiari. Unde gladius compassionis animam nostram tanto pertransivit atrocius, quanto vos meritis exigentibus in caritate non ficta diligimus affectuosius. Sed benedictus [Deus] quod pro Ipso, Qui pro nobis in patibulo crucis passus est, digni habiti sumus contumeliam pati. Speramus enim quod, si compatimur, et conregnabimus, et Qui proprio Filio non pepercit, propter Filium flagellatos post flagella coronabit. Cæterum noveritis quod dominus archiepiscopus ad hoc modis omnibus instat, ut de his quæ inter nos et ipsum vertuntur, in regis et regni compromittamus arbitrium. Nec adhuc videtur ei sufficere, quod universa exteriora nobis abstulit, nisi manum suam adhuc extentam extendat ulterius. Unde per litteras vestras vestrum quantocius desideramus consilium, utrum debeamus ad aliquorum instantiam, sive pro timore expulsionis, sive pro alia urgentioris necessitatis causa, ante restitutionem ablatorum et malefactorum satisfactionem celebrare, aut sine priore et fratribus, qui ad curiam pro causa ista profecti sunt, compositioni alicui possimus consentire. Totius enim regni consensus contra nos regiæ voluntati consentit. Vos autem quod super hoc sentiatis, scire maturius desideramus. Dominus nobis vitam vestram conservet longiorem, et pacem quam desideratis in beneplacito Suo vobis conferre dignetur.

Cf. No. clxxxvii.

S. Luke ii. 35. 2 Cor. vi. 6.

2 Tim. ii. 12

The archbishop is trying to refer the cause to secular arbitration.

Cf. No. cxcix.

They ask his advice about a compromise.

March 5. CCV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.

The messengers of the convent arrived at the papal court, Feb. 27,

Suscepimus fratres nostros, gratia divina comitante, sanos et incolumes. Audivimus per eosdem quæ de novo pertulistis gravamina et injurias, et quamvis in afflictione vestra tam enormi vehementius moti sumus et afflicti, in augmento tamen meritorum vestrorum et gloriæ facti sumus sicut consolati. Sabbato ante Cineres ad nos venerunt qui destinati sunt, et

tertia feria sequenti proxima propositum est seriatim quod retulerunt, in communi domini papæ et cardinalium audientia. Qui cum summo pontifice in verbo quod audierunt intime confossi, remedium festinum malis tantis nostris pollicentur omnes et singuli. Spem itaque et fiduciam certam habemus, S. Luke i. 78. quod in proximo visitabit nos Oriens ex alto, Qui respicit Ps. xcii. 17. in orationem humilium, et non spernit precem eorum. Subito recessit harum bajulus, sabbato proximo postquam proposuimus, cum nondum deliberatio inter fratres habita aut in publicum processit, aut quod facturi sint conjectura aliqua consequi prævaluit. Unum ergo est quod interim desideramus et monemus, ut videlicet, in Domino Qui magnificavit facere vo- Ps. cxxvi. 3. biscum confortati, expectetis Eum, viriliter agatis et sustinere velitis; educet enim vinctos in fortitudine; vinctos in mendi- Ps. cvii. 10. citate et ferro, ad honorem proculdubio nominis Sui, ad salutem vestram, et posteritatis vestræ gloriam. Certum enim in proximo accipietis, Deo disponente, jocundum. Conservet in Eph. iv. 3. vobis Dominus unitatem Spiritus in vinculo pacis. Die qua emissæ sunt litteræ præsentes, venit ad nos R. puer noster, quem miseramus mortem domini Gregorii papæ vobis nunciare. Bene valete.

A.D. 1188. March 5. and on March 1 their news was laid before the pope and cardinals, f. 50 r°. who all promised a speedy remedy. The bearer returns on the 5th of March.

CCVI. Conventui Cantuariensi frater Humfridus monachus a Curia. March.

Gloriosa vestræ constantiæ simulque fervoris integritas, et vinculum sinceræ caritatis qua vobis astringor, iteratas vestræ paternitati litteras cum tota cordis affectione destinare coarctant, quæ utinam sic lectoris mœstitiam demulceant, et dies lætos adaugeant, sicut scriptoris affectat devotio, et jugi meditatione plenis suspirat desideriis. Vestris, proh dolor, Ezekiel ii. 10. ex partibus, nihil audivimus nisi carmen et væ. Vestræ vero calamitates et miseriæ nos in continuo frixorio languere compellunt. Quod cum beato Job lacrymantes dicimus, "Numquid Job x. 20. "non paucitas dierum nostrorum finietur brevi?" Sic itaque torquemur in anima. Trenis hujusmodi producimus [dies] dolorosos et noctes insomnes, flentes vobiscum et gementes, tanquam corpus unum et anima una. Sed putas, durabo? putas, videbo? putasne veniet dies illa, quæ finem nostris imponet miseriis? Hoc utique quandoque crederem affuturum, sed nostra persecutio nullam suscipit comparationem. Dum enim manum Pharaonis in populum Judaicum deliratam attendo, Judith v. 10. dum quod angarias in luto et latere cæterasque Israelitis afflictiones in Ægypto revolvo, videretur mihi Cantuariensis ecclesia consimili furoris impetu lacerari, pari sequentium

Brother Humfrey wishes to comfort the convent.

A.D. 1188. March. Brother Humfrey's lamentations.

impulsu, pari tribulationis ludibrio laborare, nisi modum excederet persecutorum immanitas, nisi eam hinc patris, hinc patroni argumentoso conspirationis jaculo niteretur impietas eviscerare. Quippe distribuantur tempora, et concordabit scriptura. Solus, inquam, Pharao pœnas Israelitis ante legem latam intentabat et aspera. Solus utique Pharao populum sibi rebellem, gentem quam enutriebat et exaltaverat, sub debitæ servitutis catena merito deprimebat, Judæum Gentilis, occultus disparitatem, et exitum ab Ægypto severius angustabat. Cantuariensem vero ecclesiam, dictu miserabile, hinc patronus expugnat, hinc pater extirpat, pater novercatur in filios, patro nus delirat in sbditos. Regnum et sacerdotium suas in ipsam exacuere sagittas, publica videlicet potestas, sacerdotalis dignitas; locum tam celebrem mutilare, personas Deo dignas exquisitis intendunt adinventionibus de medio populorum exterminare. O scelus detestabile! O peccatum inexoptabile! O criminis enormitas! sæculis præteritis inaudita! Quid enim sceleratius? quid immanius? quidve inimicius, quam in Christi sacerdotes insurgere, senes inermes et decrepitos debellare? A diabolo factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris. Si fuerint hæc inulta, si fuerint impunita, credimus esse Dominum? Absit. Sed quid dicam? Unde verebor? unde contremiscam? Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? Nonne sicut Deus Hebræos in manu forti et brachio extento, voluit mirabiliter expedire, ita et nos a laqueis venantium poterit liberare? Si misericorditer cum illis egerit Omnipotens, nonne et nobiscum hactenus mirifice operatus est? Ipsos equidem per Rubrum semel transvexit mare; sed enim nos et nuncios nostros vicibus infinitis per mare, per terras, per plana, per aspera absque impedimento hactenus transmeare curavit. Ubi etiam multi bonis suis spoliabantur, alii, dignitatis aut ordinis non habito respectu, vincula subibant et carceres, quidam in tenebris dehonestabantur; et nos evasimus manus eorum in nomine Domini. Et ut cætera omittamus ad præsens, in nostri prosecutione negotii, ita Suam hactenus in nostræ causæ tuitione visus est in omnibus exercuisse potestatem Omnipotens, tanquam diceretur, "Indurabo cor Pharaonis, et eruam populum meum de "manibus ejus in manu forti." Certe cum pane nostro multis diebus in dolore et amaritudine vesceremur, cumque chorus noster more desperantis canticum convertisset in luctum, et jam præ doloris angustia cithara nostra sua suspendisset organa, subito refrigeravit nos divina clementia, et quæ prius erat labrusca in vineam Sorech est alterata, et qui nobis erat potus amaritudinis conversus est in suavitatem dulcedinis. Dominus namque papa nos oculo benigniore intuetur, nostris

Ps. cxviii. 23.

Rom. viii. 31.

Lam. v. 15.

fo. 51 r°.

Isaiah xvii. 11.

compatitur ærumnis, et si qua fides est in homine, jura nostra conservabit illæsa, sicut ex post facto constabit, prout ab ipsius ore accepimus. Constanter præliamini prælia Domini Dei nostri. In brevi enim status alacrior vos comprehendet, et tale quid audietis, unde Deo propitiante jocunditatem et exultationem amplectemini, et fugiet dolor et gemitus. In adventu fratrum nostrorum tristes effecti sumus et læti; tristes, quia non nisi tristia nobis nunciabant; læti, quoniam ex eorum consortio mutuæ nobis consolationes propinantur, et plerumque dolorum cumulus alleviatur. Dominus dirigat actus vestros secundum beneplacitum Suum: et fratres nostros salutate.

A.D. 1188. March. The pope has promised a remedy.

Isaiah xxxv. 10.

CCVII. Conventui Cantuariensi Magister Eadmundus monachus a Curia. March.

Puer delicate nutritus, ludis assuetus et otiis, laborum amaritationes, dolorum symptomata penitus ignorat, donec eorum vicissitudinem rerum experientia plenius deprehenderit et memoriæ commendaverit. Cum autem adoleverit, et factus fuerit vir, quanti fuerit prior ætas! quam jocosa! quam deliciosa! Sæculum vanum, fortunæ lubricum incipit de cætero degustare, et pristinas repausationes deplorare. Ut autem argumentum a pari, si vobis daretur diutius in nido cum avibus impudenter latitare, deliciis more puerili torpere, necdum si vitæ tædia, si præmia tædiorum sint consecutiva sciretis, per notitiam nisi rerum præcedentium constaret argumentis. Sed quoniam utriusque fortunæ ventilabro sufficienter depasti estis, et ad præsens legitimo certamini totis viribus adhæsistis, lætis lætiores, beatis beatiores potestis deputari, quos ad moderna tempora reservavit divina clementia, quando pervium est et opportunum ut ponere vos murum et obicem possitis pro domo Israel. Multi vero patrum vestrorum voluerunt videre quæ vos videtis, et audire quæ vos auditis, sed non est eis datum desuper, nec "cuivis hominum contingit adire "Corinthum." Benedictus igitur Deus, Qui vos in area sua voluit desudare ad triturandum, in vinea sua maturius invitare. Benedictus etiam Deus Qui fratres nostros, si qui fuerint debiles et infirmi, in vestra stabilitatis constantia robustos facit et ferventes. His siquidem temporibus granum separatur a palea, reprobus declinat consortia justorum, et quid intus latuerit, producet in lucem gentium. Clamant elementa, clamant superiora et inferiora, nimis esse prodigiosum, satis admiratione dignum, quod tam subtili depressionis aculeo, sponsus tam exquisitis adinventionibus sponsam eviscerare,

Master Edmund warns the convent of the uses of experience.

S. Matt. xiii. 17.

Horace, *Epist.* I. xvii. 36.

A.D. 1188. March.

pater in filios inhumane nititur debacchare. Sed nec his temporibus tam enormia tam inaudita contigissent, nisi filius ille perditionis vel jam revelatus, vel in proximo foret revelandus. 2 Thess. ii. 3.

These must be the last times, and the Man of sin about to be revealed.

Verum etsi nos simus in quos fines sæculorum devenerunt, ne tamen de nobis in posterum mali sumatur exemplum, armis devotionum et orationum fortiter est præliandum, versutiis hostium confidenter resistendum, ne prævaleat adversus nos homo, ne nostrum defectum vel inertiam posteritas nostra merito debeat lamentare, et de nobis illud propheticum debeat adimpleri, "Patres comederunt uvam acerbam, et dentes "filiorum obstupescunt." 1 Cor. x. 11. Ezek. xviii. 2.

Quid vero famosius, quid etiam favorabilius, quam Suæ Syon libertates et jura conservare, eidem indemnitatibus usque ad capitis detruncationem fideliter indulgere? Tam primi siquidem patrum nostrorum, quam novissimi, hujusmodi dispendiis, talibus commerciis, laudem sibi adquisierunt et gloriam. Numquid nos degeneres? Numquid inter omnes mundi nationes fæx hominum et abjectio plebis reputabimur? Ps. xxii. 6.

Absit ut cum tam vili discrimine incurramus opprobrium sempiternum, et ita simus risus populorum et fabula transeuntium per viam. Cæterum, sicut difficile est ut bono exitu peragantur quæ malo sunt inchoata principio, sic a contrario sensu perrarum est et impossibile, ut quod initium sortitum est laudabile, jocundo defraudetur effectu. Vos igitur in conspectu Dei et hominum gratiose hactenus dimicastis, fidem servastis, et agonem, cum Deus voluerit, explere potestis. Sed quid confert opus inchoare et ab incepto desistere? Modicum aut nihil. Melius est enim viam veritatis non agnoscere, quam post agnitam retroire. Quid plura? Cui promittitur a Deo triumphus? Præmium perseveranti legitime decertanti; secundum illud, "Vincenti dabo edere de ligno "vitæ;" et alibi, "Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic "salvus erit." Quoniam ergo beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, sic per tribulationes multas et malas discurrere in ea fidei constantia, per ignem et aquam transire decertemus, quatenus bravium promissum evincere et locum refrigerii, lucis et quietis, cum beatis consequi mereamur. Bene valete, et pauperis Humfridi jugem habete memoriam.[1]

He exhorts to perseverance.

fo. 51 v°.

2 S. Pet. ii. 21. Rev. ii. 7. S. Matt. xxiv. 17. S. Matt. v. 10.

[1] It is not improbable, considering this postscript and the reference to the last times in the body of the letter, that it was written by Humfrey, and No. CCVI. by Edmund. Cf. No. CXCV.

CCVIII. Honorio priori et sociis Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1188. March.

In tribulatione et angustia invenerunt nos mandata vestra, sed visis rescriptis litterarum domini papæ, quæ in manu præsentium latoris pervenerunt, facti sumus sicut consolati, quia spem, de curia Romana pene desperati, recepimus. In arcto siquidem et corpore et anima sumus constituti. Sunt enim nobis quotidie intus timores, et foris pugnæ. Affligunt enim nos fratrum afflictorum gemitus et lacrymæ, hostium nostrorum machinationes et insidiæ, principum et potestatum terrores et violentiæ, et "causa valentior istis, anxietas animi" nos gravat, immo premit. Dominus siquidem archiepiscopus opportune et importune instare non cessat, ut regia manu supprior tanquam excommunicatus capiatur, et ut in arbitrium regis et regni nos et negotium nostrum poneremus. Minantur nobis adversarii nostri, quod et plurimum timemus, archiepiscopum, scilicet, in manu valida venturum, nisi ad nutum ejus absque satisfactione celebrare voluerimus, nobis expulsis clericos suos aut alios faciet in ecclesia nostra missas facere, quod nullatenus quoad vixerimus poterimus sustinere. Eapropter necesse est, ut quamcitius nobis subvenire studeatis. Hoc autem scitote, quod si a faucibus mortis debemus liberari, terminus et pœna tortoribus nostris interminanda est. Quod si nec sic ab oppressione nostra cessaverint, domino Bathoniensi et abbati de Waltham committenda est executio cum potestate interdicendi provinciam aut partem provinciæ, donec mandatum apostolicum mancipetur effectui. De depositis factum est ut imperastis. In expensis vobis pro posse nostro providimus et providebimus, sed et si quidem prodesse credideritis, ne parcatis expensis. Rogerus Norreis, qui quoniam nobis non erat necessarius, per necessaria exivit immundus, in quibuscunque potest nos et ecclesiam persequitur, et secreta nostra malitiose revelat. Nuncios pro timore insidiantium vobis duplicavimus, quod et vos similiter facere omnimodis rogamus. Si dominus archiepiscopus eos de quorum eleemosynis vivimus, causa nostri in aliquo gravare voluerit, per dominum papam aliquod procurate remedium; sed et futuris temporibus contra similia si forte acciderint, quod Deus avertat, per privilegia ecclesiam præmunire non esset inutile, ne malitia nos persequentium processu temporis traheretur ad consequentiam. Valete.

2 Cor. vii. 5.

Ovid, *Ep. ex Ponto*, I. x. 36.

The convent have received a copy of the pope's letter of Jan. 26. (No. cxciii.)

The archbishop is urging the arrest of the subprior, and insists on our accepting an arbitration. We are threatened with expulsion.

Let the execution of the mandate be entrusted to the bishop of Bath and the abbot of Waltham, with power to put the province under interdict.

Roger Norreys has escaped.

CCIX. Conventui Cantuariensi frater Johannes.

About March 17.

Cum per mille mortes Romam nos perduxisset Dominus, laborum requiem putabamur invenisse. Verum enarratis et enumeratis injuriis in audientia domini papæ et cardinalium, quas passi sumus, adversarii coram positi tam constanter

Cf. Nos. cxcvii. and ccv.

Brother John has reached Rome. (Feb. 27.)

A.D. 1188. About March 17. In the presence of the pope, our enemies give us the lie, and charge us with closing the church against the archbishop.

quam mendaciter omnia in nos refuderunt. Prius enim litteras domini archiepiscopi receperant, quas et habebant præ manibus, in quibus continebatur, quod ipsi a transmarinis partibus venienti portas ecclesiæ suæ clausistis, organa vestra in confusionem ejus suspendentes, nec secundum ecclesiæ consuetudinem solemniter eum recipere voluistis, sed quod aliæ et quæ non tenebantur ecclesiæ honoris et obsequii impenderunt, soli vos qui magis tenebamini, irreverenter denegastis. Super quibus injuriis domino papæ multum conquestus, ut ei justitiam exhiberet attentius supplicabat, obsecrans ne cui aliud asserenti fidem haberet, aut in præjudicium ejus, nisi re plenius cognita, quicquam statueret. Nobis autem rem, ut enarravimus, docere paratis, quamvis fides habita est ab hominibus, non videbatur tamen contra absentem admittenda probatio. Hinc est quod adversariorum astutia tum pollicente majora, tum proponente contraria, majorem recepit quam sperabamus dilationem. Ut enim vobis loquamur, Romæ omnes Romanos inveni, et dominus papa Romanus est, natione videlicet, et genere. Nec miremur si Romani sint indigenæ, quia ex curiæ qualitate etiam alienigenæ Romani fiunt. Papa ergo sæpius opportune importune requisitus, se nihil dixit posse facere, donec responsum litterarum quas archiepiscopo direxerat recepisset, præcipue cum in illis et opus demoliri, et omnia in statum pristinum redigi præcepisset et reduci, nec minus corrigere tenetur ex earum tenore dominus archiepiscopus quæ recenter commiserat, quam quæ olim præsumpsisse dinoscitur. In hoc verbo stetit, nec aliqua supplicatione nostra moveri potuit. Institimus ut in murorum effractores et eos qui bona ecclesiæ diripuerunt, vel curiam detinent occupatam, excommunicationis ferret sententiam, suspensis presbyteris parochialibus, qui post appellationem, et contra sedis apostolicæ indulgentiam, quam in synodo audierant, vos aut vobis consentientes excommunicare præsumpserunt. Qui ad instantiam nostram vix tandem concessit quod per harum bajulum accepistis, nimis tepide, ut videtur, injurias Christi et ecclesiæ tam enormes prosecutus. Verumtamen, si credi potest, non deerit nobis in causæ nostræ justitia. Quod autem aliter quam vellemus vel minus aliquid positum est, non tam de inaffectione domini papæ, quam de adversariorum nequitia, simul et potentia, procedit. Ad omnia enim quæ confingunt, testibus abundant subornatis, ut non sit quasi minor læsio quam ex mendaciis eorum patimur, quam malorum numerus quæ in vos machinantur, qui miserunt ipsos. Cæterum speramus in Domino quia mendacia eorum tandem prævalere non poterunt. Veritas enim liberabit nos. Multa haberem vobis dicere, "sed non est mora libera nobis." Valete. Salutate nobis, si placet, fratres nostros omnes et singulos, et memores estote nostri in orationibus vestris.

We have found nothing at Rome but Romans; even the pope himself is a Roman, and will not proceed boldly against the archbishop.

fo. 52 r°.

We have succeeded in getting a mandate for the excommunication of those who broke into and held the court of the convent. (No. ccxiii.)

Cf. No. clxxvi.

The enemies suborn witnesses; but the Truth shall make us free.

S. John viii. 32.

Ovid, *Met.* ii. 143.

CCX. Honorius prior Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori.

A.D. 1188 March.

Angunt nos angustiæ et anxietates vestræ, quas et nostras reputamus, scientes quod multum a se discrepant patientis sensus et compatientis affectus; ille etenim sentiendo quod urget affligitur, iste cruciatus alienos miseretur, sciens magis quod patitur alter quam sentiens. Novimus omnes quam acerbum sit uri, sed admotus igni solus sentit ardorem. Confidimus autem in Domino, quoniam in eo quod pro veritate cœpistis permanebitis in hilaritate animi, quantum patitur humana mortalitas, suscipientes quicquid mœroris tempestas instans ministrabat, non habentes tantummodo sed et aliis dantes animum. Quia vero super hujusmodi nobis scripsistis, notum vobis facimus, dominum papam Clementem domini Urbani imitatorem esse, et ejus in omnibus adorare vestigia; vias vero Gregorii non attendere. Audacter itaque utimini omnibus quæ ille indulsit, quia iste nec unum eorum infirmabit. Indulgentiam nobis idcirco extremam, sicut petitis, non reconfirmat, quia non solent hujusmodi indulta temporaliter innovari, nec viribus carere possunt usque ad tempus, nisi de speciali fuerint infirmata mandato. Unde et cum peteremus ut sententiam in vos et alios post appellationes latam denunciaret non tenere, respondit nullam eum ferre potuisse, et quod nemo ignorat apicibus supervacue apostolicis committere. Hinc est quod in litteris quas domino archiepiscopo misit pro reformando statu nostro, non dixit *quos post appellationem excommunicasti*, sed *excommunicare voluisti*, videlicet ostendens eum promptam forte habuisse voluntatem, sed ejus in omni suspensam esse potestatem. Itaque timores adversariorum ne timueritis, neque multum attendatis verba eorum. In proximo enim retribuet vobis Dominus secundum justitiam vestram, et eorum superbia finem quem semper solet sortietur, ignominiam. Quod aliquid contra nos impetretur, non multum formidamus. Quidam enim de ordine nostro monachus Johannes dictus, quasi vicecancellarius factus, diligentissime observat, ne quid possit a cancellaria sine conscientia nostra emanare. Notarios præterea Gregorianos nobis semper infestos omnes eliminavit summus pontifex, ordinem Cisterciensium etiam et dominum Albanensem minus amplectens. Cui noveritis nos [annulum] secundum[1] beati Thomæ contulisse, quem et gratanter accepit et frequenter gestat in digito. Gaudemus aliud par litterarum domini papæ ad vos pervenisse, cum aliud interceptum fuerit.

The prior counts the sufferings of the subprior as his own, but tries to cheer him.

Pope Clement treads in the footsteps of pope Urban.

He refuses to annul the sentences issued by the archbishop, as they are ipso facto null.

Ps. xviii. 24.

We have a friend in the chancery named John, who will see that no instrument passes against us without our knowledge.

The pope has accepted St. Thomas's ring.

[1] An ancient marginal note supplies *annulum*, which is omitted in the MS.

A.D. 1188. April 1.

CCXI. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.

The prior thanks God for the patience of the convent.

Quantumcunque in afflictionibus vestris angustiati et afflicti, gratias tamen semper agimus Deo pro omnibus vobis, quibus de munere largitatis Ejus datum est, non solum ut credatis in Eum, sed ut patiamini pro Eo. Multi quippe Phil. i. 29. fidem habere videntur, sed paucos eam in tribulationibus contingit comprobare. Ad tempus enim credunt, et in tem- S. Luke viii. 13. pore tentationis recedunt. Pernecessarium est autem martyrum gloriæ, ut sicut fortes in fide, ita longanimes in spe et perseverantes sint in caritate, quatenus ab ea nec persecutione separentur, nec morte, nec gladio. Et quidem hæc omnia in vobis, unde et lætum factum est in dolore cor nostrum, supra spem multorum conspicua fuerunt, adeo ut super constantia vestra miretur omnis mundus. Cæterum dicitis, operibus opus est, non sermone. Non quærit loquentem æger medicum sed curantem. Et nos pro certo solliciti sumus morbo quo laboratis medicinam citius ferre competentem.

fo. 52 v°. He explains the obstacles he meets with in the cause, and the opposition of the English at the court.

Verum multa sunt quæ obstant et impediunt. Inprimis nuncii domini Cantuariensis, qui contradictionibus et contentionibus dediti, et confingere sunt subtiles et adinventiones suas periti proponere, et quæ asserunt parati testibus comprobare. Quotquot enim de gente nostra ad curiam Romanam veniunt, eis ad omnia quæ jusserint testes assistunt. Hostes itaque publicos nominant, non tantum eos qui contra ipsos mutire audent, sed et omnes qui causam domini regis et archiepiscopi fovere contemnunt. Quibus accedit quod cum utriusque litteras tum ad dominum papam, tum ad cardinales pro causa quam agunt destinatas frequenter accipiant, etiam

The king of Apulia is a powerful adversary; and so are the Roman nobles.

regem Apuliæ, quem dominus papa inter principes magis diligit, propitium habent, qui ad regis nostri petitionem pro domino Cantuariensi affectuose supplicat, et nuncios transmittit. Nobiliores quoque Romani ad ejusdem instantiam pro Cantuariensi summum pontificem, ut dicitur, sollicitare non cessant. Quid ergo dicemus ad hæc? nisi quod subjungit Rom. viii. 31. scriptura. "Si Deus pro nobis, etc." "Astiterunt reges Ps. ii. 2. "terræ, et principes convenerunt in unum," sed contra quem? Numquid non adversus Dominum? Immo. Ipse enim ait, "Qui vos spernit, Me spernit, et qui tangit vos tangit pupil- Zech. ii. 8. "lam oculi Mei." Non est dubium quin et inferiores congrediantur et impares, quia non est fortis sicut Deus noster, 1 Sam. ii. 2. nec vobis aliquatenus aut nobis diffidendum, quia Christus vincit. Ecce enim Cujus sensimus hucusque justitiam, facturus videtur nobiscum in proximo secundum misericordiam

Suam. Nam cum dimicaverit contra nos orbis terrarum, et adversarii nostri in nos omne malitiæ suæ venenum effuderint, sagittæ parvulorum factæ sunt plagæ eorum. Et in proxima sequenti septimana salutem nobis fore speramus. Præsentium vero bajulus kalendis Aprilis recessit a nobis, per quem idcirco non mandamus quid vobis agendum, vel qualiter utendum sit impetratis, quia si modum præscriberemus, impedire vos magis videremur quam præstare consilium, quod enim competeret dum scribimus, mutandum forte esset cum accipitis. Unde vobis omnia secundum quod Deus dederit, pro loco, tempore, et causa, et variis rerum circumstantiis moderanda relinquimus.

A.D. 1188. April 1.

Ps. lxiv. 7.

He does not know what advice to give until the pope's decision comes out.

CCXII. Honorius prior Gaufrido suppriori.

After March 17.

Quod aliis indicare non expedit, infirma nostri, videlicet, intima, fidei vestræ audacter intimamus. Adversarii nostri justitiam nostram potenter impediunt. Quæ enim loquuntur falsa docere parati, ut nos exterminent, pecuniam infinitam promittunt. Quippe de nostro nos confundere conantur. Cæterum quamvis cum illis in quantitate munerum non valeamus contendere, tamen quia sine his non potest causa duci, malumus et quæ non habemus effundere, quam sumptibus parcendo perpetuæ nos subdere servituti. Minus sobrium esset, cum parati videamur animas nostras pro ecclesiæ nostræ defensione ponère, in corruptela pecuniæ parciores esse. Nolite solliciti esse de nobis. Consuevimus aliquando abundare, discimus ad præsens penuriam pati. Confortate igitur fratres nostros, scindetur enim, Deo volente, sine mora quam patimur difficultas; si prosperaverit Dominus quod agimus, et quod tempore Suo vobis innotescet, tribulationes vestræ finem habent, et machina contra Cantuariensem ecclesiam nequiter erecta dissipabitur. Nolite solliciti esse neque suspensi, conjiciendo super hoc vel cogitando. In proximo scietis. Nondum erat certum aliquid quod vobis scriberetur, cum litteræ præsentes exirent a nobis. Orate interim, ut opera manuum nostrarum dirigat super nos Dominus. Si violentia quæ vobis infertur ad aliquid vos pertraxerit quod non expediat, cavete tamen ne juri vestro aliquando renuncietis. Litteras domini papæ quas per præsentium latorem accipitis, publicare curate, non enim de personis quibus scribitur multum confidimus, sed satis est eos qui violentiam intulerunt, quam in eos dominus papa tulit audisse sententiam. In qua non tantum eos involutos credimus qui interiora invaserunt, sed qui possessiones exteriores sunt ingressi. Nec videbatur

The prior intimates secretly to the subprior that he must have a greater supply of money.

Phil. iv. 12.

Ps. xc. 17.

This letter is accompanied by a papal mandate for the excommunication of the aggressors.

A.D. 1188. After March 17.

tamen consiliosum malefactores illos designari ex nomine; qui autem fuerint, evidentia facti melius declarabit. Quod vobis minus mandamus hac vice, nuncius qui subsequitur supplebit sufficienter, qui per Dei gratiam præsentibus longe proferet potiora. Valete.

March 17.

CCXIII. Clemens papa priori de Faversham et magistro Farremanno.[1]

The pope authorizes the prior of Faversham and Master Farreman to excommunicate the persons who have broken into the monastery.

Horrendi facinoris detestanda præsumptio vehementer animum nostrum pro sui atrocitate commovit, ut illos debitæ severitatis jaculo feriamus, qui more prædonum ecclesiæ Cantuariensis possessiones nequiter invaserunt, vel in septa curiæ monachorum et officinas, effractis muris crudeliter irruentes, eorum bona sacrilego ausu diripuisse noscuntur; eos quoque qui monachis et hominibus eorum violentiam inferentes curiam ipsis contradicentibus occupaverint. Unde, quoniam prædictorum fratrum injurias dissimulare nec possumus nec debemus, quibus tanto benignius in suo jure tenemur adesse, quanto in partibus Anglicanis majori præminent honestate, præsumptores qui tam enormis sacrilegii facinus admiserunt, et eorum complices, usque ad satisfactionem condignam auctoritate præsentium decernimus anathemati subjacere, per apostolica scripta vobis præcipiendo mandantes, quatenus ipsos, si admoniti noluerint congrue satisfacere, excommunicatos, sicut moris est, contradictione et appellatione cessante, solemniter et publice nuncietis, et faciatis ab omnibus cautius evitari; attentius provisuri, ne, quod absit, ex desidia vestra in hac parte mandatum apostolicum negligatur; quia grave nobis esset modis omnibus et molestum, nec possemus æquanimiter sustinere. Quod si ambo his exequendis nequiveritis interesse, alter vestrum eam nihilominus exequatur. Datum Laterani, xvi. kal. Aprilis, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

fo. 53 r°.

There is to be no appeal.

May 28.

CCXIV. Clemens papa Conventui Cantuariensi.

The pope informs the convent that the archbishop's

Ad audientiam apostolatus nostri pervenit, quod venerabilis frater noster archiepiscopus vester, post appellationem ad nos interpositam, et contra indulgentiam sedis apostolicæ vobis

[1] Gervase, 1321 and 1530. This letter was brought from Rome in three weeks and four days; it seems to have arrived at Canterbury on Good Friday, April 15.

concessam, in suppriorem et ei consentientes excommunicationis sententiam promulgare præsumpsit, et fecit ab aliis promulgari. Unde volumus et mandamus, ut sententiam taliter latam, sicut quæ nullius momenti est, minime teneatis, nec ei in aliquo deferre curetis. Datum Laterani, v. kal. Junii; pontificatus nostri anno primo. A.D. 1188. May 28. sentence against the subprior is void.

CCXV. Clemens papa clero et populo Anglicano. May 30.

Ad audientiam nostram pervenit, quod venerabilis frater noster archiepiscopus vester, post appellationem ad nos interpositam, et contra indulgentiam sedis apostolicæ priori et conventui Cantuariensi concessam, in suppriorem et ei consentientes excommunicationis sententiam promulgare præsumpsit. Unde volumus ut sententiam taliter latam, sicut quæ nullius momenti est, minime teneatis, nec eos propter hoc evitetis. Datum Laterani, iii. kal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno primo. The pope informs the clergy and laity of England that the archbishop's sentence against the subprior is void.

CCXVI. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi. After March 17.

Gratias agimus Deo et coram Eo gratulamur in gratia quæ manifestata est in vobis ex virtute Jesu Christi, ut videlicet patientia vestra probatior facta sit auro quod per ignem probatur. Mirantur impii, gaudent sancti, quod tantam tot simul capita virtutem expresserint, nec tantum hominum, sed et gaudium Domini est fortitudo vestra. Nec sinceritati vestræ casum unius nævum putatis inducere, sed magis ex infirmitate debilium stantibus augeri virtutem. Justus enim manus suas lavat in sanguine peccatoris, et profuit sæpe multis ad innocentiæ majoris meritum, quod erratum contemplati sunt alienum. A vobis exiit qui non erat ex vobis, cujus non minus longe lateque diffusa est ignominia, quam fama certaminis in quo stetistis aut gloria. Stare itaque in agone Christiano etiam nunc hortamur, quantum virtus humana permiserit, immo quantum divina dederit. Aliud vobis aliquando scriberemus, nisi hoc unum esset necessarium. Scimus equidem multum per omnem modum cruciatibus vestris adjicere, quod vestrum tamdiu differtur desiderium. Verum in Domino confidimus quod, licet ad purgationem nostram vel probationem majorem Deo dispensante differatur, "grata superveniet quæ non sperabitur hora." Convertetur enim, et ignoscet Deus et relinquet post Se benedictionem. In proximo aspirante gratia de cœlo vobis provenire speramus adjutorium, nec ulterius posse differri: si

1 S. Pet. i. 7.

Ps. lviii. 9.

1 S. John ii. 19.

Hor. *Epist.* I. iv. 14.

Joel ii. 14.

The prior extols the patience of the convent.

Roger Norreys may be useful as a warning.

He continues to have hopes.

A.D. 1188. After March 17. The pope has expressed a strong determination to do justice.

quis vos conturbat, apostolicis præsumpserit contraire vel non obedire mandatis. Dixit enim dominus papa, et replicavit audientibus adversariis, "Opus ipsum præcepimus demoliri, "clericos loci illius suspendimus, excommunicavimus, et ex- "communicamus; jussimus ablata reddi et in statum pris- "tinum omnia reformari; sic jubemus et volumus." Securi ergo indulgentiis domini Urbani utimini, et illa quam ultimo indulsit, ne scilicet sententiæ domini archiepiscopi, si quam pendente lite ferre præsumeret, in aliquo deferretis. De cætero, publicata domini papæ quam in effractores et hujusmodi tulit, sententia, divina celebrare non differatis; sive autem quibus demandatum est sententiam denuncient, sive non, vos diligentius providete ut omnibus publicetur. De aliis quæ necessaria vobis credimus, prout proposuimus, Deus disponat. Valete, et consolatio Spiritus Sancti habitet vobiscum.

He advises the monks to resume divine service.

About March 17.

CCXVII. Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus priori de Faversham.

The bishop of Ostia presses on the prior of Faversham fo. 53 v°. the duty of executing the pope's mandate.

Apud honestos animos ut id agant quod honestas approbat, satis est modica suadela, neque verendum periclitari justitiam apud justitiæ amatores. Adhibemus tamen plerumque suffragia precum ad executionis stimulum, in hoc mores gerentes amicis, qui causas suas nostra sperant commendatione juvari. Unde quia vos, Deo teste, sincere diligimus, in hoc vobis volumus fore prospectum, quatenus super negotio carissimi ac specialis amici nostri prioris Cantuariensis, fratrumque suorum, cujus vobis commissa est executio, ita vos constantem et cornutum arietem exhibeatis, ut zelus et instantia vestra merito debeat commendari. Si enim, quod absit, simultatis ac desidiæ vos nota resperserit, profecto deinceps opinio vestra languebit, nosque ac cæteri amici vestri incipiemus non bonam de vobis æstimationem habere. Negotium enim eorum omnino proprium reputamus, unde et habemus experiri qualiter in præfato negotio, non dicimus ipsis, immo nobis in ipsis astiteritis. Certe pro nobis facietis et honori vestro ac commodo prospicietis.

If he neglects to do so, he will be disgraced.

After April 24.

CCXVIII. Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo prior de Faversham.

The prior of Faversham, in answer to No. ccxvii., informs the bishop of Ostia that he has done

Susceptis nuper sanctitatis vestræ apicibus, quibus me super negotio Cantuariensis ecclesiæ vestra exhortari dignata est dilectio, habita consideratione ad malitiam temporis, quæ multa est in partibus Anglicanis, in negotio prædicto processi, non tamen eo usque quo volui, sed quatenus ad præsens potui.

Sane ecclesia illa, quæ totius Occidentis ordinis et honestatis forma et exemplum hucusque extitit, quam etiam Dominus in tempore nostro longe ante alias quadam singularitatis prærogativa decoravit, non solum his diebus contra principatus et potestates, sed etiam pugnare habet ad bestias, quia non est dolor sicut dolor ejus. Cum enim denunciata esset domini papæ sententia, quam in malefactores illos tulerat, qui bona monachorum diripuerunt, et muris eorum effractis, curiam, villas et possessiones eorum invaserunt, presbyteri Cantuarienses sententiam domini papæ denunciaverunt non tenere, nec ei in aliquo debere deferri, sed et ipsi excommunicatis communicantes exemplum novi schismatis in ecclesia Dei inducentes, quosdam pauperes et imperitos etiam, sacramento ab eis extorto, excommunicatis communicare coegerunt. Sed et nepos gloriosi martyris Thomæ, Radulfus nomine, cum quibusdam civibus Cantuariensibus et aliis, in carcerem et custodiam publicam projecti sunt, quia excommunicatos evitare præsumpserunt. Si autem nepoti martyris, cujus sanguis adhuc recens est, non parcitur, cui de cætero parcetur? Verumtamen super patientia et dissimulatione summi pontificis in tantis et tam manifestis ecclesiæ eidem, immo sedi apostolicæ, irrogatis injuriis, non solum tota occidentalis obstupescit et admiratur ecclesia, sed et clamor populi utriusque regni jam ascendit in cœlum. A sæculo enim inauditum est viros religiosos a fidelibus ita tractari, quorum etiam unanimitatem et constantiam dum orbis noster admirari non sufficit, prædicare non desinit, divinæ majestatis ascribens miraculo, quod in tenebris occidentalibus inventi sunt qui non curvaverunt genua sua ante Baal, sed elegerunt ponere animas pro fratribus suis. Eapropter pietatis vestræ pedibus provolutus, pro Cantuariensi ecclesia preces porrigo affectuosas, ut causam ipsius quam vestram reputatis, fovere dignemini, pro certo scientes, et id ipsum domino papæ, si placet, suggerentes, quod nisi maturius Cantuariensem ecclesiam in statum suum restituerit, tota occidentalis ecclesia, et maxime monachorum religio, perpetua sub oppressione lugebit.

Eph. vi. 12. 1 Cor. xv. 32. Lam. i. 12.

1 Kings xix. 18.

A.D. 1188. After April 24.

what he could.

When the sentence of the pope was published, the priests of Canterbury declared it void, and communicated with the excommunicate.

They have imprisoned Ralph, the nephew of St. Thomas.

The pope acts with unheard of apathy.

He entreats the continued favour of the bishop of Ostia for the convent.

CCXIX. Honorio priori et sociis Conventus Cantuariensis.

After April 23.

No. ccxiii.

Litteras domini papæ de excommunicatione malefactorum feria sexta in Parasceue recepimus. In crastino vero per priorem de Faversham et magistrum Farremannum in pulpito admoniti sunt, ut ad satisfactionem venirent. Secunda admonitio facta est feria tertia. Tertia admonitio facta est feria quinta. Ea die magister Farremannus timens tunicæ suæ

The pope's mandate arrived at Canterbury April 15, and the aggressors were admonished on the 16th, 19th, and 21st.

A.D. 1188. After April 23. Master Farreman went to London to consult the king, who forbade him to proceed to execution.

Londonias profectus est, ad regem, ut eum super hoc consuleret. Extorsimus tamen interim ab eo litteras ad priorem de Faversham de ratihabitione in executione mandati. Misimus etiam cum magistro Farremanno, ut responsum regis nobis citius et secretius significaret, quod et factum est. Rex vero magistro Farremanno respondit, quod nullatenus procederet, sicut in terra sua vellet remanere. Scripsit etiam rex abbati de Faversham et priori super hoc comminatorias et dehortatorias litteras. Sed prior litteras regis prævenit in maturitate, et clamavit in pulpito, sabbato, octavis Paschæ, denuncians omnes excommunicatos a domino papa, qui murum fregerunt et officinas nostras, et qui victualia nostra asportaverunt, et omnes illos qui curiam, villas, redditus et possessiones detinerent occupatas, et omnes eorum complices et eis consentientes. Nos vero subsequentes quosdam eorum nominavimus, scilicet principatus et potestates operis [nefandi. Illud autem scitote, quod omnium adversariorum nostrorum immaniores et pejores sunt proprii servi nostri. Quorum signifer est pistor Godefridus, vir Belial, et Johannes coquus, et Willelmus Vigil, Gilebertus clericus, Jun de Bertona, Thomas Croc, pene omnes alii qui contra nos juramentum fecerunt. Hi vero quorum nomina expressimus non solum malà de nobis loquuntur sed faciunt. Sed quicquid in rebus vel redditibus absconditum habemus, inimicis nostris exponunt. Valete.

But the prior of Faversham executed the mandate on the 23rd.

fo. 54 r°.

CCXX. Baldewino archiepiscopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

About Maundy Thursday, April 14. The convent hearing that the archbishop was in Wales, sent to the bishop of Rochester for the chrism; but he refused to give it without authority from the archbishop; wherefore they appeal to the pope.

Adventum vestrum, pater reverende, speravimus et expectavimus, et quod a remotis partibus, in quibus moram fecistis, vicinius acceleretis, ut ad vos et liberum possemus habere accessum, et ea a vobis recipere, quæ vestrum spectant ad officium. Sed cum in extremis finibus Walliæ vos moram facere crebro commeantium relatu audiremus, misimus ad dominum Rofensem, ut more ab eo vice vestra chrisma, aliis per provinciam dividendum ecclesiis, reciperemus. Qui se super hoc vestrum non habuisse mandatum respondit, nec id nobis aliquatenus absque vestri auctoritate mandati se nobis traditurum asseruit. Unde paternitati vestræ omnes et singuli supplicamus attentius, quatenus eidem episcopo detis in mandatis, ut nobis chrisma aliis distribuendum ecclesiis conferat; ne status ecclesiæ, prout dominus papa præcipit vobis, in aliquo immutetur. Et quia in multis contra juris formam et domini papæ præceptum post appellationem status ecclesiæ immutatus est, noveritis nos super hoc specialiter appellasse, ne chrisma scilicet contra morem ecclesiæ, aliis quam nobis dividendum

committatur, vel alibi quam in ecclesia Cantuariensi dividatur, vel ab aliquo aliunde recipiatur. Valeat paternitas vestra in Domino. A.D. 1188. About April 14.

CCXXI. Gilberto Roffensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis. About April 14.

Quoniam in omnibus calamitatibus nostris et miseriis, quas tanto certius quanto vicinius cognovistis, vos consolatorem benevolum et amicum devotum invenimus, de dilectionis vestræ plenitudine spem et fiduciam pleniorem concepimus. Unde ad vos, tamquam ad fratrem et filium Cantuariensis ecclesiæ spiritualem, præsentium latores J. et A. transmittimus, rogantes ut per eos chrisma nobis de more mittatis, nec aliquatenus super hoc molesti nobis esse velitis. Non enim discretionem vestram ignorare credimus, quam pium et pretiosum sit in conspectu Domini subvenire afflictis, et ab eorum qui undique oppressi sunt abstinere injuriis. Cæterum dilectionem vestram nosse volumus, quod cum post passionem beati martyris Thomæ, aliis non cessantibus, cessaremus, a prædecessore vestro more solito chrisma aliis ecclesiis distribuendum recepimus. Quod et modo ne aliter fiat, cum sub alis et protectione domini papæ, non solum appellationis remedio, sed et de nihil immutando circa statum monasterii ad dominum archiepiscopum de novo facto mandato, dilectioni vestræ omnes et singuli supplicamus attentius. Hoc enim in præjudicium nostrum et ecclesiæ, et domini papæ contemptum, plurimum redundare videretur, nec nos aliquatenus id fieri vobis, qui estis quasi unus ex nobis, æquanimiter possemus sustinere. A sæculo enim inauditum quod aliis quam nobis chrisma commissum fuit dividendum, vel alibi quam in ecclesia nostra divisum. Et ne ad præsens aliis quam nobis distribuendum committatur aut recipiatur, vel alibi quam in ecclesia nostra dividatur, domini papæ præsentiam appellavimus et appellamus. Valete semper in Domino.

The convent sends to the bishop of Rochester for the chrism; reminding him that his predecessor had furnished it after the death of St. Thomas. They have appealed to the pope on the subject.

CCXXII. Honorio priori et fratribus Conventus Cantuariensis. After April 23.

Tertia die postquam R. nuncium a nobis emisimus, misit nobis dominus archiepiscopus chrisma de Wallia, per Laurentium clericum vice archiepiscopi. Scripserat autem dominus archiepiscopus magistro R. et prædicto Laurentio, sicut ex tenore transcripti inspeximus, quod plurimum mirabatur super eo quod juxta consuetudinem per parochiam suam non

The convent have received the chrism from the archbishop.

A.D. 1188. After April 23. They inform the prior that no respect is shown to the papal sentence.

fuerat distributum. Quapropter chrisma illis transmisit, ut ipsi facerent illud per illos distribuere, per quos solebat distribui. Et si monachi Cantuarienses illud nollent distribuere, illud sollicitius providerent ut distribueretur. Nondum tamen quando hæc facta sunt, A. subsacrista, quem ad dominum archiepiscopum propter chrisma et propter litterarum domini papæ responsum misimus, reversus fuit. Noveritis præterea quod illi qui ab executoribus denunciati sunt excommunicati in genere in nullo deferunt sententiæ ; sed et quidam eorum post denunciationem sententiæ celebrare etiam in capella curiæ nostræ non verentur, sed et horis incompetentibus, clamoribus et inquietudine et improbitate sua conventum irritare et molestare non cessant. Cæterum necesse est ut dominum papam consulatis quam citius, utrum nos vel ipsi quibus demandata est sententiæ denunciatio, possint post denunciationem sententiæ malefactores illos, si ad satisfactionem venerint, absolvere, absque domini papæ super hoc speciali mandato. Consulimus enim, tam nos quam ipsi, super hoc sapientes et legis peritos, qui omnes unanimiter dicunt quod nos nec ipsi, quibus mandatum est, sine speciali mandato possumus eos absolvere. Presbyteri civitatis odio inexorabili nos persequuntur, quorum quidam cum excommunicatis publice communicant, et illis communicandum aliis prædicant. Pauci vero eorum sunt qui non levaverunt calcaneum suum contra nos. Cæterum noveritis quod minas multas et magnas nobis intentant. Sed quia prompti et parati sumus omnes et singuli, postquam omnia terrena pro Christo perdidimus, et cervices pro Ipso exponere, non timemus quid faciat nobis homo. Verumtamen principales adversarii nostri omnimodis procurant, ut dominus Albanensis legatus in Angliam veniat cum potestate magna et manifesta, quod Ipse avertat Cui data est omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra. Ad hujus etiam legationis procurationem audivimus et credimus præsentium latorem esse transmissum. Valete, et viriliter agite, et confortamini, et si litteræ istæ per Templarium vel per alium vobis porrectæ fuerint, nobis significate.

He is to inquire who is to absolve the excommunicate if they make restitution.

fo. 54 v°.

S. John xiii. 18.

Ps. lvi. 4.

S. Matt. xxviii. 18.

The enemy is trying to get the bishop of Albano sent as legate to England.

CCXXIII. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

After April 23.

The convent inform the pope that his letter of Jan. 26 was delivered to the archbishop on March 22nd,

In mendicitate et miseria jam multo tempore constituti, sanctitati vestræ, pater reverende, multiplices ex animo referimus gratiarum actiones, super mandato quod domino et patri nostro Cantuariensi archiepiscopo de reformando statu nostro et novi operis demolitione, licet incassum, direxistis. Litteras enim majestatis vestræ prædicto patri nostro xi. kal.

Aprilis porreximus, post quarum etiam porrectionem per mensem integrum, antequam hæc scriberemus, sustinuimus, sperantes et expectantes, ut nobis statum nostrum restitueret, et saltem hac vice mandatis apostolicis obediret. Qui non solum ea quæ in mandatis habuit non adimplevit, sed, ut ei moris est, ad mandatum apostolicum super nos et nostra manum suam acrius et atrocius aggravavit. Nuper enim cum tempus instaret quo ad propriam debuisset accessisse ecclesiam, in Walliam profectus est. Unde nec chrisma ab eo nec a Rofensi episcopo, qui vices absentiæ ipsius de jure sedis suæ tenetur supplere, habere potuimus. Sed et ministri domini archiepiscopi cum clericis novæ capellæ a civibus nostris et aliis nonnullis, qui antecessorum suorum eleemosynas super altare annuatim solebant offerre, minis et terroribus eas extorserunt. Quosdam vero qui jura antiquæ consuetudinis nolebant infringere, duris et indebitis oppresserunt injuriis, donec in manus eorum usque ad novissimum quadrantem refunderent quicquid pietatis intuitu super altare Jesu Christi solebat offerri. Adhuc in loco illo scandalorum dominus archiepiscopus per ministros suos adhuc non desinit operari. Jam enim capellam ipsam et ædificia quæ circa eam ipsius obtentu erecta sunt, vallo profundo circumdedit et vallavit. Sanctitatis etiam vestræ mandatum quod eos anathemati subjacere decrevistis, qui curiam nostram, villas et possessiones occupaverunt et adhuc occupant, satis publicatum est, sed non est inventus vir aliquis qui rediret et daret gloriam Deo, sed, quod gementes dicimus, mandata sedis apostolicæ magis contemptui habita sunt et derisui, quam venerationi aut timori. Coram Ipso loquimur, Qui omnia novit ab initio, tota occidentalis ecclesia super patientia et dissimulatione sedis apostolicæ, in tantis et tam manifestis ecclesiæ Dei irrogatis injuriis, non satis prævalet admirari. Absit tamen a nobis, quanquam longe aliter orbis noster prædicet, ut de judicio et justitia sedis apostolicæ desperemus. Non enim nobis stamus aut cadimus, sed Ipsi pro Cujus honore et reverentia conservandis corpora jam dudum exposuimus, et jam, quia nihil aliud superest, animas nostras exponemus. Cæterum sanctitatis vestræ pedibus omnes et singuli obvoluti, cum lacrymis postulamus, quatenus causæ nostræ justitiam attendentes finem maturius nostris imponatis miseriis. Miseri enim et mendici, ab octavis Epiphaniæ usque in hodiernum diem pauperum et mendicantium viximus eleemosynis, et nisi sedis apostolicæ maturius in hac mendicitate et miseria sentiamus auxilium, præ dolore et inedia omnes et singuli facilius poterimus exspirare. Vitam et

A.D. 1188. After April 23. but he has taken no notice of it.

He has gone into Wales and has not sent the chrism.

The works at the new college are still proceeding.

The mandate of March 17 has been executed, but no one has repented in consequence.

S. Luke xvii. 18.

They complain of the pope's apathy.

A.D. 1188. After April 23. incolumitatem vestram ad honorem ecclesiæ Suæ conservet Altissimus, pater et domine clementissime.

CCXXIV. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

After April 24.

The convent inform the pope that the prior of Faversham has published the sentence of excommunication, and the priests of Canterbury have declared it void.

Inaudita novitatis præsumptio in conspectu majestatis vestræ, pater reverende, querelas et clamores nostros augere et iterare compellunt. Nuper enim cum prior de Faversham, post trinam admonitionem publice et solemniter factam, denunciasset excommunicatos malefactores illos qui effractis muris et officinis nostris bona nostra diripuerunt, villas et possessiones nostras contra voluntatem nostram violenter invaserunt, presbyteri Cantuarienses et alii, præcepto clericorum novæ et maledictæ capellæ, ex parte domini archiepiscopi, ut asserebant, eisdem facto, parochianis suis solemniter et publice denunciaverunt sententiam sedis apostolicæ non tenere, nec ei in aliquo deferri debere. Jusserunt etiam ne ipsi ab aliquo vitarentur, quos sanctitatis vestræ sententia cautius præceperat evitari, et ut secure communicarent etiam eis qui adhuc curiæ nostræ, villis et possessionibus violenter incumbunt, et patrimonium Crucifixi distrahunt et diripiunt. Sed et clerici sæpedictæ capellæ statim in crastino post sententiæ denunciationem, in curiam nostram cum clericis et laicis quasi ad nuptias convenerunt, subsannationi et derisui habentes quicquid auctoritate sedis apostolicæ contra eos fuerat promulgatum. Attendat igitur, si placet, sanctitatis vestræ clementia, pater reverende, Cantuariensis ecclesiæ statum, immo destitutionem miserabilem. Attendat pauperum Christi oppressionem lacrymabilem, attendat jam novum schismatis pullulantis incendium, et morbo jam invalescenti ulterius non differat adhibere remedium. Spiritus consilii et fortitudinis vos instruat, et doceat facere quæ Christi vicarium decent, pater dulcissime.

fo. 55 r°.

The clerks of the new church have mocked the convent and the apostolic see. (April 24.)

CCXXV. Theobaldo Ostiensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

After April 23.

The convent thank the bishop of Ostia for his friendship, and letter to the prior of Faversham.

Crebris et continuis petitionibus nostris paternitatis vestræ gratiam ad ingratitudinem timeremus provocare, nisi de constantia et dilectionis vestræ plenitudine plurimum præsumeremus, scientes quia necessitas parit culpam et intercedit ad veniam. Vos enim solum invenimus qui nostris compateretur miseriis, et misericorditer in necessitate subveniret afflictis. Hinc est quod sanctitatis vestræ omnes et singuli gratiarum

ex animo referimus actiones, tam super sollicitudine et diligentia negotiis nostris usquequaque impensa, quam super mandato abbati et priori de Faversham pro nobis nuper directo. Prior siquidem prædictus juxta formam litterarum domini papæ processit, tam in admonitione, quam in denunciatione, eorum qui bona nostra diripientes, villas, possessiones et curiam nostram occuparunt et adhuc occupant. Dominus vero archiepiscopus nihilominus in proposito suo, ut ei moris est, tenaciter persistit, quamvis de reformando statu nostro et novi operis demolitione litteras domini papæ receperit. Qualiter autem de novo manum suam super nos aggravavit, et vulnera vulneribus nostris addiderit, prior et fratres nostri sanctitati vestræ plenius poterunt enarrare. Unde paternitatis vestræ pedibus provoluti postulamus attentius, ne in tempore mendicitatis nostræ et miseriæ, vultum serenitatis vestræ avertatis a nobis, sed omni fortunæ pro causa Christi et ecclesiæ jam dudum expositos ad portum tranquillitatis velitis transponere, et ad ereptionem pauperum manum pietatis extendere. Vitam vestram et prosperitatis gaudia protendat Pater misericordiarum in tempora longiora.

No. ccxvii.

A.D 1188. After April 23.

The prior of Faversham has published the sentence, but the archbishop is as obstinate as ever.

They entreat his continued favour.

CCXXVI. Honorio priori et sociis suis Conventus Cantuariensis.

After April 23.

Super multiplici labore et tribulatione quam pro causa Dei et ecclesiæ sustinetis, compatimur vobis et condolemus, tantoque vehementius anxiamur et affligimur, quo magis a curia Romana in jure nostro tam manifesto derelinquimur. Verumtamen litteras domini papæ domino archiepiscopo xi. kal. Aprilis porreximus, sed inutiliter. Nihil enim fecit ex omnibus, sed adhuc manus ejus extenta. Alias etiam litteras de malefactorum nostrorum excommunicatione per priorem de Faversham et magistrum Farremannum publicavimus, et, sicut nobis in mandatis dedistis, litteris publicatis celebrare præsumpsimus ante satisfactionem vel restitutionem aliquam ablatorum. Quod quidem inviti fecimus, tum quia universis spoliati sumus, tum quia super hoc speciale domini papæ mandatum non habuimus. Unde a nonnullis minus consulte, immo præsumptuose, fecisse arguimur. Quapropter nobis pernecessarium est ut quam citius procuretis, ut super hoc dominum papam possimus laudare auctorem. Indubitanter enim credimus quod nullo modo hoc nobis in mandatis dedissetis, nisi de conscientia domini papæ vel magnorum virorum consilio emanasset. Miramur autem quod dominus papa in tantis et tam manifestis ecclesiæ injuriis tamdiu dissimulat, et quia ita tepide negotium

No. ccxvi.

The mandate of Jan. 26 was delivered to the archbishop on the 22nd of March, but to no purpose.

Also the sentence of March 17 was published by the prior of Faversham.

Divine service is resumed, but the monks have scruples about it.

A.D. 1188. After April 23.

istud prosequitur; a spe quam de curia concepimus fere penitus excidimus. De die enim in diem ab adversariis nostris magis affligimur et opprimimur, et a quibus sperabamus redimi, videmur in mendicitate derelinqui. Verumtamen si judicium nostrum aliquatenus pro pecunia terminari poterit vel protelari, causa nostra vel in confusionem nostram cito terminabitur, vel in infinitum protelabitur. Dominus enim archiepiscopus ex hominibus suis et nostris usque ad octo millia marcarum de decima recepit, nos vero ita attenuati sumus, quod si hodie omnes possessiones haberemus, ita destructæ et destitutæ sunt, quod nec ad victum nobis infra prolixum temporis spatium sufficerent. Sed sive curia nobis in justitia nostra, quod plurimum timemus, deficiat, sive mandatis domini papæ adversarii facti inobedientes nostra nobis non restituant, juri nostro renunciare non decrevimus. Omnes jam enim et singulos ad futurorum patientiam præteritorum recordatio roboravit. Cæterum si numerus fratrum eorum qui vobiscum sunt, ad hoc non sufficit, ut de iis quæ apud nos facta sunt, et adhuc quotidie fiunt, curiæ Romanæ constare non possit, per litteras celerius significare curetis, ut vobis mittamus quotquot habetis necessarios. Qui enim necessaria victui in patria nostra mendicamus, in aliena provincia mendicare non erubescemus, quia gravius exultat, qui domi exultat. Spiritus Sancti gratia vobis conferat adjutorium, et ecclesiæ causam promoveat et negotium.

The oppression of the convent increases daily.

The archbishop has taken 8,000 marks of tithe, but the convent has nothing.

fo. 55 v°.

They are ready to send more brethren to Rome, and to beg for money abroad.

CCXXVII. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

After April 24.

Quam raucæ factæ sunt fauces nostræ clamoribus et querelis, quas præ multitudine et immanitate malorum nostrorum non semel, immo sæpius, in aure summi pontificis deploravimus, obmutescere et a bonis silere compellimur, tum quia zelum obedientiæ et caritatis victualium castigat inopia, tum quia in causa solius Cantuariensis ecclesiæ videtur justitiæ prævalere injuria. Jam enim in partibus nostris sedes apostolica in subsannationem conversa est et derisum: privilegia ipsius et præcepta redacta sunt in nihilum, et gravioris scandali pullulare jam cœpit incendium. Nuper enim cum in malefactores illos qui, muris effractis, curiam, villas et possessiones nostras, nobis contradicentibus et appellantibus, invaserunt, per priorem de Faversham et magistrum Farremannum de mandato vestro post trinam admonitionem publice et solemniter factam denunciata esset excommunicationis sententia, res apud nos hactenus inusitata et inaudita perpetrata est. Presbyteri enim Cantuarienses sententiam sedis apostolicæ non solum denunciaverunt

The convent renew their complaints to the pope.

Ps. xxxix. 3.

A terrible thing has taken place since the publication of the sentence of excommunication.

non tenere, nec ei in aliquo debere deferri, sed etiam excommunicatis publice communicantes scandalum erroris et occasionem delinquendi dederunt infirmis; sed et unus eorum, cui nomen Thomas, cum a nonnullis requisitus esset ut puerum quendam in confinio mortis laborantem baptizaret, nullatenus adquievit donec pater prædicti pueri tactis sacrosanctis juraret, quod neminem eorum qui excommunicati sunt pro excommunicatis haberet, et quod eis communicando consortia eorum in nullo devitaret. Processit autem ulterius horrendi furoris immanitas, et apud cultores justitiæ et pietatis amatores detestanda crudelitas; nepos gloriosi martyris Thomæ, Radulfus nomine, et cum eo nonnulli de civibus nostris projecti sunt in carcerem, qui prædictis hominibus, immo abominationibus eorum, oblocuti sunt, ita quod eis cautio fidejussoria penitus abnegata est, quæ etiam homicidis et latronibus in partibus nostris non consuevit de jure negari. Et quia zelo zelati sunt pro domo Domini, quasi reipublicæ æstimati sunt inimici, nihilque hodie apud nos ignominiosius est quam nomen ecclesiæ. De cujus conditione miserrima et oppressione lacrymabili, non nobis, domine, non nobis, sed operibus credite. Utinam viderent oculi vestri, pater sanctissime, universa quæ apud nos facta sunt et fiunt quotidie, tam in contemptum et opprobrium sedis apostolicæ, quam in subversionem et dejectionem libertatis ecclesiasticæ. Promptam siquidem et expeditissimam viam jam olim nostram possemus procurasse ad pacem, si posthabita sedis apostolicæ reverentia, quod Deus avertat, vellemus sub silentio clausis oculis præterisse. Sed absit a nobis ut ecclesiæ Dei tam perniciosum relinquentes exemplum posteritati nostræ præparemus ruinam et laqueum. Ablatis siquidem universis sola vita relicta est nobis, quæ ideo de cætero non potest violenter auferri, quia pro causa ista poscentibus eam gratis præparata est dari. Majestatis vestræ pedibus omnes et singuli provoluti, cum luctu et lacrymis postulamus, quatenus intuitu Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ, Cantuariensem ecclesiam in qua idem triumphali morti occubuit, oculo misericordiæ respiciatis, indubitanter scientes quod nisi maturius in manu forti penitus eradicata et explantata fuerit illius novæ capellæ plantatio, quæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ erecta est in ruinam, honor et reverentia sedis apostolicæ a finibus nostris penitus exterminata peribit. Nec facile apud nos invenietur de cætero qui pro tuenda libertate ecclesiæ ascendat ex adverso. Verumtamen animas nostras liberavimus, malentes sanguinem pereuntis ecclesiæ requiri de manibus alienis, quam Suo sanguine redemptam requirat Deus de

A.D. 1188. After April 24. One Thomas refused to baptize a sick child unless the father would communicate with the excommunicated.

Ralph, the nephew of St. Thomas, is thrown into prison.

1 Kings xix. 20.

It would be easy for the monks to save themselves by yielding.

They entreat the active aid of the pope.

Ezek. iii. 19.

A.D. 1188. April. manibus nostris. Vitam et incolumitatem vestram ad consolationem ecclesiæ Suæ conservet Altissimus.

After April 11.

CCXXVIII. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.

The prior consoles the convent.

Non obliviscetur misereri Deus, nec continet in ira Sua misericordias Suas; sed cum iratus fuerit, misericordiæ recordatur. Iram in vos Dominus exercuisse videtur, cum manu patris nostri durioris, jam majoris tractu temporis, innocentiam vestram cædere non cessaverit. Conversum autem, et peccata quibus iram meruimus, se comprobat ignoscere, cum finem miseriis nostris misericordiarum Pater imponere pollicetur. Ps. lxxvii. 9. Habak. iii. 2.

On the Monday after fo. 56 r°. Palm Sunday the pope promised to send a legate *a latere* to England to settle our affairs.

Secunda namque feria post Dominicam in Ramis Palmarum constitutis nobis in præsentia domini papæ et cardinalium, diutina deliberatione præhabita, summus pontifex sententialiter sic exorsus est: "Si diligenter intendimus, causa vestra, "fratres carissimi, causa mœroris est, quæ et nos et fratres "nostros vobis compati facit et condolere. Vertitur enim "inter patrem et filios, qui unum esse et idem per omnia "sentire deberent; nec videtur vos pater vester affectu paterno "tractare: conqueritur tamen vos ei honorem debitum et "obedientiam non exhibere. Diu quidem stetistis in præsentia "prædecessorum nostrorum et nostra, semper parati stare "judicio nostro, habentes auctoritatem et mandatum capituli "vestri. Sed clerici fratris nostri archiepiscopi minus suffi-"cientes sunt, et nullum mandatum habent, neque isti qui "præsentes sunt, neque Petrus ille et alii qui recesserunt. "Unde quia ad præsens res finem sortiri non potest, mittemus "a latere nostro virum sapientem et discretum, qui in negotio "vestro juxta mandatum nostrum et formam sibi præscriptam "procedat." Hoc dicto conticuit, et a se partes emisit. Itaque lætamini in Domino et exultate, nullatenus dubitantes ad reparationem vestram fieri quicquid futurum est. Ut autem plenius agnoscatis quod ab amicissimis nostris super his accepimus, qui mittendus est super nova ecclesia et circa restitutionem rerum vestrarum, secundum formam litterarum domini Urbani ultimarum, loco ipso hic ut asserunt maledicto et profanato, quod curia decrevit et statuit exequetur, nullam habiturus auctoritatem aliud aliquid vel aliter quam ei taxatum fuerit faciendi. Dirigetur vero a latere domini papæ, quia sæpe et multum ei suggessimus, aliquem qui hoc efficaciter exequetur in regno Anglorum inveniri non posse. Quis autem is sit, aut quæ ei injungenda forma mandati, nondum, cum harum bajulus exiret a nobis, innotuit. Vobis vero omnia nota fient quam citius Gervase, 1532.

We hear that this legate will have power to fulfil the mandates of pope Urban: it is not yet known who he will be.

poterunt, postquam in notitia nostra erunt. Unum e duobus credimus et scimus; aut ad votum nostrum dabitur quem postulabimus, aut certe non contra voluntatem nostram. Latorem ergo præsentium ideirco hoc vobis nunciare præmisimus, ne vos rumor rei hujus terreret, quasi aliquid in hoc esset non pro vobis sed contra vos procuratum. Itaque consolamini invicem in verbis istis, attentius providentes ne hæc per vos passim omnibus palam fiant. Nos vobis interim in iis quæ negotio sunt necessaria, de nostro et amicorum nostrorum consilio, Spiritu consilii aspirante, prospiciemus, de fratribus nostris quos utiliores putabimus citius vobis remissuri. Non vos sollicitet, quod crucem accepit dominus archiepiscopus. Poterit enim ei salutem operari, sed vobis nullatenus præjudicium poterit generare. Pax et communicatio Sancti Spiritus sit semper cum omnibus vobis. Amen.

A.D. 1188. After April 11.

We believe that it will be some one well inclined towards us.

1 Thess. iv. 17.

We will send back to you the more useful brethren.

It may do the archbishop good to take the cross.

CCXXIX. Conventus Cantuariensis magistro Gwarnerio.

After April 24.

Quoniam de dilectione vestra quam in necessitatibus nostris sæpius experti sumus, plurimum confidimus, urgente necessitate ad vos fiducialius confugimus, omnes et singuli deprecantes attentius, quatenus intuitu Dei et beati martyris Thomæ, operam et sollicitudinem diligentem adhibeatis, ne nepos gloriosi martyris Radulfus, qui cum aliis de civibus nostris in carcerem ignominiosum projectus est, et cum latronibus deputatus, quamcitius liberetur per industriam vestram a custodia, attendentes, si placet, quantum regiæ majestatis detrahat honori, quod nepos martyris sine causa et absque omni judicio inter latrones mancipatus est carceri. Valete, et ut martyr vestri memoretur ante Deum, nepotis ipsius memoramini ante homines.

The convent entreat Master Guarnier to obtain the liberation of Ralph, the nephew of St. Thomas.

In eadem forma comiti Willelmo, et Rogero Eleemosynario et G. Pipard.

CCXXX. Honorius prior Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori.

June.

Variis rerum eventibus præpediti, licet anxii atque solliciti, nondum potuimus desiderium nostrum adimplere, nec ad effectum quem speramus producere. Aliquando enim domini papæ infirmitas otiosa indixit tempora. Sæpe fratrum nostrorum imbecillitas exequendi negotium impossibilitatem induxit, et nunc tandem domini Ostiensis ægritudo, de qua nondum plene convaluit, mora nos diuturniore afflixit. In eo enim post Deum spes ereptionis nostræ tota consistit, quem sicut vobis amicum nulla fecit prosperitas, ita a patrocinio vestro nun-

The prior informs the subprior of the delay caused by the illness of the pope, and of the bishop of Ostia.

Cf. No. ccxxxvi.

A.D. 1188. June. No answer has been received to the last mandate (that of Jan. 26).

quam separabit adversitas. Cum ergo per ejus industriam expectemus liberari, absque eo expediri non possumus. Multum præterea retardavit, quod nullum accepit, super effectum litterarum quas pro vobis emisit, certum et speciale dominus papa responsum. Scimus quidem et ex mandato vestro liquido prospeximus, quod nihil vobis contulerint, sed hoc ei qui indulsit, sub sigillo conventus plenius debuit demandari. Mandastis pro certo, quod nondum obtemperasset, sed verbum hoc sicut eum quod jubebatur non adhuc fecisse significat, ita videtur innuere facturum, maxime cum tempus nondum unius mensis effluxisset ex quo mandati contemptor manifestus posset, sicut vobis mandavimus, comprobari. Cæterum quia jam hujus rei fides domino papæ facta est, et negotium litteris absolvi non potest, in expensis transmissis vel transmittendis nobis quantum possibile est providete. Nihil enim nos magis gravat, quam æris inopia. Nolunt namque mercatores Romani mutuum dare, nisi Romanos fidejussores habuerint, nec contenti sunt cautione quam habemus, sicut aliæ gentes, nemini fidem habentes, quia nec eis fides haberi potest. Cum ergo de eo qui mittendus est fuerimus certiores, vobis significare non tardabimus; aliquos tamen de fratribus nostris ad vos in proximo præmittemus. Valeat virtus vestra semper in Domino.

See No. ccxxiii.

fo. 56 v°.

The greatest hindrance to our success is the want of money.

June.

CCXXXI. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.

The prior praises the unity of the monks, and their perseverance.

In gloria certaminis vestri et inaudita unitatis vestræ constantia, Romana ecclesia, immo jam fere totus mundus obstupescit, et nos ipsi. Quippe si tempora percurramus retroacta, salva martyrum qui se ipsos impenderunt reverentia, non invenimus ubi fuerit persecutio magis manifesta, atrocior pugna, aut par vel in parvis constantia. Adversariis tantis nudi et inermes tamdiu vos objecistis, non armis dimicantes sed jugulis, substantiam terrenam et mundi gloriam qua floruistis non tantum ablatam contemnentes, sed etiam respuentes oblatam, fœnum in cornu formidantes. Consumentibus cibus, sitientibus potus, nudis operimentum offertur, sed nec imperiosa fames, nec sitis arida, nec laterum nuditas quicquam vobis persuadere potuerunt in subversionem libertatis vestræ, ut cum martyribus verius dicere valeatis, "Anima nostra, sicut passer "erepta est de laqueo venantium, laqueus," etc. Passer enim avicula circumspiciens et circumspecta, ideo rarius laqueo capitur, quia escam in laqueo non captat; et vigilantia vestra simili modo dum alimenta sic data respuit, proculdubio laqueum peccati liberior evadit. Facta est itaque virtus vestra temporibus ignota præteritis, modernis exemplaris, posteris

Horace, *Sat.* II. i. 34.

Ps. cxxiv. 7.

memoranda et admirabilis. Eapropter, carissimi, interiori magis dolore mordemur, quod debitum laboribus vestris auxilium tam molesta dilatione suspenditur, timentes ne quis forte imputet ignaviæ nostræ. Verumtamen quot et quanta crebrius intercurrerint impedimenta, ex litteris quas dilectioni vestræ postremo direximus satis credimus claruisse, ubi de domini No. ccxxx. Ostiensis ægritudine nos mentionem fecisse meminimus. Noveritis ergo quoniam cum præsentium lator exiret a nobis plenius convaluerat, et meliori quam prius sospitate gaudebat. Speramus itaque quod cooperante gratia Dei, negotium nostrum expedietur citius, nec ulterius poterit protelari, sed ad honorem vestrum in Domino disponente, procedet. Palam enim profitetur dominus papa, seorsum asserunt cardinales omnes, etiam et frater ille noster falsus, qui quamvis se mentiatur amicum, solus in curia nobis est adversarius, quod forma in qua veniet qui mittendus est executor, optima erit. Legatus autem dabitur sicut speramus ad libitum. Quamvis enim unum præ aliis desideremus, plures tamen in curia habemus amicissimos, de quorum gratia et virtute incorruptibili nullatenus trepi- Isaiah xxxiii. 15. damus, scientes quod manus suas excutiunt ab omni munere, nec poterit eos quispiam avertere a veritate. Omnia ergo vobis prænunciare curabimus, cum facta fuerint. Gratiam Suam augeat Deus in vobis.

A.D. 1188. June.

The bishop of Ostia is recovered from his sickness.

The pope and cardinals promise us a legate with full powers.

CCXXXII. Gaufrido suppriori frater Johannes.

May.

Gaudemus paternitatem vestram ex recessu nostro desolatam, tandem invenisse consolationem; virum, videlicet, qui absentiam nostram suppleat et vicem impleat competentius. Successori nostro quamvis stilo elegantiori non invidemus, sed congaudentes ei et congratulantes, Deo gratias agimus, Qui domum Suam et officiis distinctam exhibet, et ministris: de sola successione locum nos intelligentes habuisse, cum præcedentium respectu succedere quis dicatur; nec ejus alius vicem impleat, qui locum nunquam habuisse dinoscitur. Verum valde pertimescimus, ne dum is amatur et colitur, lentescat ignis quo in nobis caritas vestra olim accensa credebatur; Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 462. scriptum quippe legimus, "Successore novo" tollitur "omnis "amor." Quia tamen de amore tartareo dicitur, qui in angustiis cordis est, non de eo qui ambulat in latitudine, spes nonnulla nobis relicta est, quod ex dilectione recenti antiqua non debeat deperire. Non enim, sicut in corporalibus sæpe fit, alium cedere necesse est ut subintret alius, sed latior caritatis sinus, quanto plures amplectitur, tanto plurium capacior, diffusior est et magis ampliatur. Æquanimiter ergo tolerabimus, ut qui surrexit propheta amplius diligatur, nisi

Brother John is glad to hear that the subprior has been able to supply his place.

A.D. 1188. May. Brother John has little hope from Rome.

totum sibi vendicare voluerit, et si partiri novit amicum. Cæterum quia inter alia, quæ spes de curia sit habenda, requiritis, hoc quoque præsenti scriptiunculæ compaginare compellor. Salva sanctorum reverentia dixerim qui in ea conversantur, non est de quo sperare possint oppressi. Romanus enim clamantem quamvis semper, nisi dederit, non exaudiet, et cum acceperit, non ignoscet: emungit multum et sanguinem elicit violentius, "non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirudo." Horace, *Ars Poet.* 476.

fo. 57 r°. He tells how lawsuits are managed there: how easy it is to get into debt, and hard to get out.

Hinc est quod querulos, etsi non exaudiat, libenter audit, partibus æque auxilium pollicetur, moras innectit: litibus nunquam finem impositurus, nisi litigantium prius funditus exhauserit facultates. Mitius tamen ageret cum miseris, si omnia quæ habet daret homo pro causa sua; sed quod nec habet, nec habere videtur, auferetur ab eo. Ad creditores S. Matt. xiii. 12, and xxv. 29. introitus vacuus, cum quibus contrahens ære oneratur alieno. Loris autem constrictus argenteis cum hic vivere non possit, discedere prohibetur. Ut ad unum sit dicere, melius crederem incidere in latrones, quam curiæ laqueis irretiri, ut veridicam intelligas illam Domini sententiam quæ dicitur, "Si abstulerit S. Matt. v. 40. "quis tibi pallium, da ei et tunicam;" multo etenim melius hoc quam judicio contendere. Ex quo enim ad hoc res perducta fuerit, vix aliquando finem debitum sortietur. Propterea Romana jam fere ab omnibus conculcatur ecclesia, et cum reverendum nihil in ea reperitur, non est inter principes qui eam revereatur. Unde ei alius prædia et possessiones subtrahit, alius contra eas dolos nectit; omnes perditum reputant quod a talibus possidetur. Nemo ei reverentiam exhibet, nisi quam meretur. Viri quoque ecclesiastici obedientiam passim subtrahunt, et principem habentes propitium, impune contemnunt. Inveniuntur tamen in hoc corpore sancti et justi, sed quorum simplicitas et justitia, cum alius præsidet, minus attenditur. De curia ergo quid speretis vos videritis. Bellua multorum capitum est. Nihil unquam[1] studiosius agendum videtur, quam ut ab ejus faucibus, licet non sine læsione, eripi valeamus. Dudum hoc vobis non jussus scripsissem, sed non permiserunt aliqui, ne forte surrepens animum vestrum a proposito sancto revocaret diffidentia. Nunc furtive et secretius ea exaravi, non ut timidius sed ut cautius ambuletis. Finis enim laboribus vestris et angustiis per Dei gratiam citius imponetur. Magnam tamen et diutinam pugnam nos habuisse et habere noveritis pro persona mittenda, dum nos nobis necessariam instanter petamus, pars autem adversa sibi placitam. Valete. Ego ad vos venio, una vobiscum quod Dominus dederit perpessurus. Si aliquid dilectioni vestræ negare decrevissem, non scriberem hæc vobis.

Extortion is the cause of the contempt for Rome felt among princes.

Yet there are good men there, but nobody attends to them.

Horace, *Epist.* I. i. 76.

He hopes soon to return.

[1] *Nihil unquam*] Mihi inquit, MS.

Si in aliquo potestis conditionem vestram vel statum meliorem facere, consiliosum mihi videtur ut faciatis, caute tamen et non tanquam timeatis de curia, ita tamen quod nunquam vel in destructionem cartarum vel privilegiorum vestrorum consentiatis, vel in novi operis constructionem. Valete. A.D. 1188. May.

CCXXXIII. Honorius prior Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori. A.D. 1188. April 11–17.

Dominum Ostiensem instanter petimus, et speramus accipere, si possit ipsius aliquo modo dominus papa carere præsentia. Ipse vero requisitus a nobis pro honore Dei et Cantuariensis ecclesiæ paratum se exhibet, et in carcerem et in mortem ire, optimam virtutum suarum consummationem æstimans, si ecclesiæ Dei pacem reddere prævaleret. Non est in conscientia nostra quis mittendus sit, sed in Paschali hebdomada quisquis is est credimus profecturum. Litteris potius ageretur negotium, sed vox viva et potestas pro rei qualitate moderanda videtur efficacior. Mandata in contemptoribus minus possunt et morosius operantur. Mora vero certum ad se periculum trahit, et nisi citius subventum esset, ad extremum jam perductam inevitabile esset non expirare ecclesiam. Ne ergo terreamini, quicquid audieritis. Pars enim adversa commissionem faciendam putat, et prædicat, sed aliud omnino quam sibi promittant, accipient. Mittetur autem vobis qui causam vestram agat et peritissime pro vobis proponat. Valete.

The prior hopes that the bishop of Ostia will be the legate and will start on his mission in Easter week.

Delay is dangerous.

CCXXXIV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi. June.

Summa, ut noveritis, petitionum nostrarum est, ut dominus Ostiensis ad negotii nostri executionem destinetur ; aut dominus Gratianus, quia gratiam et zelum rectitudinis æque in utroque vigere cognovimus. Cum itaque venerandas martyrum relliquias Albini et Rufini domino papæ, per priorem et fratres porrexerimus, indubitanter scimus quod alter eorum veniet, aut litteræ emanabunt cum pœna suspensionis inflicta domino Cantuariensi, nisi fecerit quod in mandatis accipiet. Tenor vero mandati erit, ut ad omnia conventum restituat quæ tempore promotionis ejus habuisse dinoscitur, in exeniis, ecclesiis, redditibus, villis, libertatibus et aliis omnibus ; novamque clericorum ecclesiam penitus demoliatur et destruat. Litteræ quoque emittentur generales prælatis Angliæ et personis, clero et populo, quatenus locum ipsum maledictum habeant et profanum, et clericos qui ibi celebraverint suspensos ab officio et beneficio, donec restitui mereantur, et omnes qui ibidem de

The prior hopes that the legate will be either the bishop of Ostia or cardinal Gratian ; and that he will be able to annul all the doings of the archbishop.

A.D. 1188. June. We have heard from cardinal Ralph Nigel that the legate will have power to suspend and excom- fo. 57 v°. municate the archbishop, and to put the country under interdict. The king of England is in the greatest difficulties, and the king of France has rebuked the archbishop for his cruelty.

cætero aliquod divinum officium celebrabunt, excommunicatos. Hæc autem cum aliis quibusdam pernecessariis in proximo accipietis. Unde confidenter agite et constanter, et fratres expectatione morosa fatigatos, ne in fine deficiant, confirmate, neque aliquatenus pervidere possumus aut intelligere quod miseria possit vestra, immo concertandi materia, diutius protelari. Didicimus enim per magistrum Radulfum Nigellum, quod legatus si venerit, in potestate magna veniet. Dabitur enim ei posse archiepiscopum ubicunque positum suspendere, excommunicare, et regnum Anglorum pro maxima parte sub interdicto concludere. Ecce enim pro vobis pugnat Dominus, Exod. xiv. 14. et per regem Francorum, qui martyris nostri fovit justitiam, martyris videtur vindicaturus injurias. Nunquam etenim dicunt exercitatiores in talibus, rex noster in arcto positus fuit, ut hodie; cui, cum in eum omnes insurgant, quæque natio pro facti sui atrocitate assistere reformidat, putantes, ut dicunt, ecclesiæ Cantuariensis hac vice ultum iri injurias. Rex autem Francorum dominum archiepiscopum ad eum transmissum nec Cf. Gervase, 1535. salutatione dignatus est, nec responso nisi turpiori, et in quo ei immanitatem qua in vos operatus est, ut audivimus, in faciem objecit. Attamen orate pro persequentibus et calumniantibus vos, expectantes Dei misericordiam in patientia, et manum ejus æquanimiter sustinentes. Valete.

A.D. 1188. May 4.

CCXXXV. Honorius prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.

The prior tells the monks that the matter of the legation is proceeding happily.

Quod vobis scripsimus de executore a latere domini papæ ad vos transmittendo, bene noveritis et juxta voluntatem nostram procedere, nec nos a desiderio nostro fraudari in aliquo, nisi quod res majorem quam sperabamus cepit dilationem. Quod tamen nullatenus intercurrisset, si ut Romanus aliquis mitteretur, vel quicunque alius, faciles fuissemus adquiescere. Cæterum unum petivimus a domino, scilicet dominum Osti- Ps. xxvii. 4.

The pope has promised to send the bishop of Ostia.

ensem episcopum ordinis nostri monachum. Hunc requiremus, quem et nobis dominus papa die qua præsentium bajulus exivit a nobis, per camerarium suum pollicitus est destinare, adversariis nostris et qui fovent partem eorum id solum agentibus, ut is non mitteretur, quippe de aliis spem haberent quamcunque, quod modo aliquo mutari possent aut corrumpi, de isto nullam. Exultate itaque in Domino, et fratres nostros confirmate, quia exauditæ sunt petitiones nostræ et vestræ, ut credimus, apud Deum, et videtur dominus papa Clemens aurem clementiæ suæ et animum necessitatibus nostris inclinare, clementius supra spem multorum, et contra consilia principum

ac postulationes eorum, negotia nostra efficacius velle promovere. Multa habemus vobis scribere, sed hæc melius vobis per proprium nuncium innotescent, qui e vestigio statim sequetur post tergum istius, die sequenti tertia vel quarta profecturus. Cujus vos adventus per Dei gratiam uberius lætificabit, quam vos sperare audeatis vel nos promittere. Datum in crastino Inventionis Sanctæ Crucis. Valete. Certi sitis nullas litteras contra vos impetratas esse. Unde si quæ apparuerint, sive illæ quarum nobis remisistis rescriptum, sive aliæ, noveritis eas falsas esse, nec de conscientia curiæ aliquatenus emanasse. De cætero cardinalibus ne scribatis, nec alicui nisi domino papæ, si quid novi forte emerserit. Iterum dicimus gaudete et exultate, et fratres nostros in constantia laudabili perseverantes constantiores efficite.

A.D. 1188. May 4. He will send more news when the legate has set out.

CCXXXVI. Suo suus.

June 2.

No. ccxxxii. Litteras quas vobis misi de statu, immo de instabilitate curiæ, pœniteret me misisse, nisi vos scirem hujus constantiæ et virtutis esse, ut nec in earum lectione vultum mutetis nec animum. Non est confidentia nostra in homine, sed in Deo, Cui facile erit nos liberare cum volet. Quod si noluerit, nihilominus in Eum sperabimus. Cæterum scire vos volo, si edictum regium jusserit, aut necessitas ipsa coegerit, ut de quacunque manu interim sumatis alimenta, dummodo absque renunciatione juris vestri, fieri potest. In talibus enim quod vi metuve actum est, pro infecto erit habendum, nec poterit tale factum, ut peritis videtur, aliquatenus vobis præjudicare in posterum. Arctius tamen cavendum est, ne ab iis qui excommunicati sunt aliquid percipiatur, id est, a nullo quem publicum sit pro quo sententia lata est vobis intulisse violentiam. Hi in ecclesiam si venerint, et commoniti exire noluerint, cessandum erit interim. Videmur quidem contrarium sentire in litteris per harum bajulum conventui directis. Sed ibi quod fecistis commendavimus, quia longe melius est. Hic autem ejus contrarium non quidem consulo, sed tamen detestandum non intelligo, ut videlicet, magis debeatis eligere exire vel expelli quam hoc facere, maxime cum sit extortum. Neque cum adversario componetis, sed magis injuriam sustinebitis. Verumtamen si, ut scribitis, statum illum vobis offert archiepiscopus, quem tempore martyris habuistis, salva in omnibus querela vestra, miror quod non recepistis, præcipue cum tempore illo oblationes et obventiones ecclesiæ omnes perceperitis, sicut et modo. Mecum sentiunt in hac parte fratres nostri. Non tamen tale aliquid facere laudo vel con-

Brother John (?) gives his advice as to what the convent is to do if the king should propose to provide sustenance for them.

Guard carefully against the excommunicated.

If the archbishop offered fair terms, why did you not accept them?

A.D. 1188. June 2.

sulo, sed utrumque horum tolerabilius arbitror quam exire vel expelli. Forsitan excellentiorem viam tenetis, et quid agendum videtis acutius. Domino priori et nobis minus displiceret quamcunque in rebus pati violentiam, quam personis ipsis destitui ecclesiam, dummodo sicut sæpe dictum est, nec in novæ ecclesiæ constructionem consentiatis, quæ proculdubio destruetur, nec renuncietis in aliquo juri vestro, privilegiis, indulgentiis aut cartis. Non moveat vos quod excessus presbyterorum Cantuariensium nondum punitur. Non sumus auditi de suspensione eorum propter necessitatem quam habent quotidie celebrandi. Legatus ut credimus hæc melius exequetur. Verbum secretum; concessit dominus papa nobis Ostiensem, sed sub certa taxatione pecuniæ. Is enim est mos et modus ejus. Si pecuniam habuerimus, eum credimus executorem habere, velint nolint adversarii. Sin autem, aliquem de quo confidimus, vel litteras urgentes cum certa pœna inflicta. Timeo tamen ne detineant Ostiensem cardinalem propter passionem cardiacam qua dominus papa molestatur, ut si decesserit, quod speratur in proximo, ipse summus pontifex fiat, quamvis sæpe et semper reluctaverit. Sperate itaque in Domino. Si venerit, bene erit nobis. Si remanserit, forte melius. Faciat Dominus quod bonum est in oculis Ejus. 1 Sam. iii. 18. Unum sciatis, quod, ut ipse asserit, nihil in mundo magis affectat quam ecclesiam nostram videre et reparare, et ipse quantum cum honestate sua fieri potest, hoc efficit ut mittatur. Vellem per vos edoceri et præmuniri per litteras conventus aut vestras, Withsand aut Remis præmissas, utrum ad vos regredi me velitis, aut citra mare usque ad adventum legati subsistere. Scio quidem quod archiepiscopo clavus in oculo factus sum, quia in consistorio steti contra eum, et causam nostram exposui. Sed nihil idcirco quod me facere velitis omittam. Si ergo litteræ hujusmodi nobis Remis occurrerint, gratius erit et melius. Scio quia in vanum laboravi, scribens cum non possitis intelligere unum solum verbum. Non queror tamen si potestis vel legere. Præsentium latori panem meritum detis si habetis. Recessit a nobis in Octavis Ascensionis. Estote in tentatione fideles. Probat vos Dominus si diligitis Eum. Bene valete. Omnes ex animo æquo saluto, Christi athletas fortissimos. Valete. Num. xxxiii. 55.

The pope has nominated the bishop of Ostia, but at a certain price.

fo. 58 r°.

The pope is ill, and if he dies the bishop may succeed.

Write to me to Whitsand or Rheims whether you wish me to return.

Junc. CCXXXVII. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui Radingensis ecclesiæ.

The convent of Canterbury are

Audivimus et plurimum mirati sumus, si tamen verum est quod falsum esse credimus, videlicet dominum abbatem ves-

trum contra nos ad curiam profecturum, ut eos qui non solum pro se sed pro fratribus suis animas posuerunt oppugnet. Quod si ita est, altius ingemiscentes vehementius contristamur. Hoc enim famæ opinionis ejus sinceritatem denigrabit, et tam domino Ostiensi, quam toti ordini Cluniacensi, plurimum displicebit. Totius enim corporis causa agitur, cum membrum aliquod specialiter impugnatur. Eapropter dilectioni vestræ supplicamus attentius, non tam nostræ utilitatis obtentu, quam suæ religionis et honestatis intuitu, quatenus eum ab hujusmodi proposito pro posse vestro revocetis. Res enim eo usque jam processit, quod quicunque, sive ille sive alius, in causa ista contra nos processerit, quicquid de nobis contingat, non sine famæ suæ dispendio revertetur. Satius est hominibus non obedire, quam pro commodo temporali detrimenta æterna adquirere, et humani favoris gratiam cum fama crudeliter contemnere, quam eam sub tali pretio et tam ignominioso comparare.

A.D. 1188. June. grieved to hear that the abbot of Reading is going to Rome to oppose their cause, and entreat the convent of Reading to recall him.

CCXXXVIII. Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

June.

Reverendo patri et domino Willelmo, Dei gratia, Remensi archiepiscopo, tituli Sanctæ Sabinæ cardinali, conventus Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis in mendicitate et miseria, et multo tempore miserabiliter afflictus, salutem, et quicquid afflictorum potest affectus. Quoniam humanæ consuetudinis est ad eos confidentius in necessitate recurrere, a quibus desolationis suæ solatia consueverunt recipere, ad sanctitatis vestræ excellentiam miserabiles et mendici confugimus; spem et fiduciam plurimam concipientes, tam de innata vobis benignitate qua consuevistis consolari afflictos, quam de generosi sanguinis nobilitate, quæ sæpe solita est relevare oppressos. Cum enim ad memoriam reducimus, quam misericorditer cum martyre nostro egeritis, dum adhuc exul miserabilis militaret in terris, non de meritis nostris sed de mera liberalitate vestra præsumentes, speramus et credimus quod, intuitu patris misericordiam cum filiis faciens, non dedignabitur serenitas vestra in membra infirmiora continuare et transfundere gratiam, quam invenit in oculis vestris caput nostrum, antequam de peregrinatione sua transiret ad patriam. Verumtamen licet inter nos et ipsum nulla possit esse comparatio, tamen pro Cantuariensi ecclesia, pro qua et ipse passus est, et nos quotidie patimur, et diuturnioris jam morbi invalescente materia, et corpore et animo amplius de die in diem angustiamur et affligimur. Cum enim dominus et pater noster Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, post

The convent trust that the archbishop of Rheims will be kind to them for St. Thomas's sake.

Their troubles increase daily.

A.D. 1188. June. The archbishop is trying to destroy the ancient constitution of their church.

appellationem interpositam, in præjudicium nostrum et ecclesiæ sibi commissæ honoris et dignitatis dispendium, ecclesiam quandam a latere de portione substantiæ quæ nos contingit, patriis finibus non contentus, fundare intenderet; nec ad petitionem nostram, nec ad summi pontificis prohibitionem, a proposito desisteret, quia voluntati ejus in præjudicium ecclesiæ nostræ non adquievimus, statum ecclesiæ, qui usque ad hæc tempora Romanorum pontificum privilegiis confirmatus, regum et pontificum sanctorum perduravit cartis et confirmationibus corroboratus, subvertere et adnihilare disponit. Et ne tandem super his humana æstimatio quæ leviter falli potest, aliquatenus dubitaret, hujus rei gratia rebus et redditibus spoliati sumus universis, ita quod ab Octavis Epiphaniæ nec victum unius diei de omni substantia nostra quam habuimus in terris, sed toto hoc tempore pauperum et peregrinorum viximus et adhuc utrumque vivimus eleemosynis, sperantes et expectantes in tribulatione nostra ab uberibus consolationis Ejus refoveri, Qui etiam in ira Sua consuevit misericordiæ reminisci. Ea- Habak. iii. 2.
propter sanctitati vestræ omnes et singuli supplicamus attentius, quatenus divinæ miserationis intuitu et gloriosi martyris Thomæ obtentu, causam Cantuariensis ecclesiæ ea qua consuevistis pietate fovere dignemini, et pro nobis filiis et fratribus vestris apud Deum et homines partes vestras interponere in tempore opportuno. Valeat sancta paternitas vestra, et miserorum calamitatibus subvenire dignetur innata vobis benevolentia.

They are living on alms.

fo. 58 v°.

June. CCXXXIX. Radulfo decano Remensi Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent beg the dean of Rheims to get an interview with the archbishop if he goes into France, and represent to him the justice of their cause.

Quia vos in persecutione nostra unicum et singulare refugium, et in tribulatione solum invenimus solatium, licet ex caritate, in qua timor non est, timeamus offendere, quia hoc 1 S. John iv. 18.
causæ nostræ expedire credidimus, dignum duximus supplicare; quatenus si dominus archiepiscopus noster, prout apud nos (June 16.) Gervase, 1535.
rumor est, ad regem Franciæ nuper accessurus est, ad eum, si tamen vacat, et id prope et absque vestra fieri possit molestia, accedatis supplicantes ei ut nos in statum nostrum restituat, et ut patrum suorum terminis contentus metas quas ipsi constituerunt non transeat. Et quia hoc vobis quod et cæteris consuevit, sicut credimus, responsurus est, scilicet, quod libenter nostra nobis dimittet, si ea de ipso tenere voluerimus, convenienter respondere poteritis, quod nec nos nec patres nostri de patre vel parentibus ejus aliquando aliquid tenuisse meminimus: omnem vero humilitatem et obedientiam ei, tanquam patri nostro et pastori, parati sumus exhibere juxta con-

suetudinem antiquam, salvis dignitatibus et privilegiis nobis indultis. Quod ut nobis benigne concederet, desideraremus, ut a vobis et aliis viris famosis et authenticis, ad hæc petitione vestra inductis, humiliter peteretur, licet durus sit omnibus invocantibus eum propter nomen nostrum. Quicquid igitur patimur vel de cætero pro causa Christi pati poterimus, quamvis et meritis nostris et minus sit a voto ipsius, parati sumus in patientia sustinere, expectantes in silentio salutare Dei. Cæterum si dominum archiepiscopum Remensem adesse contingeret, vellemus ut de negotio nostro, unde et nos eidem scripsimus, per vos conveniretur, ut pro nobis partes suas interponeret, et patrem nostrum ad misericordiam revocaret. Valeat dilecta paternitas vestra, una post Deum spes et consolatio tribulationis nostræ.

A.D. 1188. June.

Lam. iii. 26.

If the archbishop of Rheims is at home, ask his interposition.

CCXL. Conventui fratres missi ad curiam regis.

After March 1.

Salutem et obedientiam. Apud Clarendone regem invenimus in die Lunæ. Die Martis locuti sumus cum eo coram Randulfo de Glanvilla, Rogero eleemosynario, Johanne filio regis, Hugone Bardulfo, Willelmo de Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesia, Willelmo de Haubervilla, qui eodem die contra nos ad curiam venit, Willelmo de Glanvilla. Auditis ergo litteris vestris, rex consequenter jussit legi sibi rescripta cartarum, et audita prima carta, eorum quæ statuit jam oblitus, magnifice juravit asserens hujusmodi cartam nunquam ex assensu regis factam fuisse. Sic et de secunda juravit in furore suo, oculos suos tangens et collum percutiens. Sic de tertia et quarta, et quinta et sexta et septima, proprias sicut et alias in quibusdam abnegans, maxime in illis quæ archiepiscopum contingunt, dicens quod archiepiscopo hujusmodi libertates nusquam nec unquam concessit. Cui omnes adstantes testimonium perhibebant in omnibus, exceptis Rogero eleemosynario et Willelmo de Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesia, qui tacebant. Sed et gravamina satis perfunctorie audivit, parvipendens omnia, ut nobis videbatur. Nobis itaque in igne et spiritu ardoris locutus est, jurans se archiepiscopo nunquam deesse, cum ei in nullo obedire velimus; sic et omnes dicebant, sed nobis verbum nullum loqui licebat, et si quid loquebamur, in derisum acceptum est, et pro frivolo reputant. Rex tandem secretius iniens consilium vocavit nos et Randulfum de Glanvilla, Hugonem Bardulfum, ibique minas multiplicavit et terrores, et inter cætera mendacia et enormia, multa de fugitivo et maledicto vestro objecit, Rogero scilicet Norreis; et furori suo finem imponens jussit nos apud Wintoniam expectare, donec cum

Cf. Gervase, 1527.

No. ccxliii.

Isaiah iv. 4.

The messenger of the convent found the king at Clarendon on the 29th of February, and on the 1st of March spoke with him: he and his courtiers denied the genuineness of the charters.

Roger the almoner and William of S. Mere l'Eglise were silent.

He afterwards threatened us in private for our treatment of Roger Norreys.

A.D. 1188. After March 1. He bade us wait for him and the archbishop at Winchester.

archiepiscopo loqueretur, quem mandaverat. Nobis autem contradicentibus et diu renuentibus dixit, "Si vultis, facite, "sin autem, abite: sed consilium meum est ut expectetis, "pro bono enim vestro archiepiscopum mandavi, ut aliquid "ab eo extorqueam quod vobis possit prodesse." Et sic ei adquievimus, timide tamen; timemus enim ne coram archiepiscopo cogat nos aliquid in dispendium juris nostri dicere vel facere; sed nonnisi inviti coram eis apparebimus, quia omnino tutum non est. Ad quod tamen si cogimur, quid facere habeamus sub multa celeritate nobis mandate. Valete.

June.

CCXLI. Philippo regi Francorum Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus.

The bishop of Ostia professes his fo. 59 r°. regard for the king of France.

Illustri et magnifico, Dei gratia, Philippo Francorum regi, Theobaldus eadem gratia Ostiensis et Velletrensis episcopus, perennem in Christo coronam et devotam fidelium orationum instantiam. Quod regiam magnificentiam vestram sincerissima affectione diligamus, et ad exequendum quicquid vestrum spectat commodum et honorem, promptissimam geramus devotionem, licet majora desint argumenta, qualibuscunque tamen indiciis sublimitati vestræ credimus innotuisse. Ad hoc autem pluribus inducimur causis, tum quia velut naturali jure semper nos regiæ majestatis vestræ profitemur alumnum, tum quia illustrissimi genitoris vestri quondam inter nos favor exuberavit. Unde semper vita comite vobis etiam specialiter tenemur obnoxii. Quia igitur plurimum de clementiæ vestræ gratia præsumimus, confidenter audemus vobis suggerere, quod et apud Deum mercedem vobis adquirat, et apud homines nominis vestri gloriam splendidiorem efficiat. Credimus ad aures regias calamitatem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, et oppressionem reverendi conventus ejusdem, qui intus et extra rebus omnibus ab archiepiscopo suo spoliatus extremis afficitur miseriis, pervenisse. Quæ si plenius vobis innotuerunt, eo certius habemus vos doluisse, quo generosa regum Francorum successione velut hæreditario jure transfusum est in vos, ut semper in afflictionibus bonorum misericordes geratis animos, et cum omnibus hominibus invincibiles sitis, a sola pietate vincamini. Inde est quod cum præfatæ ecclesiæ fratribus, regiæ majestatis pedibus profusi quo humilius possumus, supplicamus, ut pro amore Dei et reverendi martyris Thomæ atque nostræ humilitatis, qui vestri penitus sumus, pro salute etiam animæ vestræ simul et regis illustrissimi progenitoris vestri, qui præfatum martyrem, ipsamque ecclesiam speciali amore dilexit et fovit, amico vestro domino Anglorum regi scribatis, et diligenter

He must have heard of the sufferings of the convent of Canterbury, which is so dear to France.

He asks him to intercede for it with the king of England.

inducatis, ut novum opus, quod in detrimentum et gravamen prædictæ ecclesiæ consurgere dicitur, ulterius procedere prohibeat, et priori et conventui res et possessiones eorum simul cum libertatibus suis restituat, atque ab eorum gravamine violentiam archiepiscopi compescat, ipsamque ecclesiam in ea libertate quæ usque ad hæc tempora duravit, conservet. Dei gratiam et patrocinium beati martyris ita vos promereri confidimus, quod vobis optamus. A.D. 1188. June.

CCXLII. Henrico regi Angliæ Theobaldus Ostiensis episcopus. June.

Illustrissimo principi nobisque in Christi visceribus dulciter amplectendo et devote recolendo, domino Henrico, Dei gratia, regi Anglorum, duci Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, et comiti Andegaviæ, Theobaldus divina miseratione Ostiensis et Velletrensis episcopus, in præsenti feliciter et in futuro regnare perenniter. The bishop of Ostia salutes the king of England.

Vetus est sententia quam nos quotidie recentem experimur, quia præsumptuosa res amor est, et plena audaciæ, quæ nihil se posse diffidit, nec timet in rebus difficillimis apud amicum repulsam. Inde est quod non solum pro nobis, sed et pro amicis in causis præsertim honestis, ad thronum celsitudinis vestræ confidenter petituri accedimus, nec illius affectus, quo vos teste Deo diligimus, majus dare possumus indicium, quam quod apud sublimitatem vestram omnia nos justa posse confidimus. In præsenti vero negotio, si nobis aures clementiæ vestræ pateant, non tam nobis fatebimur præstitum, quam gloriæ et honori provisum. Urit enim animam nostram et spiritum cruciat, quicquid vestri nominis serenitatem obnubilat. Rogamus igitur, patienter audite, ut et vos Deus in tempore die tribulationis exaudiat, clementer exaudite. Cantuariensis ecclesia in regno vestro fidei mater et Christianæ religionis signifera, per multa temporum volumina in dignitatis suæ statu quiete processit, et divini cultus obsequio gratiaque religionis suaviter circumquaque redoluit. Unde nunc quietem ejus turbare nihil aliud fore credimus, quam divinitatis sacrario manum violentam inferre. Scimus autem quod in mundo futura sint scandala ; "verumtamen, Væ homini illi per quem "scandalum venit." Credimus autem prudentiam vestram non latere quanta in promptu sit materia scandalorum, si opus illud quod venerabilis frater noster Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in ejusdem ecclesiæ præjudicium, immo scandalum et ruinam aggressus est, habeat consummationem. Vetus enim proverbium est, quod inter dispares mores non potest esse certa amicitia

He has confidence in the king.

He begs him to listen to him in behalf of the church of Canterbury.

S. Matt. xviii. 7.

A.D. 1188 June. firmaque concordia. Si igitur illic alterius possessionis et sectæ viros intruserit, erit priori et legitimæ ecclesiæ illa fictitia et adulterina, lancea in latere et clavus in oculo, et stabit altare contra altare, quod divina lex penitus detestatur. Volentibus enim singulis sua jura defendere et aliena mutilare, erit infinita materia jurgiorum, erunt sectæ, dissensiones, animositates, quæ omnia plurimum valebunt ad perditionem animarum. Avertat hoc Deus, et regia magnificentia vestra. Quis enim erit status ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, cum matrem suam tabescere viderit in angustia et mœrore. Timendum ne in se ipsam divina ecclesia desoletur, et certe turbata ecclesia regni negotiis pax et honesta quies esse non poterit. Sufficere vero deberet ad malum quod his diebus ab inimicis crucis, qui extra sunt, tam misere dilaceratur ecclesia, maxime transmarina, si non etiam interius a domesticis evisceretur. Et certe inter omnes hodie principes Christianos ad opprobrium Christianitatis diluendum, et sanctæ civitatis in qua Dominus nostram operatus est salutem citius subveniendum, tum sapientiæ, tum divitiarum et potentiæ, tum etiam maturi consilii intuitu, præcipuum speratur a vobis et expectatur suffragium. Sed quomodo transmarinæ ecclesiæ poteritis vel debetis intendere, nisi prius eam quæ regni vestri caput est, studeatis pacificare? Proinde supplicamus pedibus sublimitatis vestræ, et in ea qua vobis fide et amore tenemur, omnino consulimus, ut præfatam ecclesiam in eo statu quo usque ad hæc tempora, quæ certe extremo jam vicina credimus, duravit, pacifice conservetis, nec aliquid fieri permittatis quod insolentia novitatis scandalum in ecclesia Dei generet; et gloriosæ opinionis vestræ, quod absit, splendorem obnubilet. Nihil autem regiæ celsitudini vestræ magis accedit ad gloriam, quam ecclesiarum statum tranquillare, et singulis sua jura illibata servare. Quod vobis scribimus, testamur Deum et horrendum Ejus tribunal, quod juxta datum nobis a Deo intellectum, et ad honorem vestrum et pacem regni vestri spectare confidimus. Valete.

The old and new church cannot exist together.

Num. xxxiii. 55.

fo. 59 v°.

Christendom looks to the king to take the lead in the crusade; but he must first have peace at home.

February. CCXLIII. Henrico regi Angliæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

Cum scriptum sit "Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax "hominibus bonæ voluntatis," ut pro bona voluntate in terris habita gloriam habeatis in cœlis, serenitati vestræ quam in nullo offendisse credimus vel recognoscimus, supplicamus ut si quid odii aut rancoris concepistis adversum nos aut ecclesiam Cantuariensem, odio personæ alicujus, aut operis, præsentis temporis vel præteriti, quod ad nos debeat respicere, pietatis

The convent beg the king to lay aside his anger against them.

S. Luke ii. 14.

intuitu remittatis, attendentes innocentiam nostram, nec vindicantes aliorum peccata in nobis. Si peccavimus, publice puniamur: sin autem, quod ecclesia Cantuariensis, de qua omnes Anglorum reges non solum fidem Christi sed etiam coronam regni sumpserunt, quæ usque modo libera exstitit, captivatur et conculcatur ab hominibus, cum sit mater omnium in regno Anglorum manentium; in Christo Jesu vobis dicimus, timemus ne novitates multæ et malæ subito oriantur, quarum principia etsi nos sensimus, forsitan exitus alios quam nos tanget, nec transire permittet immunes, sed involvet. Quis hanc novitatem non admiretur, quod dominus archiepiscopus dicit nos debere de eo terras et possessiones nostras tenere? cum jam per quingentos annos et eo amplius, a tempore scilicet magni Theodori, qui terras partitus est, et utrique parti suam portionem assignavit, conventus in pace possederit portionem suam, et libere administraverit. Quod et cartæ regum et pontificum plenius attestantur, ex quarum tenore perspicuum videre est, quod usque ad hæc infelicitatis tempora, archiepiscopus nihil juris vel dominationis plus habebat in terris monachorum quam monachi in terra archiepiscopi. Et ne super hoc quisquam dubitet, proferantur in medium carta Sancti Ædwardi regis, et Sancti Anselmi archiepiscopi, et aliæ multæ regum et pontificum. Quod autem dicitur Lanfrancum divisisse terras, ideo est, quod cum Normanni, capta Anglia, omnium ecclesiarum terras occupassent, rex Willelmus ad instantiam Lanfranci eas resignavit; Lanfrancus vero singulis ecclesiis reddidit quod antea possederant, sibi autem quod antecessorum fuerat suorum retinuit. Quod autem tempore Lanfranci non sit facta terrarum divisio, testantur chirographa ante tempora beati Dunstani facta, inter archiepiscopos et monachos de concambiis terrarum multarum. Sed et hæc attestantur scripta vetustissima, quæ lingua Anglorum *Landbokes*, id est *terrarum libros*, vocat. Quia vero non erant adhuc tempore regis Willelmi milites in Anglia sed *threnges*, præcepit rex ut de eis milites fierent ad terram defendendam. Fecit autem Lanfrancus threngos suos milites; monachi vero id non fecerunt, sed de portione sua ducentas libratas terræ dederunt archiepiscopo, ut per milites suos terras eorum defenderet, et ut omnia negotia eorum apud curiam Romanam suis expensis expediret; unde adhuc in tota terra monachorum nullus miles est, sed in terra archiepiscopi. Terram tamen ducentarum librarum adhuc habent archiepiscopi. Pro quibus omnibus valde miramur quod vel talia dicit, vel quod assensum ei præbetis, quod vestra auctoritate et in nomine vestro, per ministros vestros, res et possessiones nostras invadit, cum nihil

A.D. 1188. February.

The archbishop's claim that we should hold our lands of him is a novelty; we have held them freely for 500 years.

We have charters of S. Edward, S. Anselm, and others.

Our lands were divided from those of the archbishop long before the time of Lanfranc.

The archbishop holds two hundred pounds' worth of our lands on the condition of providing knights' service for us; which ought to prove that we hold of the king in chief.

fo. 60 r°

A.D. 1188. February. ad eum spectent, sed nos teneamus post Deum, in capite de vobis, sicut et ipse. Quod manifestum est decedentibus archiepiscopis, quia terræ eorum statim confiscantur.

July.

CCXLIV. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres R. et J.

Brother John and his companion have been prevented by the letters of the convent from coming to England.

Alpini frigoris et fervoris Italici experti violentiam, itinere remenso ad vos venissemus, nisi nos, venientibus occurrens, epistola vestra subsistere præcepisset. Quod quidem, quamvis desiderio universitatem vestram videre desiderantes, tanto levius ad præsens sustinemus, quanto faciem vestram lacrymis abstersis exhilaratam in proximo speramus intueri. Certi enim rumores a curia jocundos in brevi expectamus. Nunc ergo, sicut hactenus, confidentius state in Domino, exemplo vestro pusillanimes confortantes et genua debilia roborantes, ut in odore unguentorum vestrorum currant qui prope sunt, et qui longe, fortitudinem vestram cognoscentes, ad bravium supernæ vocationis. Itaque "durate et vosmet rebus servate "secundis," habentes quasi præ oculis semper appensum, quia "non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis, etc." Cæterum operibus opus est, non sermone, immo sermonibus opera reddenda sunt. Auditores namque obliviosi facti, et non factores operis, beatitudinem promissam non adquirunt. Audivimus apud Atrebatum positi, et a quodam amicissimo vestro didicimus, quod ad vos veniat Atrebatensis episcopus a domino Cantuariensi directus, pacem si quo modo possit inter ipsum et vos reformare. Forte per amicos et familiares suos in curia commorantes edoctus est, quid super negotio nostro ecclesia Romana statuerit. Si ergo venerit, consiliosum nobis videtur, ut ei ad purum omnia patefiant, status videlicet ecclesiæ, privilegia et cartæ et injuriæ quas passi estis nullatenus supprimendæ. Eaque in omnibus utendum erit modestia, ut si pacem bonam obtulerit, vos paratiores inveniat; si tamen mandatum domini Cantuariensis et litteras rati ostenderit, salvo in omnibus jure ecclesiæ pro qua dimicatis, quia nec juri vestro vos aliquatenus consulimus renunciare, nec in novæ illius ecclesiæ constructionem consentire, sed nec dominum priorem aut fratres ad hoc ulla unquam adversitas inclinabit. Sin autem animos vestros tantum tentare venerit, æque miseros et mendicos videat, et constantes ac lætos inveniat. Quicquid enim viderit aut audierit, domino primum Cantuariensi et multis passim aliis palam fieri non dubitetis. Viam mandatorum Suorum doceat vos Dominus.

Isaiah xxxv. 3. Cant. i. 3. Phil. iii. 14. Virgil, *Æn.* I. 207. Rom. viii. 18. S. James i. 25.

When they were at Arras, they heard that the bishop of Arras was going to Canterbury with proposals from the archbishop.

They advise the convent to be open with the bishop, but firm.

CCXLV. Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus R. et J.

A.D. 1188. July or August.

Answer to No. ccxliv.

The convent wish brother John and his companion to return, if it is true that the bishop of Arras is coming.

Quoniam undique nobis sunt angustiæ, et variæ sunt varia inter tormenta sententiæ, nescimus quid debeamus eligere, vel cujus consilio potius adhærere. Consiliosum autem nobis videtur quod, si de adventu domini Atrebatensis certi fueritis, et in qua forma et in potestate venturus sit, ambo vel alter vestrum, scilicet relictis ibi equis suis, ad instruendum nos de statu curiæ et aliis, cum episcopo quasi occasione ipsius ad nos revertatur; si tamen dispendium inde nobis provenire non videritis. Necessarium enim esset et nobis plurimum expediret, si verbum de pace inter reges insonuerit, ut omnes simul ad dominum regem Francorum et alios amicos nostros accederetis, supplicantes ut partes suas pro nobis apud dominum regem et archiepiscopum interponerent, et nostris miseriis subvenirent. Summa vero diligentia et sollicitudo adhibenda est ad inquirendum quid dominus noster archiepiscopus, qui Turonis esse dicitur, contra nos machinetur, quia, sicut audivimus, Cistercium iturus est, moram ibidem facturus, donec veniat cardinalis ille qui venturus est, ut cum venerit, per aliam viam ad curiam accedat, ut nos et eam tam dolis quam donis suis confundat. Quapropter solliciti et circumspecti estote, astutiam hominis timentes, et ei pro posse vestro obviantes. Cæterum si dominus J. cum domino Atrebatensi venerit, dominus R. et H. ibidem subsistant, præstolantes adventum cardinalis, et profecturi iterum ad regem Francorum propter vina, et alibi ubi nobis et causæ nostræ viderint expedire. Valete.

We must appeal to the king of France, if there is likely to be peace.

We hear that the archbishop is at Tours, and is going to Citeaux to avoid the legate.

CCXLVI. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres Cantuarienses.

July or August.

Answer to No. ccxlv.

The brethren in France advise the convent to send a statement of their case to the Cistercian chapter (Sept. 14.)

Consilium nostrum est et multorum quos super hoc convenimus sapientum, ut quando tempus advenerit, cum litteris sive his sive aliis quas transmisistis, duos de fratribus ad capitulum Cistercii transmittatis, qui seriem rei noverint, et parati sint omni poscenti reddere rationem. Et quia credimus archiepiscopum litteras ibi quarum auctoritate omnia fecisse videtur exhibiturum, habeant prædicti fratres transmissi rescripta litterarum quæ pro nobis emanaverunt, tam de operis prohibitione quam aliarum rerum, in rotula conscripta legibiliter et vere, quibus possint quæ objicientur elidere. Abbatibus quoque per vos prætereuntibus humiliter vel per vos vel per alios attentius supplicetis, ut pro vobis partes suas diligenter interponant erga capitulum, cum locus fuerit, omnibus ostendentes omnia quæ contra vos facta sunt, et quæ pro nobis

1 S. Pet. iii. 15.

fo. 60 v°.

A.D. 1188. July or August. faciunt. Hæc autem omnia, ut modestia vestra nota sit omnibus hominibus, et malitiam vincat patientia, faciatis. Præmittetis autem in rotula jam dicta in primo capite exemplum cartæ regis Edwardi, quæ communis est archiepiscopo et vobis, et Willelmi et Henrici regum, Anselmi et Theobaldi pontificum, quæ vobis speciales sunt, nisi prudentiæ vestræ hoc tædiosum videatur aut superfluum. Phil. iv. 5.

Send copies of the charters also.

August. CCXLVII. Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus Cantuariensibus.

Venions ad nos dominus Atrebatensis, facto sermone brevissimo, dixit se gratia orandi venisse, et quia nobis sicut fratribus suis intimo cordis affectu compatiebatur, partes suas pro nobis, si quam viam pacis inveniret, libenter et affectuose interponeret. Lectis igitur in præsentia ejus cartis regum et pontificum et indulgentia domini Urbani et litteris ejus, sed et litteris domini Clementis omnibus tam archiepiscopo quam clero et populo et nobis directis, consilium nobis dedit ut ad capitulum generale, cui ipse et dominus archiepiscopus, prout certius æstimare dicebat, suam exhibebunt præsentiam, aliquem de fratribus nostris cum litteris conventus mitteremus, supplicantes attentius ut pro nobis domino archiepiscopo supplicarent; seque ad hoc ex parte sua plurimum elaborare velle dicebat, ut statum nostrum et gratiam suam ad petitionem eorum et aliorum bonorum virorum facilius et citius animum inclinaret, et cum demolitione operis statum nostrum reformaret, quam si invitus et ab alio coactus hoc facere. Dixit etiam eum forsitan quasi aliorum precibus a proposito velle revocari, quam contra voluntatem suam aliqua occasione compelli. Ad hoc respondimus, quia facultas illuc mittendi defuit, et quod omnino exire non licuit. Nuper enim cum ad dominum regem de fratribus nostris vellemus transmittere, ad portam cœmeterii retenti sunt et exire prohibiti. His auditis postulavit, ut litteras sine amaritudine et cervicositate aliqua per eum ad capitulum generale mitteremus, et ipse, operante gratia, vota nostra ad effectum perducere laboraret. His itaque gestis, omnes coram eo prostrati sumus, gratias ei referentes et obnixius deprecantes, ut vice nostra capitulo Cisterciensi supplicaret, quatenus pro nobis apud dominum archiepiscopum intercederent. Sicque a nobis recessit, non divertens ulterius in domum archiepiscopi, ubi prius hospitatus fuerat, calumniatus a nobis quod excommunicatis domini papæ communicaverat; inscienter tamen. Eapropter mandamus

The convent inform the brethren in France that the bishop of Arras has visited them, and has read their charters: he advises them to send to the chapter at Citeaux, where the archbishop will be. (Sept. 14.)

Answer to No. ccxlvi.

Nos. ccxiii., ccxiv., and ccxv.

When we told him we could not send messengers, he advised us to write a moderate and quiet letter to the chapter, and promised to use his influence for us.

Cf. Nos. cclxxxv. and cclxxxvi.

vobis, quatenus super his dominum decanum Remensem, et alios quos Spiritu sapientiæ et consilii pollere videritis, secretius consulatis, utrum debeamus aliquem de fratribus nostris transmittere, vel litteras nostras patentes ad capitulum destinare per episcopum, et utrum tutum nobis esset in posterum, desicut dominus prior noster et fratres nostri pro causa ista in curia sunt, sine ipsius assensu restitutionem ablatorum cum demolitione operis recipere, vel alterum sine altero, si ad hoc aliquatenus posset induci. Super his ergo quam citius poteritis nobis rescribite, quia sicut ex verbis domini Atrebatensis conjicimus, dominus archiepiscopus Cistercium iturus est, et inde, sicut fama est, domini Ostiensis cardinalis subterfugiendo adventum, ad curiam cum pecunia multa quam secum transportasse dicitur, profecturus. Circa hæc igitur et alia quæ expedire videritis, nobis quamcitius significate, sustinentes ibidem in patientia, donec aliquid certum a curia receperitis, et litteras nostras de iis quæ nobis expedire viderimus, habueritis. Valete.

A.D. 1188. August. They urge the brethren to consult the dean of Rheims and other friends.

The archbishop is going to Cîteaux to avoid meeting the legate.

CCXLVIII. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres R. et J. August.

Answer to No. ccxlvii.

Placet nobis quod de domino Atrebatensi scripsistis; videturque nobis ipsius ad pacem vestram attentius implorandum auxilium, et eum in necessitatibus vestris erga capitulum Cisterciense constituendum intercessorem sive advocatum. Cum enim, sicut annis retroactis, nunc quoque utpote in majori anxietate constituti, proposueritis ipsi capitulo supplicare, prudentiori ac magis devoto non credimus negotium posse committi. Litterarum ergo formam, et licet rudem materiam, [quas] vel ipsi episcopo vel capitulo destinare poteritis, vobis transmittemus. Cæterum nec ejus nec alterius promissis arbitramur ab eo quod statuit curia Romana recedendum, nec impetratis, quantumcunque rigoris habeant, utendum segnius, sive legatus venerit, sive litteræ emanaverint, quales petimus; sed omnimodo instandum, ut possit status ecclesiæ, pro quo statis, reformari, scientes toti curiæ Romanæ complacere, ut dominus archiepiscopus ad omnia restituat Cantuariensem ecclesiam, quæ tempore promotionis ejus habuisse dinoscitur. Ecclesiam quoque novam omnino dejiceret; et ad hoc decretum est eum quocunque modo coarctari debere, salva sibi in omnibus quæstione juris. Nec credimus decretum hoc, etiam si cum omni pecunia sua Romam ierit, posse mutari. Verumtamen dubium esse non debet, quin domino priore inconsulto, et qui cum eo sunt fratribus, integrum vobis sit, cum demolitione operis illius profani, ablata recipere, cum ipsi hac tantum de causa

Brother John and his companion advise the convent to secure the bishop of Arras as their advocate at the chapter of Cîteaux, and they will draw up a letter for them.

fo. 61 r°.

Not one point must be yielded.

A.D. 1188. August. The convent can accept restitution without the prior's leave.

in curia commorentur, dummodo ipsi una vobiscum pacem consequantur. Immo si in aliquid citra debitum consenseritis, scimus quia domino priori non displicebit. Ipse enim sæpe dixit, hisce auribus meis audientibus, magis anxius vobis quam sibi, "Utinam sine me haberet ecclesia pacem. Mallem enim "semper exulare, quam fratres nostros vel ad modicum tempus "sic affligi." Quamvis autem omnia vobis liceant, sed non omnia 1 Cor. vi. 12. expediunt. Itaque adhuc standum est, adhuc de misericordia Dei confidendum. Liberavit pro certo Dominus populum Suum de manu potentium. Prope est ut veniat tempus Ejus, et dies Ejus non elongabuntur; miserebitur Dominus Jacob, et Israel Isaiah xiv. 1. salvabitur. Consiliosum nobis itaque videtur, aut omnes nos aut aliquos nostrum in partibus istis moram facere, ut quæ agenda sunt in cismarinis valeamus expedire, ubi constat hac tempestate negotium quocunque modo agi oportere. Verum ista quæ mandastis de profectione archiepiscopi ad capitulum Cisterciense, decanum Remensem nobis similiter noveritis enarrasse, qui se a magistro Joseph cuncta seriatim asserit didicisse. Sed nec sic evadet manum cardinalis, aut litterarum laqueum adventantium. Velocior insequetur quocunque diffugiat. Misimus ergo puerum quem destinastis in Normanniam, omnia inquirere, et super iis quæ a sapientibus jubetis inquiri: certiores effecti, vos certificare curabimus, videlicet de nuncio Cistercium dirigendo, si opus fuerit, et aliis. Scimus tamen, quia per se patet, litteras ad capitulum dirigendas patentes esse non debere, sed clausas. Moram majorem facimus quam vellemus apud Sanctum Bertinum, ubi dominus abbas et fratres socialiter nos recipiunt: quandoque, ne eos nostri tædeat, ad alia monasteria transimus. Quasi ergo semper apud Sanctum Bertinum residentes, sæpe Withsand mittimus ad magistrum Henricum, quærere si mandatum aliquod habeat ad nos directum a vobis. Nos quidem, quia bene fartis loculis Roma recessimus, expensis non indigemus, ideoque nisi Romani essemus, possemus vobis aliquid de paupertate nostra transmittere. Sed ablativus proprie, ut dicit Priscianus, Romanorum est, non dativus. Si qua victualium inopia sexaginta marcas de quibus domino priori scripsistis comederitis, fidem nostram, quam in accipiendo mutuum, de pecunia solvenda dedimus, fame canina devorabitis. Parcite itaque, si potestis, saltem animabus nostris, et absolvite nos. Remittimus puerum hunc veteriorem lapide ad vos infirmatum. Consilium ei date, et exhibete humanitatem quam potestis, totum enim pro nobis reliquit, et multum laboravit. Transcriptum indulgentiæ domini Urbani, et sententiæ domini Clementis in malefactores vestros latæ, nobis mittite. Gratias habemus vobis quod nos

The dean of Rheims has heard from Master Joseph of the archbishop's intention of going to Citeaux.

We are staying at S. Bertin, but send often to Whitsand for letters: we are not now in want of money.

The Romans love the ablative better than the dative: we have borrowed 60 marks, which you must pay.

tam nobiliter induistis. Vix enim potuimus vetusta sperare, et nova recepimus omnia. Forte ideo fecistis, ut in saccum hoc modo nos revocaretis, quem reliquimus, ne trita et turpia abominantes visa refugeremus. Valete. Ego frater Johannes secretiora quædam vobis mandabo cito, quia hac vice non possum, et quare, hoc quoque annotabitur loco et tempore. Valete, et viriliter agite. A.D. 1188. August. We thank you for the new clothes, which you send as a bait to us.

CCXLIX. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres R. et J. September.

Antequam Atrebatum venissemus, audivimus dominum Atrebatensem longe versus capitulum jam profectum, longius quam ut assequi possemus, præcessisse. Unde restat ut nos illuc omnimodis accedamus, nisi forte legatus et dominus prior occurrerint, quorum nobis arbitrio standum erit, dummodo ad capitulum perferantur et domino Atrebatensi litteræ quas destinastis. Itaque prosequimini nos orationibus vestris, quatenus Dominus dirigat negotium vestrum in manu nostra. Speramus enim commodum causæ nostræ ex hoc posse provenire. Super hoc quod nos consuluistis, utrum domino papæ etiam nunc scribendum esset, nescimus quid respondeamus. Certi namque sumus litterarum missione curiam minus moveri. Alioquin cum toties contra vos scripserint principes populorum, ad nihilum redacti essetis. Præterea quamvis nuncium nondum acceperimus super hoc certiorem, non possumus credere quod legati adventus diu differatur. Unde adhuc expectate, si placet. Quod si scribendum esse decreveritis, summa injuriarum quas tempore domini Urbani sub protectione apostolica, et post appellationem passi estis memoranda erit; conscribatis singula, et quomodo, quamvis adversarii nos tunc incessanter affligerent, a totali tamen subversione ecclesiæ, cujus servi sumus, continuerunt manus suas, formidabilem admirantes viri justitiam et constantiam invincibilem. Deinde tacita mentione Gregorii, hujus qui nunc præsidet tractanda sunt tempora, et jocunde dicendum quam irreverenter et audacter, audito rumore de promotione ejus, omnia invaserunt adversarii, et abominationes temporis illius singulariter exprimendæ. Demum contemptus ejus et ecclesiæ Romanæ ponendus, et potest faciem ejus confundere. Duræ etenim frontis est. Quomodo scilicet in capella contra prohibitionem ecclesiæ Romanæ erecta, clerici denuo ejus auctoritate suspensi celebrant, in loco maledicto et profano, sicut testantur apices apostolici. Quomodo sententiam, quam dominus papa tulit in malefactores vestros, denuntiaverunt presbyteri parochiales solemniter non tenere. Quomodo qui excommunicatos vitant, incarcerantur, et nomen apostolicum

The brethren before they got to Arras heard that the bishop had gone to the chapter, and so they must go too.

fo. 61 v°.

They advise what sort of letters should be written to Rome.

Say nothing about pope Gregory, but relate what was done on the news of the present pope's accession.

A.D. 1188. September. Directions for a letter to the pope.

subsannatur. Vos quoque, quia ei ut capiti membra adhæretis, tenemini quasi in vinculis, cruciatibus prius variis, et jam fame consumpti. Post omnia supplicandum erit et obsecrandum, quatenus sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ tam late patens opprobrium, ipse quondam filius ejus naturalis, et nunc dispositione divina pater effectus, de cætero auferre non moretur; et in hunc modum multa quæ vos melius compaginabitis quam ego. Hoc negotium puer noster, si ad vos rediret sanus, et necesse esset, celerrime ut credimus et bene compleret. Valete.

Aug. or Sept.

CCL. Gaufrido suppriori frater J.

Brother John arriving at Whitsand found his messenger with the copy of the letter to Citeaux, unable to cross into England, and paid his passage for him. The convent need not be alarmed at the movements of the bishop of Arras.

Veniens Withsand rumores de nuncio quem expectamus inquirere, inveni formam litterarum, quas ad capitulum Cistercii destinare poteritis, multo jam tempore ibi detentam. Pedes enim ad vos transire non potuit, quia intercapedinem locorum et distantiam profundum occupat, nec erat qui naulum non habentem gratis transferret. Dato ergo pro ea pretio, ventis et mari eam commisi. De eo quod putastis Atrebatensem causa pacis vestræ ad dominum archiepiscopum profectum esse, inaniter movemini, neque enim liberum ei esset illuc transmeare etiam si vellet. Unde supervacuum arbitramur de regressu ejus ad vos consilium prudentium inquirere, utrum videlicet si vobis offerret vel demolitionem operis sine redditione rerum ablatarum, vel e converso, recipere deberetis alterum sine altero; et hujusmodi quæ a sapientibus jubetis inquiri. Verumtamen sine omni inquisitione constanter dicimus, quia utrumque sine altero recipere potestis et debetis, et neutrum sine altero solum potestis aut debetis recipere. Utrumque enim, si jus prævalere potest, faciet dominus archiepiscopus, sive spontaneus, sive invitus. Attamen si voluerit capellam illam delere, sustinendum, immo optandum est; si res nostras restituere, non oportet respuere. Qui enim centum absolute debet, si quinquaginta reddiderit, tutius est partem debiti recipere. Si vero solvendo quinquaginta, medietatem alteram debiti detinere voluerit, audiendus non erit. Utrumque ergo sine altero, vobis, ut mihi videtur, placere debet, et neutrum remittendum propter alterum. Apertius dicam. Certum sit vobis neque dominum priorem neque fratres qui citra sunt, sive rerum rapinam approbare, sive in ecclesiæ illius constructionem consentire aliquo unquam modo. De his hactenus. De secretis curiæ non habemus vobis aliqua præter ea quæ scripsimus significare. Sed sunt quædam domestica, quæ vobis innotescere

Answer to No. ccxlvii.

He gives oracular advice as to the terms to be accepted from the archbishop.

He has some domestic secrets for them.

volumus, quæ tamen aliis nolumus patefieri. Valeat virtus vestra in sempiternum. Valete. A.D. 1188. Aug. or Sept.

CCLI. Amicus amico.

After April 24.

Cf. No. ccxxii.

Inspectis litteris domini papæ et vestra consultatione, quod mihi videtur vobis paucis respondebo. Primo; ad quem spectet excommunicatorum absolutio? Mihi videtur, quia dominus papa super hoc nihil expressit, hoc delegatis esse concessum, ut secundum formam Romanæ consuetudinis, accepta ab illis prius juratoria cautione, quod eorum debeant stare mandato, absolvantur. Quia sicut eis datum fuit in mandatis, ut si malefactores admoniti vellent satisfacere, in sententia non procederent, si cautionem de satisfactione susciperent, ita post excommunicationem, accepta cautione, eos absolvere valeant. Cum autem absoluti fuerint, præstito prius juramento de damnis illatis, si digne voluerint satisfacere, hoc per datos judices potest expediri. Sed de immunitate infracta et violata, domino papæ poterunt reservare qua pœna puniendi sint, an alia quæ canonibus est taxata, scilicet triginta libris examinati argenti, an alia. Ad secundam sic respondeo quæstionem. Excommunicatis nominatim nullo modo licet vobis communicare, immo, eis in ecclesia præsentibus, debetis cessare, et non eos violenter expellere, sed ut exeant commonere. De illis autem qui in genere, nisi crimen eorum fuerit notorium, id est, manifestum et publicum, aliter sentio; quia nisi notorium fuerit, vitari non debent. Notorium autem dico quod ita manifestum est, quod nulla tergiversatione aliquis inficiari potest, maxime cum evidentia delicti ipsum accuset. Si quis ergo vestra manifeste detinet occupata, admoneri debet auctoritate domini papæ ab illis quibus commissum est, ut reddat ablata et relinquat occupata, aut sententia excommunicationis nominatim innodari: nec aliter absolvi nisi fecerint sicut prius dictum est. Ad tertiam sic respondeo quæstionem. De presbyteris Cantuariensibus nihil aliud potestis vel debetis facere, nisi domino papæ ejus contemptum et illorum inobedientiam significare. Quod autem in fine mihi mandastis, ut secundum rescripta domini papæ vobis quid faciendum esset rescriberem, secundum ea nihil vobis certum rescribere valeo, quoniam eorum copiam non habeo, nisi tantummodo istius ultimi quod mihi misistis. Hoc tamen addo; quod si dominus archiepiscopus vel quicunque alius domino papæ non obtemperaverit, vestrum est tantummodo sustinere, et domino papæ contemptum suum significare.

The writer in answer to the questions of the convent, lays down: 1. That the executors of the mandate (No. ccxiii.) can absolve the excommunicated with due security.

fo. 62 r°.

II. Decr. XVII. iv. 21.

2. That those excommunicated *nominatim*, must be avoided, but not those excommunicated *in genere*, unless their offence is notorious.

3. The only thing to be done with the contumacious priests of Canterbury is to signify their contempt to the pope.

A.D. 1188. After April 24.

CCLII. Gaufrido suppriori quidam amicus.

The writer advises the subprior that he has a right to resume divine service.

Quos supremæ potestatis indulgentia absolvit, inferioris potestatis auctoritas nullo jure ligare potuit, et si factum est, pro infecto habendum est. Ideoque vobis licuit et licet, tanta fretis auctoritate, et missarum solemnia celebrare, et divini altaris participare sacramentis, cessatis propter illatas injurias; sed interdictum quod posuistis de jure non debetis relaxare, sine digna satisfactione et ablatorum restitutione. De vi majore et metu, nihil aliud possum diffinire, nisi quod docet scriptura, quod vis metusve causa dolove malo factum est, ratum non habebo. Vis major est cui resisti non potest: metus autem debet esse justus, id est, talis qui caderet in constantissimum; hoc est, qui salutis periculum aut corporis contineat cruciatum. Hæc a vobis divina avertat misericordia. Causa vestra in sinu domini papæ versatur deposita. Caput vestrum cum quibusdam nobilibus membris ecclesiæ pro universitate vestra apud Romanam militat ecclesiam. Quid ergo vos sine illis possitis, meum non est vestram docere prudentiam.

See No. ccxxvi.

Digest. IV. ii. 1.

He can do nothing without the consent of the prior.

CCLIII. Conventui Cantuariensi quidam amicus.

The writer informs the convent that a general excommunication is sufficient for all but the notorious and obstinate aggressors.

Quæritis utrum sufficiat, quod in genere excommunicentur ii qui possessiones vestras invaserunt. Ad hoc respondeo, quod qui invasionem fecerunt et a rebus invasis recesserunt, quia actu peccare desierunt, sufficit si in genere excommunicentur. Qui autem adhuc per violentiam res vestras possident, quia factum publicum est et notorium sui perseverantia, nominatim debuissent denunciari quoniam sunt excommunicati. Et si forte jam judex protulit sententiam denunciationis in genere, unde videtur functus officio suo, poterit tamen adhuc manum aggravare, quia secundum formam litterarum domini papæ ei duo mandata sunt, scilicet, ut excommunicatos denunciet malefactores, et ut faciat ab omnibus cautius evitari. Satis igitur congrue poterit adhuc præcipere nominatim evitari ab omnibus, quos perseverantes in malitia invenerit. Quod autem quæritis de communicantibus excommunicatis, hoc ex auctoritate habemus, quod familia etiam nominatim excommunicati, quæ auxilium perpetrandi facinoris non dedit, communicans domino suo, excommunicatione non innodatur. Illi etiam communicantes excommunicatis ab excommunicatione subtrahuntur, qui officia sua eis quondam legitime assignata adhuc retinent, et in illis officiis excommunicatis obediunt. Magis enim

No. ccxiii.

Exceptions to the rule of not communicating with the excommunicated.

Cf. II. Decret. XI. iii. 103.

videntur officia pristina peragere, quam excommunicatis consentire. Sed hoc generaliter verum est, quia qui communicat excommunicato in genere et non nominatim, quantum ad exteriorem communionem non est evitandus. Cæterum in verbo illo quod mihi commisit ille vester, firmiter perseverat, rogans attentius ut illud effectu complere non differatis ; vos facietis juxta quod consilium sapientum dederit. Cæterum si idcirco illud omittatis, quia talia frequenter audistis et obedistis, et tamen frustrati estis a desiderio vestro, hæc sunt verba, ut mihi videtur, non quæ misericordiam provocent, sed quæ iram excitent, et indignationem accendant. Numquid ita arctatus est Dominus, ut certum vobis diem et horam liberationis vestræ constituat? Qui idcirco proculdubio differre videtur, ut gratior et jocundior vobis sit salus cum venerit, magisque Sibi vos in æternum reddat obnoxios et devotos, et ubi diuturnior et acrior fuerit pugna, ibi gloriosior reddatur corona victoriæ. Numquid frustrati estis desiderio vestro? Ergo viribus vestris hucusque certastis? vestra prudentia, inter tot turbines et vehementiores spiritus tempestatum, servata est navicula vestra ne mergeretur in profundum, et in gladio vestro adversantium propulsastis incursus? Qui enim estis, aut quanti, vel quales, ut ante faciem tantorum et talium subsistere possetis, nisi manus Ejus esset vobiscum? nisi quia Deus erat in vobis, forte vivos deglutissent vos. A Domino factum est istud, Qui quantum vult et quamdiu vult flagellari permittit filios Suos, Qui de pœnis innocentium ridet, et aurum Suum in igne conflari facit, donec examinetur et probetur nihil terrenitatis habens, et purgetur septuplum. Non frigescat, quæso, caritas vestra, nec tepescat devotio, quæ magnam habet remunerationem. Pulsate perseveranter ad ostium Amici vestri, Qui etsi non dabit vobis eo quod amicus vester sit, propter improbitatem tamen vestram surget et dabit, facietque vindictam electorum Suorum clamantium ad Se die ac nocte. Nonne Ipse est qui discipulos Suos prima et secunda et tertia vigilia, hoc est fere tota nocte, in mari vento flante contrario vexari permisit, et quarta vigilia, videlicet, in fine noctis veniens dixit, et stetit spiritus procellæ? Attendite qualem Se gessit erga illam devotissimam mulierem Chanaæam, cui magis profuit humilitas, instantia, et constantia propria, quam discipulorum supplex petitio.

A.D. 1188. After April 24.

fo. 62 v°.

They must not be impatient: God is trying them.

Ps. cxxiv. 3.

Ps. cxviii. 23.

Ps. xii. 6.

He exhorts them to charity and prayer

Heb. x. 35.

S. Luke xi. 8.

S. Luke xviii. 7.

S. Matt. xiv. 25.

S. Matt. xv. 22.

CCLIV. Suo suus.

Ut mihi videtur, malefactores, de quibus sermo habitus est, a domino papa sunt excommunicati, unde executoribus non præcipit

The writer thinks that

A.D. 1188. After April 24. the aggressors are excommunicated by the pope: the lesser offenders, however, may be absolved by the judge-delegates.

excommunicare, sed excommunicatos denunciare, nisi congrue satisfecerint, ut quod propter publicum peccatum in eorum absentia factum est, hoc in eorum præsentia denuncietur. Et sane de duobus tenentur satisfacere, scilicet, de excommunicatione facta a domino papa, cui subjacent, secundum tenorem sui mandati, usque ad condignam satisfactionem, et præsumptione invasionis; et hoc si resipuerint ante denunciationem; si autem post, crescit pœna propter denunciationem. Satisfacere autem volentes ante denunciationem, ut excommunicati sunt absolvendi, privatim tamen, non in facie ecclesiæ, nec cum solemnitate magna, quia solemnitas non processit in excommunicatione, nec subsecuta est in denunciatione. Executores autem facere debent absolutionem pœnitentibus ante denunciationem, coram iis quos advocare voluerint. Sed de iis malefactoribus dico, qui tantum consenserunt, aut rerum vestrarum occupatarum custodiam habuerunt. Qui autem violentas manus in clericos vestros vel conversos injecerunt, vel inferentes violentiam septa vestra infregerunt, credo ipso facto in canonem latæ sententiæ inciderunt, et ideo sine speciali mandato summi pontificis non poterunt absolvi; sed agentes pœnitentiam non sunt denunciandi, si congrue satisfacere voluerint; hoc est, si satisdationem congruam dederint de corrigendis excessibus suis, ubi et quomodo dominus papa dictaverit. Excommunicati ergo remanent propter qualitatem delicti de juris rigore; sed non sunt denunciandi pro correctionis satisdatione; possunt tamen forte restitui ad communionem hominum, non sacramentorum ecclesiasticorum, si pœnituerint et satis dederint, donec de voluntate domini papæ certi fuerint judices delegati. Quod autem dixi de absolutione consentientium tantum, et res vestras occupatas custodientium, magis de benignitate quam de rigore faciendum est. Rigor enim juris exigit, quod omnes sint excommunicati, et per dominum papam absolvendi.

No. ccxiii.

The more flagrant and obstinate must be absolved only by special mandate from the pope.

If, however, they will do penance, they are not to be deprived of the communion of men, only of the sacraments of the church, until formally absolved.

fo. 63 r°.

CCLV. Conventui Cantuariensi Hugo clericus Lucenensis.

Hugh of Lucca sends his good wishes to the convent.

Venerabilibus fratribus, dominis et amicis carissimis, suppriori et universo conventui Sancti Christi Cantuariæ, Hugo eorum fidelis clericus et amicus verus, ab Eo salvari et a persecutionibus Pharaonicis liberari, Qui populum Suum, inimicis submersis, a peste nefanda et servitute Ægyptiaca liberavit. Si eventus et varios rerum discursus, versutias malarum bestiarum, et tyrannorum fraudes velimus attendere, cum propheta Jeremia sic possumus probabiliter exclamare, "Numquid avis discolor hæreditas mea mihi? Numquid avis "tincta per totum? Venite, congregamini omnes bestiæ

Jerem. xii. 9–13.

" terræ, properate ad devorandum: pastores multi demoliti A.D. 1188.
" sunt vineam meam, et conculcaverunt partem meam, et de- His lamentations over them, and consolations.
" derunt bestiis terræ; tales enim seminaverunt forte triticum
" et messuerunt spinas." Et illud ethnicum hac tempestate
Lucan. *Pharsal.* i. 8. locum potest propheticum obtinere, "Quis furor, O cives, quæ
" est tanta licentia ferri?" Sed quid habemus agere? nisi consolari et gloriari in Domino, et cum omni humilitate Ejus gratiæ favorem expectantes dicere, "Benedictus Deus et Pater
" Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fons pietatis, et misericordiæ,
" qui plebem Suam Israeliticam plenitudine gratiæ Suæ, prout
" vult, sicut vult, et quando vult, non negligit visitare.
" Beati quippe et benedicti, qui persecutionem patiuntur
S. Matt. v. 10. " propter justitiam, quoniam ipsi coronabuntur ab Eo Qui
S. John xiv. 6. " dicit, Ego sum Via, Veritas, et Vita; qui venerit post Me
S. Matt. xxiv. 13. " perseverans usque in finem, hic salvus erit." Domini et fratres et amici reverendi, si subtiliter et recte vultis attendere, quomodo et unde vos Oriens visitavit ex alto, omnis formido cessabit; vestra periclitabitur turbatio, pusillanimitas exulabit, et de jure tristitia convertetur in gaudium; subintrante spe, fortitudo quæ nec extollitur prosperis nec adversis frangitur, in sede stabilitatis suæ persistet. Nam sæpe et sæpius audivistis quod si caput dolet, cætera membra dolent, et quanto propinquiora sunt capiti, tanto graviore dolore torquentur. Ut ergo intelligamus de Capite nostro Christo, perscrutamini quanta noster vos visitavit dignatione Salvator, Qui filios quos diligit semper Secum et ante Se et post Se pati voluit. Johannem etenim ante propriam Sui Corporis passionem, in vita, morum honestate, martyrio et contumeliis Sibi præambulum antelegit. Cum vero Caput nostrum Jesus Christus nunc multipliciter in terris langueat, et ab iis qui membra deberent esse, præcipua patiatur in membris, gaudeatis quod vos ad terræ Suæ originis et proprii sepulchri captionem persecutionibus evocaverit præcursores. Et si peccatis nostris exigentibus, a modernis Pharisæis et crudeli bestia inhumaniter lanietur ecclesia, non vos moveat, scientes vos in persecutionibus sustinendis non esse solos, cum mali et nequissimi fere omnes florere his temporibus videantur, et boni jacturam pati: nec crederem vos in electorum numero computandos, si non concuteremini in tantis
S. Luke i. 78. S. John xvi. 20.
He hopes that the Holy Sepulchre will be recovered, and the church of Canterbury delivered this very year.
fluctibus, ut una membra membris, et præcipua cum Christo Capite torqueantur, receptura hoc anno, volente Domino, cum sepulchro Dominico sanitatem. Verum sauciati estis quodammodo, nec ego et mei, qui vos vere diligimus, in vobis percutimur modico vulnere. Quid ergo restat nisi magnanimiter
S. Luke ii. 25. tolerare, et gloriari in spe Domini, expectantes redemptionem

A.D. 1188. Hugh of Lucca's consolations.

Israel, quia si Ipse nobiscum, quis contra nos? Non dubitetis perseveranter sperare in Domino, quia triumphale pretium persolvet conductitiis vineæ, et ab instanti rabie vos liberabit, sicut Ipse ait, "si persecutiones insurgant, veniam cito et "pugnabo cum illis in gladio oris Mei, et vincenti dabo "manna absconditum, et calculum candidum, nec lædetur a "morte secunda." Si persecutionibus et flagellis, tanquam a pio patre dilecti filii, videamini aliquantulum demoliri, vigor rationis, ordinis, et religionis vestræ integritas non turbetur, in vestra non tantum corporali sed spirituali unitate consolationem suscipientes, quia "omne regnum in seipsum divisum "desolatur," nec est aliquid excellentius vel jocundius quam corpore simul et mente habitare fratres in unum. Absit ab aliquo vestrum quod sit sicut "intendentes arcum, qui conversi "sunt in die belli." Nunc aurum in fornace, justus in torculari probatur, et ab amurca liquoris puritas videbitur separari. Quis acerbiora et injustiora Christo Domino nostro sustinuit a membris ad quæ relevanda descendit? Nonne David a proprio filio stimulatus? Si se diabolo permissum est beatum Job in rebus et persona torqueri, miramini si ad tempus per ministros suos, in bonos permittitur desævire, ut cum Job tentationes et angustias superantes integram recipiant valetudinem, et in statum pristinum cum victoria reducantur? Vidi enim impium superexaltatum, transivi, et ecce non erat; nec vidi justum derelictum, vel semen ejus quærens panem. Vobis tandem supplico ut dominum meum, qui vos præcipue diligit, et me vestrum, habeatis in vestris orationibus specialiter commendatos, scientes in veritate, quæ Deus est, quod si vobis possem pecunia subvenire, nulla vobis ratione deessem; sed novit Deus qualiter mihi est; sed grata supervenient apportantia solatii et salutis fructum. Supplicavi jam ter hoc anno pro vobis omnibus dominis et amicis meis ex quo a vobis recessi. Valete.

Rom. viii. 31.

Rev. ii. 16, 17.

S. Luke xi. 17.

Ps. cxxxiii. 1. Ps. lxxviii. 9.

fo. 63 v°.

Ps. xxxvii. 35, 36. Ps. xxxvii. 25.

He entreats their prayers for himself and his patron.

S. John xiv. 6.

Before July 13.

CCLVI. Conventui Cantuariensi magister Humfridus monachus.

Master Humfrey thanks God for the constancy and prudence of the brethren.

Benedictus Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Qui hactenus docuit, ac de cætero per gratiam Suam docere non desistet, manus constantiæ vestræ ad prælium et prudentiæ digitos ad bellum. Quarum utrarumque rerum, constantiæ videlicet et prudentiæ, perseverantiam miratur mundus et prædicat. Miratur constantiam, quod jam annum anno continuat in pressuris, nec deficit. Miratur et prudentiam, quæ jus alienum nec appetit, nec repetit nisi ablatum, quam nec

Ps. cxliv. 1.

dolus circumvenit licet exquisitus, nec impetus infringit, licet effrænatus. Cæterum, fratres mei et domini, optime nostis, strenui militis moris esse, tunc primum totas validi pectoris in hostem exserere vires et exercere, cum hunc hostis impetit viribus totis: nec integrum credit fore famæ suæ vel gloriæ, quasi sub quadam discretionis ineptæ tamen cautela, hostem declinare, vel ignominiosæ præsidio fugæ vitæ consulere. Nemo itaque nostrum et in juris et dignitatis ecclesiæ nostræ tuitione ictus declinet ensium qui non imminent, et quos minatur nemo, nec de fuga cogitet, cum nondum decertaverimus ad sanguinem. Declinat quippe qui, cum possit in hostem se erigere, dissimulat: fugit vero qui hostis voto cedit et voluntati, vel penitus consentit. Reducite, si placet, ad præsens tempora præterita, revocetur in medium qui in medio nostrum proprii cruoris prodigus, ne in vos invalesceret malitia in vos malignantium, cervicem suam supponere veritus non est ictibus gladiorum. Cohæreant opto membra capiti: sequantur ducem milites, oves pastorem, confessores martyrem, etsi non passione, saltem tribulatione, et quidem si causa facit martyres, immo quia non nisi causa martyres facit, dummodo Christus in causa sit, audeo et vos martyres profiteri. Intuemini perspicacius, et considerate causam in vobis agi Christi et ecclesiæ, dum ea repetitis, quibus spoliati sunt in membris Suis et filiis Christus in ecclesia. Constanter confidite in Christum, Cujus donativum nemo accipit qui legitime non certaverit. Obsecro vos, fratres, viriliter agite, state fortes in ecclesiæ defensione, ne frustra videar hoc jam tertio pro vobis parvitatem meam tot periculis exposuisse ac mortibus, quas nemo novit non expertus. Valeat semper in Domino universitas vestra, et oret pro me.

A.D. 1188. Before July 13.

He exhorts them not to relax their efforts, or to think of yielding.

Heb. xii. 4.

2 Tim. ii. 5.

This is the third time he has risked his life for them.

CCLVII. Honorio priori quidam amicus.

Utinam vobis aliquid scriberem, unde animus vester aut lætior aut saltem minus tristis efficeretur; sed quia undique emergit angustia, vix aliqua reperitur consolandi materia; tamen, ne pagina mea penitus videatur inutilis et jejuna, moneo si placet attentius, quatenus, spe boni illius quo tenditis, quicquid in via contingat hilari vultu suscipiatis, quia sicut nec malus in cœlo, sic nec justus aliquid habet in mundo. Igitur scitis quia sancti patres vestri resistendo principibus, non cedendo, non dispensando pacem iniquitatis, sanguine suo nomen meruerunt in terris, et in cœlis gloriam. Sic crevit vigor ecclesiæ, non tempore pacis, sed horum certamine. Illorum ergo vestigia sequimini, ut quod consecuti sunt

A friend exhorts the prior to cheerfulness, and reminds him of the troubles and glories of the ancient saints.

A.D. 1188. The changes of fortune should not affect his faith and constancy. fo. 64 r°.

possitis et vos consequi. Et quia de manu Domini gratanter suscepistis pacifica, jure patienter tolerare debetis adversa, forte ad momentum exspiratura. Alternæ enim sunt rerum vicissitudines, et sicut de successibus prosperis lapsus est facilis, sic et in contrarium; nec prudentiam vestram latere credo nihil esse tam firmum cui non sit periculum e vicino. Hæc idcirco vobis scribo, ut lubricos fortunæ casus melius sustineatis, nec diffidatis, sed talis sit vestri constantia, ut sponsa Christi in futurum Honorii possit gaudere victoria. Cæterum scitote quia quotidie memoria vestra ibi agitur, ubi Patri Filius immolatur. Item vobiscum sum et vobiscum maneo, licet corpora disjungat locorum intercapedo. Valete in Domino.

CCLVIII. Magistro Gerardo[1] Hugo Leuensis.

Hugh of Lucca pleads the cause of the convent with cardinal Gerard.

Pluribus rationibus, casibus, et variis respectibus lacessitus, inediam, tribulationes et angustias quas injuste, omnium proborum Angliæ assertione, venerabilis conventus sustinet Cantuariensis, vobis maxime cogor et teneor enarrare, tum quia in ecclesia Dei dignius aut eo honestius, quod sana et integra valeo asserere conscientia, non credo collegium, nec quod vestros magis diligat et honoret, et habeat in proposito diligendi; tum quia video, et videtur a discretis et sapientibus in partibus illis, in jactura, quod [Deus] avertat, et detrimento jam dicti conventus, fidei Christianæ universali ecclesiæ, sacrosanctæ sedi, et toti Anglicanæ ecclesiæ periculum maximum, immo importabile, imminere. Luporum enim sæva rapacitate demorsi, proprii pastoris rancore et ingluvia lacerati, ad hoc deducti sunt Cantuarienses monachi, quod sicut in veritate, quæ Deus est, possum confidentissime profiteri, nedum hospitibus quos indifferenter et honorifice hospitium in caritate petentes consueverunt recipere, et omnibus petentibus ad vitæ sustentationem commode eleemosynam elargiri, non habent quod exhibeant, nisi sub acerbissimis accipiant usuris. Qualiter sibi ipsis, qui tantos et tales solebant esse in victu et vestitu, provideant et possint providere, valde miserabile est videre et enarrare mirabile. Ipsorum sane archiepiscopus, post etiam ad sedem apostolicam appellationem, post preces et mandatum domini papæ, post ejusdem prohibitionem et delegatorum executionem, ut ab eorum gravaminibus et in-

They are reduced to pitiable poverty.

S. John xiv. 6.

[1] Gerard Allucingoli, of Lucca, made cardinal deacon of the title of S. Adrian by Pope Lucius III in 1182.

quietatione desisteret, villas et possessiones eorum invasit, monachos suspendit, ecclesiam sedalem in destructionem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ et conventus construxit, et eos jam in possessionibus suis quasi ad nihilum reduxit. Nunc vero cum ei in virtute obedientiæ a domino papa sit præceptum, ut constructam ecclesiam et canonicos ibi factos destruat et ad nihilum reducat, et locum profanum habeat et excommunicatum, viros qui ibi cantaverunt post prohibitionem ab officio et beneficio suspendat, et ad ejus præsentiam eos suspensos transmittat, his omnibus spretis, nihilominus[1] in prædicto profano et maledicto opere procedere et monachos per se et suos desinit insævire; dicens cum domini papæ litteras recepit, "Ego faciam quod debeo facere, et si Deus voluerit "et rex voluerit, perficietur quod inceptum est." Et ut hoc melius posset effectui mancipare, canonicos a domino papa suspensos, et excommunicatam ecclesiam, et illa quæ ad ea pertinent, fecit et ordinavit quod a regis ministerialibus in potestatem et manus regias omnia sunt assumpta, prohibentibus et contradicentibus ex parte regis, ne aliquis ausu temerario præsumeret aliquid pronunciare vel facere contra canonicos vel prædictum locum. Dedit enim dominus papa ad exequendum quod jusserat executores. Nunc aperitur et manifestatur quod publica fama clamat, et clamavit sæpius, videlicet quod archiepiscopus nec appellationibus defert, nec curiam timet vel reveretur, et ipsius dedignatur observare mandata. Auditum est enim quandoque ab ipsius ore, sicut audivi; "Quid est hoc, quod duodecim vassali inscii et in- "litterati judicant totum mundum?" Hoc sæpius cum privatis suis jam dixit, ut dicitur. Propera, domine, viriliter resistere tantis malis, et murum vos opponere pro domo Israel, quia, ut ab omnibus fere in Anglia prædicatur, quod nisi monachi, sicut justum est, prævaluerint in causa ista, Romana curia nec timebitur nec appretiabitur amodo in Anglicanis partibus, nec appellationibus deferetur, et fides Christiana, quod absit, deducetur ad nihilum. Statum meum per alium nuncium disposui in brevi vobis, volente Domino, intimare.

A.D. 1188. The archbishop persists, in spite of the pope's prohibition, in the persecution of the convent, and in building his new church.

The king's ministers have taken the new church under their protection.

1 Cor. vi. 2. The archbishop speaks contemptuously of the Apostles.

Ezek. xiii. 5.

CCLIX. Amicus amico.

Aliis sigillo inclusis et paratis procedere, supervenerunt et vestræ. Quarum tenore inspecto, quasi præ dolore sopitus a gravi somno respiravit spiritus meus, id utique desiderans, ut negotium ipsum ad gloriam Dei et honorem matris nostræ,

The writer is refreshed by news of the convent.

fo. 64 v°.

[1] *nihilominus*] For *nihil omnino?*

A.D. 1188. He exhorts them to humility.

et ad pacem et salutem omnium nostrorum possit procedere. In quo quidem hortor vos in Christo Jesu, et per vos carissimos fratres nostros, unanimes esse in Domino, ne quis vestrum glorietur, si quid sibi pro voto successerit, sed magis timeat ne zelo amaritudinis ad injurias non in Dei sed suam ardescat vindictam. Humiliet autem se unusquisque vestrum in conspectu Altissimi, et dicat voto et voce, "Sicut fuerit "voluntas in cœlo, ita fiat, quia non est qui pugnat pro nobis "nisi Tu, Deus noster." Quoad me vero, pacem non habebit anima mea, donec quod desiderat de pace vestra audierit. Plurimum, sicut tamen nunc potest, consolatur a consolatione vestra, multo majorem consolationem habitura, cum placuerit Deo eam de vestra pleniori consolatione plenius consolari. Plane a visione quam quidam de nostris vidit in somnis non multum ante hos dies, Dei misericordiam affuturam esse sperabant qui eum audierunt. Visus est enim homo ille videre conventum Cantuariensem binos binos processionaliter ire, multorum singulos in occipite singula diademata, et in singulis diadematibus singulas cruces ferre. Alios etiam similiter super capita sua singulas ecclesias parvulas ad modum scrinii portare, sublimiori voce cantando "Te Deum lauda-"mus," pulsatis ad hoc et consonantibus tribus signis admodum claris. Quod quidem ut somnium prius non multum adverti, quousque nunciaretur mihi de conditione et processu negotii vestri. Spiritus Domini repleat vos Suo consilio et fortitudine.

He hopes for greater comfort, according to a vision which has been seen by one of his brethren.

CCLX. Suo suus, salutem in Domino.

The writer advises his friend to trust in God's mercy.

In naufragio nave confracta, solius Dei expectanda est misericordia. Et ubi deficit humana industria, ibi sola supportat naufragium pietas divina. Ibi in summo etiam speratur periculo, ubi summa occurrit desperatio. Ibi etiam non oblivisci-tur misereri Deus, ubi videtur in ira misericordiam continere. Ut inclinetur ex hoc in illud, agit utique mutatio dexteræ Excelsi, de Cujus in hac parte tam severo judicio non, ut credo, aliud est judicandum, quam quod humiliati sumus in iniquitatibus, quibus Altissimi consilium exacerbavimus. De cætero, in tam certis periculis quid certum potero consulere, ubi certum est a capite languorem descendere, et a morbo universitatis singula membra defluere? Regnante scelerum immanitate silet sedes apostolica; ecclesiam absorbuit infidelitas Orientalem: Occidens deflet Cantuariensis ecclesiæ ruinam. Justum et æquum quasi in diluvio delevit iniquitas. De jure loqui possumus, sed nil consequi, prævalente violentia. Quid igitur? Abjiciet pastor gregem suum, lupo rapiente? vel

Ps. lxxvii. 9, 10.

The church is mourning both in the East and in the West.

nauta naviculam, insurgente procella? Absit. In grege enim periclitatur pastor, sicut in navicula nauta. Sicut igitur nauta fluctuum, ita et pastor luporum insultus sustineat in patientia, donec ex alto respiciat patiens Deus et multum misericors. Interim si non potes quod vis, id velis quod possis, et quod superfuerit Deo committas. Novarum rerum mutatio sub Dei adjutorio tristem statum poterit mutare in meliorem. Utinam memores essent fratres nostri multitudinis misericordiæ Dei, et intelligerent quid sub afflictione ista eis contulerit in misericordia uberi. Verumtamen nondum statim finis. Valete in Domino.

A.D. 1188. Be patient, submissive, hopeful that God will bring good out of evil.

Ps. cxlv. 8.

S. Luke xxi. 9.

CCLXI. Conventui Cantuariensi.

Sanctissimo sacrosanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ conventui, novis nostri temporis martyribus, frater W.[1] prior et humilis Sancti Pancratii conventus, salutem et consolationem in Eo Qui consolatur nos in omni tribulatione nostra, et medullata intimæ compassionis holocausta in oratione continua. Benedictus Deus Qui disponit omnia suaviter, et creaturæ Suæ pio semper dominatur affectu, nec iratus obliviscitur misereri, Qui etsi ostendit vobis tribulationes multas et malas, in proximo conversus consolabitur vos, et erunt secundum multitudinem dolorum vestrorum consolationes vestræ. Felix enim unitas, et beata universitas vestra, qui tanquam ex multitudine in unum congregatorum electi, per medias impugnantium acies sanctos vestros sequimini, parata ad gladium cervice, pastores. Hortamur vos, domini carissimi, ne tanquam in vacuum gratiam istam receptam rejiciatis, gratiam certe, quia qui persecutiones patimini propter justitiam beati. Scientes scitis, quia si perseveraveritis, nec conversi retrorsum curvaveritis genua ante Baal, qui vos murum opposuistis pro Israel, et incudem malleo impiorum, videbitis quod non sunt condignæ passiones istæ ad futuram, immo jam jamque præsentem gloriam, quæ revelabitur in vobis; quia in conspectu omnium gentium, si vera est fides evangelica, revelabit Dominus justitiam vestram. Nec vos terreat quod nova est ista immanitas, nec audita in gentibus, quod suis sit membris infestum, et suum corpus habeat caput exosum. Ecce Deus Ipse pro vobis, et ecclesia tota vobiscum, quæ et patitur in vobis; soli illi adversantur, et soli sunt, qui speciem quidem præferunt pietatis, sed virtutem abnegarunt. Ecce hi sunt fructus eorum, et ex fructibus istis mundus cognovit et cognoscet eos. Vos autem, domini,

The prior and convent of Lewes console the convent of Canterbury, and hope for better times.

2 Cor. i. 4.

Wisdom viii. 1.

Ps. lxxi. 20.

They exhort them to persevere. fo. 65 r°.

2 Cor. vi. 1.

S. Matt. v. 10.

Rom. xi. 4.

Ezek. xiii. 5.

Rom. viii. 18.

Ps. xcviii. 2.

2 Tim. iii. 5.

S. Matt. vii. 20.

[1] William, prior of S. Pancras of Lewes. *Mon. Angl.* v. 5. 68, 69.

A.D. 1188. They condemn the persecutors of the convent, comparing them with the enemies of the Eastern church.

in veritate et in visceribus Christi nobis carissimi, confortamini, et lætamini, quoniam communis est, non vestra tantum, causa quam geritis, nec vobis solummodo, vel diebus istis malis, sed et futuris sæculis constantia vestra militabit, et eo in majus multiplicatur meritum vestrum, quo paci multorum persecutio vestra famulatur. Singularis quidem est hæc gloria vestra, qui vere in cruce gloriamini. Auditum est quod in Oriente, Gal. vi. 14.
in terra in qua operatus est Dominus salutem in medio terræ, Ps. lxxiv. 12.
vastata est ecclesia; captivus ductus est populus; ipsa Crux Domini perdita; ipsum salutis præsidium ablatum et asportatum. Et ecce ad oculum videmus in Occidente, in orientali nostra ecclesia, in qua cœpit Dominus operari salutem in terra ista, quod vere crux Christi inventa et erecta est in vobis et a vobis, quibus infixa et inflicta est; et illius quidem sceleris auctores sunt, qui Deum nesciunt, immo et obsequium se S. John xvi. 7.
præstitisse Deo arbitrati sunt: hi autem sceleratiores satis, qui fidem professi sunt et religionis nomen. Verumtamen dabit Dominus "his quoque finem." Nos autem in veritate Virgil, *Æn.* i. 199.
omnes et singuli flemus cum flentibus, toto affectu afflicti et, Rom. xii. 15.
quod solum possumus, vestris mœroribus condolemus. Animam nostram vester pertransit gladius, nec secus ac si ipsis pres- S. Luke ii. 35.
suris vestris, vobiscum pariter omnes positi, premeremur. Unde orationum et eleemosynarum manum procellæ huic opponere

They are celebrating special services for the convent.

non cessamus, donec excitetur et exsurgat Jesus. Hebdomadarium de Spiritu Sancto, pro vobis signanter toto hoc tribulationis vestræ tempore, constituimus, frequenter missas speciales præter quotidianam memoriam per singulos sacerdotes imponentes. Quod et statim fecimus cum litteras vestras accepissemus, nec tamen tunc primum. In immolatione Agni, et hora ipsa oblationis pacis signo repulsato, et omnibus undecunque evocatis, omni die pro pace vestra Patri cum Filio prosternimur, præter specialia quæ cuique sicut vult et scit, Spiritus administrat; scientes quia in fine pro torcularibus istis sabbatum lætitiæ celebrabitis, et congaudebimus. Nos et omnia nostra vobis exponimus, redemptionem pro vobis. Miserator æternus respiciat in vos et non moretur.

[CCLXII. Archiepiscopo Lugdunensi[1] Conventus Cantuariensis.]

Reverendo patri et domino Johanni, Dei gratia Lugdunensi archiepiscopo, apostolicæ sedis legato, humilis conventus eccle-

[1] John aux Belles Mains, archbishop of Rouen, was an old pupil of Canterbury. He was made treasurer of York in 1154, bishop of

siæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et promptum semper intimæ devotionis obsequium. Quam sit meritorium stare pro domo Domini, sanctitas vestra et edocta est et experta, pro qua et certum habet, si casus inciderit, esse gloriosum occumbere. Quoniam ergo Cantuariensis ecclesia hac tempestate tanto periculosius impugnatur, quanto subtilius, caritati vestræ supplicamus attentius, pedibus vestris obvoluti omnes et singuli, quatenus pium circa olim matrem et alumnam vestram, pro Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ reverentia, exseratis affectum, nec, quantum in vobis est, permittatis gloriam ejus in pulverem deduci. Quibus autem et quot modis status ejus bonus et rectus, per eos qui eam tueri debuerant, impetatur, et ad quantam jam sit perducta miseriam, si discretio vestra fama divulgante minus instructa est, per harum bajulum dilectissimum et fidelem nostrum poterit plenius edoceri. Alia etiam quædam in ore ipsius posuimus, quibus aurem benignam inclinare velitis et animum, facientes in omnibus sicut decet sanctitatem vestram, quod honori vestro expedit et saluti. Vitam et incolumitatem vestram Deus conservet.

A.D. 1188. The convent entreat the archbishop of Lyons to support the cause of the church of Canterbury.

CCLXIII. [Archiepiscopus Lugdunensis Conventui Cantuariensi.]

Answer to No. cclxii.

Johannes, Dei gratia Primæ Lugdunensis ecclesiæ humilis sacerdos, dilectissimis in Christo fratribus et amicis, religioso conventui sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, salutem et constantiæ spiritum in adversis. Licet quandoque tribulationem et turbationem vestram audierim, et vobis tanquam desolatis et afflictis in caritatis visceribus compassus sim; auditis tamen angustiarum pressuris, tam latoris præsentium, quam litterarum vestrarum ministerio, vehementer condolui, et eo gravius calamitatis vestræ miserias sustinemus, quo fidelius vobis et ecclesiæ filiali[1] devotione recognoscimus nos astrictos. Et utinam afflictioni vestræ succurrere tanta virtute possemus, quanto compassionis fervore vestris doloribus imminemus. Verum cui possumus remedio studiose insistimus, et orationibus devotis utimur apud Deum, ut in tribulatione patientiam, in adversitate constantiam vobis præstet, et faciat vobis cum

fo. 65 v°. The archbishop of Lyons sympathizes with the church of Canterbury, and assures them of his prayers.

Poictiers in 1163, archbishop of Lyons in 1181. He resigned the archbishopric in 1195, and retired to Clairvaux. R. de Diceto, 536; Robertson, *Life of Becket*, p. 344. He was appointed, by archbishop Baldwin apparently, to the rectory of Eynesford, and was allowed in the final award to hold it until his death. Cf. Alan of Tewkesbury, *Epp.* xi. and xii.

[1] *filiali*] filia, MS.

A.D. 1188. He advises them to pray fervently, and to invoke the aid of their martyr, whom they have offended by their excesses.

tentatione proventum, ut possitis sustinere. Vos quoque qui Deo familiarius adhæretis, magis in hac tentatione vigiliis et orationibus vacare debetis, ut vos de tantæ persecutionis miseria liberare Sua miseratione dignetur. Et nos confidimus in Domino Jesu, quod si tota mente et intentione preces assiduas fuderitis apud Ipsum, anxietates vestras oculo Suæ misericordissimæ pietatis respiciet, et vestras tenebras in serenum convertet. Assidua enim justorum deprecatio multum valet, et illi sunt quos non vidimus derelictos. Et ideo oculi vestri semper ad Dominum, quoniam Ipse evellet de laqueo pedes vestros. Specialiter autem beatum martyrem Thomam contrito corde et humiliato spiritu invocate, ut sicut eum viventem et cum Domino permanentem vos credimus offendisse, unde merito hæc patimini, quia peccastis in sanctum Dei, ita paci vestræ meritis suis intervenientibus provideat et quieti. Et sicut eum vestris excessibus reddidistis offensum, ita dignis emendationibus castigati, ipsum vobis reddatis placabilem et benignum. Successoris quoque ipsius, patris vestri, domini videlicet archiepiscopi, correctionem devote suscipite, et ei in omnibus quæ sanctæ sedi Cantuariensi non obvient obedite, verbum illud assidue meditantes, quia superbis Dominus resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Bene valete.

1 Cor. x. 13.

S. James v. 16.

Ps. xxxvii. 25.

Ps. xxv. 15.

He advises them to obey the archbishop in all things lawful, and to be humble.

1 S. Pet. v. 5.

CCLXIV. [Suo suus.]

The writer advises his friend not to forsake his flock.

Suo suus salutem in Domino. Vim vi repellere in hac parte, vel pastorem gregem suum deserere, ubi communiter et pastori et gregi intentatur desolatio, in amici vestri non est consilio, ut audeat vobis consulere. Cum grege vero vel pro grege in Christo mori, vel injuriam pati inter martyres gloriosos, erit gloriosius coronari. Utinam novissima mea vestris fuerint similia. Si tamen confratres nostri adhuc meminerint unde exciderint! Valete.

Num. xxiii. 10.

Rev. ii. 5.

CCLXV. Conventui Cantuariensi magister Hugo Lucensis.

fo. 66 r°. Hugh of Lucca assures the convent of his faithfulness, and

Forma itterarum quam mihi misistis sufficiens est, nec meliorem quæro, cum non aliam requisivi, ut mihi videtur. Nondum vestras litteras susceperam, sed verbis tantum, Frater Arluinus veritatem donationis vestræ mihi expresserat. Quoniam vero virum duplicis[1] cordis Deus et hominis[2] æquitas

Ecclus. ii. 14.

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[1] *duplicis*] dupplici, MS. | [2] *hominis*] ominis, MS.

detestatur, ad hoc quod mihi sæpius misistis respondeo, quod A.D. 1188.
Ps. cxxxvii. 6. tunc adhæreat lingua mea faucibus, quando in vestri dilectione alterabor, tali de vobis et causa vestra vestrorumque adversariorum mihi conscientia remanente. Noscat enim Deus, quod non est ecclesia sive congregatio, præter generale capitulum ad quod tenemur omnes, quam plus vestra diligam et habeam in proposito diligendi. Omnis utinam ingratitudo a me procul et semper absit; vos enim et ecclesia vestra benefecistis mihi et dilexistis me, et ego diligam vos dum vixero, et utinam quod facultas in ostensionis affectu suppeteret voluntati. Sed potens est Dominus, et quod non faciunt mille anni, solet facere una dies. Si autem vobis et tanto conventui quandoque scripsi et scribo, nolite præsumptioni vel arrogantiæ mihi ascribere, sed a devotionis et sinceræ dilectionis integritate cognoscatis procedere. Cæterum ut melius me novistis, scriptum est, dicente Domino volenti perfectum virum imitari,
S. Matt. xix. 21. "Fili, vende cuncta quæ habes et sequere Me;" vos ergo qui nudi imitati estis et sequimini Christum, nulla perturbet adversitas, nec timeatis illos qui corpus occidunt, animam
S. Matt. x. 28. autem non possunt occidere, et si variis ictibus impulsi quodammodo vulneribus affligamini, ne timeatis, quia procurante vero Medico[1] nullum est ad lapsum, Petro in naufragio dicente,
S. Matt. xiv. 31. "Modicæ fidei, quid dubitasti?" Nec videatur vobis inter tot stimulos non aliquid fecisse; adversum quippe et profanum opus nunquam admodum, quicquid posset accidere, in præconcepto fastu[2] et dominatione procedet, immo dante Domino penitus destruetur. Si sciretis quanta infamia opus illud et ejus operarii, et fautores, per diversas mundi partes colliditur et conculcatur, vere possetis dicere, posita est arca Domini juxta Dagon, et contrarium Salomonico templum erectum est in Bethel. Ad ea quæ patimini pro Deo sitis unanimes et concordes, in omni providentia ambulantes. Animorum namque unitas vera religio et integra, et funiculus triplex difficile
Eccles. iv. 12. rumpitur; separatus vero non tantum rumpitur, sed trahentes offendicula lapsus incurrunt. Perseverate constanter, et vestros ad eandem inducite, ne culpa vestra, quod absit, ad servitutem redigatur ecclesia vestra.

that he loves their chapter better than any other, except the general one of the order.

The new college is reckoned infamous throughout the world.

CCLXVI. Galterius Rothomagensis archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi.

Ad caritatis vestræ petitionem, super negotio vestro venera- The archbishop of
bilem fratrem nostrum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum convenire

[1] *Medico*] modico, MS. | [2] *fastu*] faustu, MS.

A.D. 1188. Rouen has had an interview with the archbishop of Canterbury.

curavimus, et tanto magis ad pacem et concordiam inter vos reformandam laboravimus, quanto ipsius personam et universitatem vestram sincerioris caritatis affectu hucusque sumus amplexati. Habuimus autem in responsis, neminem plus eo reformationem pacis affectare, ipsumque nihil rancoris adversus vos concepisse, sed diligere vos in visceribus Christi, et

He said that he wished for peace, and only for the authority his predecessors had had.

pacem et quietem vestram ardenti sitire desiderio, et in caritate non ficta; his adjecit, arbitrio ipsius in sede Cantuariensi, allatæ sunt ei claves officiorum vestrorum, et ad pedes ejus projectæ, ut eas pro voluntate sua quibus vellet distribueret, sicut omnes prædecessores sui, excepto bonæ memoriæ decessore suo Ricardo, qui tanquam unus ex vobis in hac parte vobis detulerat, eas distribuere consueverant. De capellæ vero novæ constructione, unde inter vos contentio est, ait, beatum

2 Cor. vi. 6.

He said that S. Anselm and S. Thomas had intended to build a new church; and that the convent should be secured from harm. He is ready to refer it to arbitration.

Anselmum quondam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum propositum habuisse capellam construendi in eodem loco; cujus propositum beatus et gloriosus martyr Thomas adimplere cupiens, capellam incepit construere, sed præventus martyrio non potuit opus consummare. Verum licet, causa suo Marte currente, adeo confidat de jure suo, ut nullum credat sibi imminere juris sui dispendium, paratus tamen est in arbitros, videlicet in personam nostram, quam erga universitatem vestram credit habere non modicam affectionem, et in duos episcopos de Normannia, et duos de Anglia, vel in duas ecclesiasticas personas quæ non sint de corpore vestro, et duas laicas, scilicet Randulfum dominum de Glanvilla, et dominum Rogerum fratrem vestrum, vel duas alias hujusmodi legitimas personas quas

fo. 66 v°.

eligere volueritis, nobis accitis, compromittere, ratum habiturus quicquid nos super querelis vestris bona fide fuerimus arbitrati. Ordinabit etiam capellam, quod in nulla tantam habebitis subjectionem, nec aliqua adeo constituetur vobis obnoxia sicut illa, et omnimodam præstabit cautionem, et securitatem Cantuariensi ecclesiæ et vobis tantam providebit, quod succedentibus temporibus de aliquo dispendio non oportebit vos formidare.

CCLXVII. Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi.

The bishop of Bath is always ready to help the convent.

Pro varietate rerum, causarum et temporum, mutantur et variantur status negotiorum. Id nimirum, per Dei gratiam, statum vestrum reddidit in melius commutatum. Super quo cum consilium nostrum decreveritis expetendum, quia in omnibus, quantum cum Deo et ratione possumus, vobis volumus assistere, præsentibus litteris vobis commodum duximus signi-

ficare, ut ad dominam reginam aliquos de vestris quantocius poteritis studeatis destinare; quatenus, ea mediante, cæteris quoque amicis vestris quos ob hoc domino comiti Ricardo, cum locus et opportunitas fuerit, individuos adhærere feceritis, inter dominum et patrem vestrum et vos vel pax ad honorem Dei et ecclesiæ Suæ procedat, vel lis debitum finem accipiat. Illi communi archidiacono[1] nostro, sicut rogastis, jam pridem scripsimus et adhuc scribimus. Paratissimi quidem sumus et fuimus et semper erimus, ubicunque ratio vestro astiterit desiderio, pro viribus nostris una cum cæteris amicis vestris beneplacitum vestrum gratanter efficere, et in bonis efficaciter adimplere. Et si omnes scandalizati fuerint, ego, Deo gratiam ministrante, nunquam scandalizabor. Bene valete, et mei in orationibus vestris, vestri gratia, non sitis immemores.

A.D. 1188. He advises them to apply to the queen and to count Richard.

S. Matt. xxvi. 33.

CCLXVIII. Conventui Cantuariensi quidam amicus.

Cantuariensis ecclesiæ dolor et fratrum nostrorum gemitus mea penitus conturbant viscera, nec spero inde convalescere, dum mater mea cum filiis in eo quo detinetur languore contabuerit, et si morbo illius occurrere mihi daretur opportunitas, nec flammæ nec flumina, cum Dei adjutorio, debitam quam ei teneor exhibere obsequii mihi eruerent prosecutionem. Verum ubi morbo venienti non occurritur, ibi invalescet infirmitas; ubi autem ipsa excreverit, ibi curritur in desperationem, et solius Dei relinquitur arbitrio, qui antea sub Ipsius gratia per hominis industriam poterat relevari. Rogus[2] qui accenditur in Cantuariensi ecclesia jam excrevit in immensum, quicquid attigerit consumit, nec aquis maris extinguitur, quoniam amaræ sunt. Opus est igitur rore cœli ut ardor ille possit saltem mitigari. Non est hic ponere carnem brachium suum, vel confidere in filiis hominum in quibus non est salus. Solius Dei est succurrere, ubi humanum defuerit consilium. Vivit Deus meus, et anima mea, quia si præsentia mea his temporibus utilius posset consulere matri meæ, de absentia mea non haberet nullatenus querelari, maxime cum magis expediat ei quam circa eam gero devotionem servari illæsam, quam si cum ipsa læsa læderetur et ille, cujus læsio ad præsens nullum sibi poterit conferre solatium. Nec crimen transfugæ vel desertæ mihi militiæ, nisi insimulatæ, timeo opponere posse, dum vitalis spiritus in meo duraverit corpore. Et si respexerunt quidam

The writer condoles with the convent on the excess of their troubles.

Jer. xvii. 5.

Their only help is in God. If the writer's presence could do them any good, he would not stay away.

[1] *archidiacono*] acherono, MS. | [2] *Rogus*] Rogerus, MS.

A.D. 1188. He expatiates on the perils he has gone through, chiefly with false brethren.

ad merita præteritæ vitæ, de futuris per Dei gratiam non haberent vel modicum dubitare. Meminerint plane agonis mei, doloris et angustiæ, in quibus periculis, et ut insipientius dicam, in quibus falsis fratribus desudaverim; quoties cum ad littus appulerim, repulsus sum retro ab ipsis qui in ipso littore parabant insidias, id proculdubio attendentes, si gubernaculum navis a manibus meis eriperetur, se posse pro voto vela extendere, et utinam non in exterminium innocentum, quos nisi sunt pro viribus naufragio committere, et hoc quæstus causa. Cum autem tunc temporibus universitatem non petivissent, me unum et solum pro universis ventis exposuerunt et mari. Si vero inter has ipsas procellas natantem me viderint, et periclitantem navem, vel manus extendere, ipsis obtruncatis manibus, cum iis qui naufragantur in ea si poterunt, in profundum demergent. Id pro certo speculantur, quibus cura est fratribus procurare ruinas, si quomodo possent, quos Scyllam viderunt evasisse in Charybdim detrudere. Sub hac enim tempestate prævalida eousque in suum fervent exitium, ut malint se perire cum periclitantibus, ne periclitantes permittantur ad portum redire salutis. In hoc igitur cœli turbine, non est hominis sed Dei mari et fluctibus imperare, et si dormierit Dominus, excitet eum clamor periclitantium, quibus clamantibus et ego conclamabo, "Salva nos, Domine, "quia perimus." Voto enim et voce, non viribus, hic dimicandum, ubi litem dirimit solius Dei misericordia, non humana industria; ibi recurrendum est ad conscientiam, ubi non est gloriandum de justitia. Id enim timendum, ne hanc amaritudinem expresserit a deliciis pristina quorumdam immisericors et voluptuosa conversatio: in patrem exulem manifesta ingratitudo, ejus sanguinis pretium distractum irreverenter et consumptum abusive. Hæc præsens sæpius monui et dolui. Hæc absens continue moneo et doleo, ne qui patrem exulem adicaverunt, dum tribularetur, ab ipsius paternitatis sinu exulent et ipsi tribulati; vel qui ipsius sanguinis pretium alienaverunt a Dei sanctuario, alienentur et ipsi ab Ejus sanctificatione. Quid enim aliud prætendit ista perturbatio, nisi quod aperte datur intelligi, ut qui patri denegarunt in angustiis consolationem, angustiati a patre recipiant desolationem, et qui patris substantiam dissipaverunt injuriose, a patris vultu dissipati arescant ærumnose? Et quia ego ipse, licet alterius excessus immunis, in altero tamen nimis aliquando excedens, cum talibus partem posui non modicam, idcirco proinde tremens adhuc meum expecto judicium. Et quia dum præsens fui, a paternis obsequiis me nimis alienavi, inde est quod doleo, et dolendum esse dolens defleo, me ab ipsius patris longius alienari consortio.

2 Cor. xi. 26.

fo. 67 r°.

We must put our trust in God only; for our troubles are a judgment on us for our want of charity and moderation, and especially our ungenerous behaviour to the martyr, and the wasteful spending of the price of his death.

S. Matt. viii. 25.

The writer is conscious of his own fault in this.

Plane hæc tutis auribus in insipientia mea dico. Scio fratres, scio et veniam peto, quoniam modum excessi, sed ipsum excessum dolor extorsit immoderatus. Hæc, si placet, cum iis tractate qui sobrie sapiunt, et non cum illis qui explorant ut sabbata vestra derideant. A.D. 1183. He asks pardon for plain speaking. Lam. i. 7.

CCLXIX. Honorio priori quidam amicus.

Caritatem accensam nequit extinguere locorum distantia, nec aquæ interfluentes separare. Incepti vestri rigor et justitiæ æquitas commendatur ab omnibus, maxime autem a domesticis fidei, qui honorem vestrum sitiunt et ecclesiæ libertatem; hi sunt filii vestri et confratres, qui se opposuerunt pro domo Domini, defensores pro lege Israel; hi oppugnantur nequiter sed resistunt viriliter, et nisi eis surripiatur justitia, spes de lite est, et excrescit victoria. State ergo et pugnate nobiscum in prælio Domini signiferi, quia causa Christi est in defensione, nec vos deterreat magnatum supercilium, quia minor est fortitudo Moab quam ejus arrogantia. Ecce palam facta est sepulta iniquitas, et prædicatur super tectum quod prius latuerat absconditum. Cujus consilio huc usque et viribus usus sit noster adversarius, jam liquet lippis etiam et tonsoribus. Terrenam potestatem prædicat adorandam, et adorat, legis justitiæ Dei oblitus, et gregis cui pastor esse debuit et protector, hostis publicus factus est et persecutor. Relinquit oves suas ad regiæ voluntatis arbitrium, et quasi per se non satis et supra modum conculcaret ecclesiam Dei, cornua peccatorum acuit in ejus subversionem. Sed ne terreamini in ventilabro excussionis, quia non permittit Deus fideles Suos supra posse tentationis sustinere, verum ut digni inveniamur pati pro Eo Qui incomparabiliter pro nobis passus est. A memoria vestra elabi non festinet gloriosi martyris nostri Thomæ et capitis inaudita persecutio, rerum suarum privatio, et qui ei titulo affinitatis esse suspicabantur, singulorum proscriptio. Sed jam pro labore requiem, pro confusione æternitatem, pro sanguinis effusione victoriam et felicitatem. Una est vox omnium, una deprecatio singulorum, ut Deus ecclesiam Cantuariensem, quam tanto et victorioso decoravit capite, dignetur et nobis membris suis in hac subvenire tribulatione. Verumtamen agnoscit dilectio vestra, quia si sanguis a nobis exquiritur, ecce pro causæ hujus tuitione et ecclesiæ Cantuariensis libertate, nos ipsos, quia nil aliud superest, gratanter impendimus, quia malumus mori in bello quam videre dies malos et ignominiæ, ordinis scilicet nostri subversionem, et sanctorum patrum nostrorum exhæreditationem. Satagite ergo et præ-

Prior Honorius is encouraged by a friend to persevere. Gal. vi. 10.

Isaiah xvi. 6.

S. Luke xii. 3.

Horace, *Sat.* I. vii. 3.

The archbishop prefers the secular arm to the spiritual.

Remember S. Thomas's persecution and his reward.

fo. 67 v°.

A.D. 1188. There is no hope from the archbishop.

liamini prælia Domini, quæ aggressi estis, quoniam vos consequitur nostra constantia, sive morte mediata sive vita. Sat enim in Quo confidimus desuper, Qui omnia decernit et judicat, et Ipse a nemine judicatur. Spes nulla vobis vel nobis de cætero relicta sit in archiepiscopo, quoniam clavi angustiæ sumus in oculis ejus, nec quicquam de eo confidatis, quia si licitum esset ei libito cœquatum, pane satiaret nos absinthii, et potu potaret amarissimo. Igitur affectuose rogamus vos omnes, ut quemadmodum gloriose cœpistis, gloriosius perseveretis, ut gloriam vestram non sit qui non prædicet; sed ad totius Anglicanæ ecclesiæ relevationem omnis populus exultans proclamet, "Benedictus Qui venit in nomine Domini; "Benedictus Qui liberavit et excussit matrem nostram Cantuariensem ecclesiam a faucibus leonum per manus servi "Sui Honorii." Unum est, dilectissime, quod toto conamine desideramus, ut ecclesia debita gaudeat libertate, ut idolum archisynagogi conteratur, quoniam in ejus constructione imminet nobis periculum, et rerum nostrarum inæstimabile dispendium. Ne ergo, quæsumus, si sic ad metam pertingere potestis, pecuniæ vel alicui emolumento terreno parcatis, quia malumus ad tempus onerari nos debitis, quam nostri subversionem et perpetuam a filiis nostris incurrere maledictionem.

1 Cor. ii. 15.

Look forward to a glorious reward; and let the new idol be crushed at any cost.

S. Matt. xxi. 9.

CCLXX. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui Dovorum.

The convent of Canterbury command the convent of Dover not to receive Roger Norreys as prior.

Relatum est nobis quod dominus archiepiscopus proposuit facere Rogerum Norreis priorem vestrum. Unde noveritis quod nos contra ipsius personam Rogeri appellavimus, et contra factum istud, si jam factum est. Vobis etiam prohibemus ne ad hoc assensum vestrum aliquatenus præbeatis, nec eum pro priore recipiatis, quia hoc esset, contra privilegia et præceptum domini papæ, statum ecclesiæ immutare. Nos enim prædictum Rogerum pro fugitivo et excommunicio habemus; et hoc vobis, contra personam ipsius specialiter appellantes, denunciamus.

About March.

CCLXXI. Omnibus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ filiis Conventus, salutem.

The convent remind their friends of the long series of troubles that have afflicted their

Ad universitatis vestræ notitiam desideramus pervenisse, quod cum in ecclesia Cantuariensi, a tempore beati Gregorii per beatum Augustinum Anglorum apostolum ordo monasticus institutus, et ibidem indesinenter fuerit observatus, prædicta ecclesia variis castigata est afflictionibus et flagellis, tum

hostilitatis obsessione et incendio, tum pontificum suorum proscriptione et martyrio. Nunc autem in diebus istis novissimis, in quibus nec loco in quo Ipse Dominus passus est et sepultus, visus est pepercisse, acriori cæu tentatione fatigari permisit. Satis enim universitati vestræ innotuit, qualiter dominus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, postquam ad sedem apostolicam pro injuriis ab eo nobis illatis appellavimus, et priorem nostrum cum quibusdam fratribus nostris ad prosequendam appellationem de communi consilio transmisimus, rebus nos et redditibus spoliavit universis, et qualiter, quod hucusque inauditum, armatorum manibus murum curiæ nostræ perforavit, et ostiis officinarum nostrarum usque ad ipsum claustri ostium violenter effractis, et victualibus nostris asportatis, nos intra ecclesiam et claustrum obsedit. Qualiter etiam monachis, qui ei processionem offerre venerant, equos abstulit, et domum pedes remisit, et servientes nostros contra nos jurare coegit,[1] et clericos in cœmeterio captos in carceres projecit et vincula, et clausis cœmeterii januis, ne quis ad sanctorum corpora vel ad nos ingredi posset, victualia quæ nobis a fidelibus mittebantur ablata retinuit. Nuper autem coram regni magnatibus suppriorem nostrum denunciavit excommunicatum, imponens ei quod Cantuariensem ecclesiam auctoritate sua suspenderit. Quod utique universitati vestræ ita non esse attestamur omnes et singuli. Non enim per eum sed de communi consilio factum est, quod post tanti enormitatem sacrilegii, in contemptum sedis apostolicæ, celebrare non præsumpsimus. Omnes enim et singuli, quotquot sumus, a primo usque ad novissimum, ab exordio hujus causæ, sicut et antea, in unum consensimus et consentimus, solo illo perditionis et proditionis [filio][2] excepto, scilicet Rogero Norreis, qui exivit a nobis quia non erat ex nobis; de cujus vita et moribus ad præsens melius est tacere quam loqui. Quapropter universitatem vestram rogamus et obsecramus in Domino, ne ei, quia infidelis est et infideli deterior, fidem habeatis in aliquo, scientes eum perfidum et fugitivum conventus et ecclesiæ Cantuariensis proditorem, et a beato martyre Thoma, et ab omnibus prædecessoribus ejus et successoribus usque ad istum, excommunicatum. In omnes enim qui statum ecclesiæ perturbarent, aut secreta capituli malitiose detegerent, prædictus martyr et sancti prædecessores sui et successores sententiam dederunt anathematis. Quicquid autem contra nos mentiendo confinxerit,

A.D. 1188. About March.

church, the last the worst.

They recount the archbishop's offences.

fo. 68 r°.

All agreed in the suspension of divine service except Roger Norreys, against whom they are cautioned as being excommunicate.

1 S. John ii. 19.

[1] *coegit*] cogit, MS. | [2] *filio*] om. MS.

A.D. 1188. About March. All sentences of the archbishop against us are null.

pro loco et tempore nos eum mendacem et fugitivum, proditorem et excommunicatum, evidenter comprobabimus. Cæterum si dominus Cantuariensis aliquam in nos sententiam tulit de cætero vel tulerit, noveritis eam nullam esse, nec omnino tenere. Hoc enim sanctæ recordationis papa Urbanus, lite pendente, nobis indulsit.

After July 18.

CCLXXII. Honorius prior Cantuariensi Gaufrido suppriori.

The prior, after expressing his love for the convent,

Devotionis tuæ grata dilectione diu didicimus, et multis experimentis probavimus, quanta caritate erga personam nostram vestra fervebat devotio. Nec decepti estis, quia quanta caritate vos diligamus, nec stilo nec verbo exprimi potest. Sane super incolumitate vestra et fratrum nostrorum certiorari cupientes, vestræ caritatis nuncium recepimus, gavisi de incolumitate vestra et fratrum nostrorum, simul et de constantia. De tribulatione autem vestra in tantum atterimur, quod vellemus ad mortem impendi pro pace vestra. De statu autem nostro noscat vestra dilectio, quod manus Domini supra æstimationem nos afflixit. Cum enim causa nostra optatum haberet processum, et de omni petitione nostra obtinenda certi essemus, cum etiam dominus Ostiensis exsecutor causæ nostræ nobis esset assignatus, subito arripuit eum gravis infirmitas, quæ nec dimisit eum per quatuor dies usque in præsentem diem. Postmodum quidem, quod gementes et dolentes loquimur, nos et fratres nostri infirmati sumus in tantum, quod dominus Radulfus, cum Haymone et Eadmundo et Symone et Humfrido, viam universæ carnis ingressus est. Nos quidem, scilicet ego et frater Willelmus, tanta infirmitate constringimur cum domino Ostiensi, quod vix de vita nostra speratur. Hæc vobis scribimus dolentes quod angustias vestras augemus, nec tamen de misericordia Dei diffidendum est; Qui quanto durius percutit, tanto novit perfectius sanare, et post multas tribulationes plenissimam tranquillitatem novit indulgere. De consilio vobis respondemus, quatenus sitis constantes, quia nunc constantia necessaria est, et cum omni festinatione duos fratres ad curiam

informs them of the illness of the bishop of Ostia, and of the death of five brethren.

He himself and brother William are still ill, as is the bishop of Ostia.

[1] The dates of the death of these monks are fixed by the following notices in the obituary of Christ Church, Canterbury. "Nonis Julii, "Haymo de Taneto apud Romam." "V. id. Julii, Edmundus apud "Romam." "III. id. Jul., Humfridus apud Romam." "Id. Jul., "Symon apud Romam." "XV. "kal. Aug., Radulfus eleemosynarius apud Romam."

Romanam mittatis, qui possint causam vestram prosequi, quicquid de nobis contingat. Nos quidem, si divina benignitas nobis præstiterit sanitatem, a tuenda libertate ecclesiæ nec pro morte nec pro vita desistemus. Quod autem nuncium nostrum non accepistis, causa fuit quod tota familia nostra infirmata est, et quinque mortuis, alii languore detinentur, ita quod nec sibi nec nobis prodesse possunt. De excommunicatis autem illis quos dicitis neminem velle vitare, vos autem non posse, id nobis consilii est, quatenus eos quantum potestis evitetis; ubi autem non potestis, patienter sustineatis. Non est contagium, ubi non est consensus.

A.D. 1188. After July 18. He has been unable to send any news, as the whole family were sick.

CCLXXIII. Conventui Cantuariensi quidam amicus.

After July 18.

Suis suus se. Turbati sumus in vestra turbatione, cum tamen vos non perturbari sed gloriari debere perpendamus, quia non amisistis sed præmisistis victoriæ vestræ præcones, qui gloriosum proculdubio martyrium consecuti, firmiorem vobis fidem et spem robustiorem reliquerunt. Viriliter igitur agite et confortamini, et in Eo confidite, Qui non deserit sperantes in Se. Sit vobis in Eo et pro Eo vincendi desiderium, pro Cujus amore et honore arduum estis et insignem aggressi conflictum. Nos equidem, si aliter forte non possumus, affectu saltem et prompta voluntate vobis non deerimus, neque poteritis sine nostra confusione confundi, aut sine nostra congratulatione gratulari. Ne autem trepidetis ubi non est timor. Non credimus vobis aliquam exactionem obedientiæ fieri, antequam vobis plena restitutio fiat ablatorum. Si enim ordo rescripti fideliter fuerit observatus, quæ prius proposita sunt, prius adimpleri, quæ posterius debebunt postmodum postulari. Sicque si vobis plena facta fuerit restitutio, quod nunquam, sicut certissime credimus, accidet, non debetis obedientiam de cætero denegare, nisi speciali super hoc forte privilegio gaudeatis. Et tamen si forte accideret, consilium utique nobis non deesset. Satis etiam nobis sufficit exilitatem et inopiam vestram allegare, ut antequam plena vobis fiat restitutio, in nullo debeatis respondere. Scribemus autem diligentius ei cui commissa est negotii vestri executio. Scribatis et vos communi nostro et vestro, ut et ipse pro vobis suas partes interponat, cui similiter mandabimus, et negotii nostri curam, quantum in nobis est, committemus.

A friend congratulates the convent on the martyrdom of the brethren at Rome.

1 Cor. xvi. 13. Judith xiii. 17.

Ps. liii. 5.

They need not think of being obliged to obey the archbishop until he has given full restitution. fo. 68 v°.

A.D. 1188. After Sept. 14.

CCLXXIV. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres Cantuarienses.[1]

The brethren sent to Cîteaux met with great sympathy from all the abbots.

Varios viarum eventus quos incidimus Cistercium proficiscentes, mala quoque quæ pertulimus, nec nobis transnumerare promptum esset, nec vobis forte audire vacuum. Ea vero quæ negotium contingunt, quod pro Christo suscepistis, et ecclesiæ defensione in qua Deo militatis, et nos enarrare convenit, et vos nosse necessarium arbitramur. Itaque abbates omnes ordinis Cisterciensis, quos obiter convenimus, qualitatem enim negotii jam fere nullus ignorat, compati credimus et condolere, in qua confunduntur, afflictioni vestræ; spondentque omnes et singuli ea quæ ad pacem vestram sunt diligenter efficere, publice protestantes novæ fundationem ecclesiæ sibi omnimodis displicere. Vident nimirum, si steterit, ordinem et honestatem ecclesiæ vestræ ex ipsius affinitate dispendium certum et detrimentum incurrere. Dominus quoque Atrebatensis, qui dominum archiepiscopum nuper instantius, ut asserit, super hac re convenit in Normannia, in nullo ab aliis dissentire videtur, sed tanto altius dolore morderi, quanta dolorum immanitatem propius[2] intuitus, malorum causam aliis subtilius intuetur. Cæterum, ut ex verbis ejus colligimus, in patre nostro animum paternum erga filios nondum invenit. Putant aliqui, quod absit, eum in morte fratrum nostrorum consolatum, in proposito persistendi confidentiam accepisse majorem, quasi miraculose fecerit pro eo Dominus, cum potius tot casum filiorum ac talium, cui causam dedisse videtur, deflere credendus sit. In quorum morte, tanquam hostia pro universitate vestra soluta, Domino complacato, speramus quod cessabit quassatio; et reputabitur vobis labor hic ad justitiam, a generatione in generationem, et usque in sempiternum. Corpora autem eorum in pace sepulta sunt, et vivet nomen eorum in sæcula, felicemque negotii vestri consummationem, quam viventes non potuerunt, mortui a Patre misericordiarum obtinebunt, immolati pro omnibus vobis. Absit enim ut quia ceciderunt, eos aliquis causam injustam credat confovisse. Dixit namque ethnicus non minus verus quam impius, "Careat successibus opto, "Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat." Propheta quoque a se prope illectus et abstractus, cum malos in mundo florere, se autem quasi jam sine causa cor suum justificasse sentiret, "Si dicebam," inquit "narrabo sic, ecce nationem filiorum

The bishop of Arras has applied personally to the archbishop, but in vain.

Their reflexions on the death of the brethren at Rome.

Ps. cvi. 30, 31.

Ecclus. xliv. 14.

The character of acts should not be estimated by their failure or success.

Ovid. *Epist.* II. 85.

Ps. lxxiii. 15.

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[1] The annual chapter of the order of Cîteaux was held at this time on or about the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Sept. 14. *Selecta Statuta Cap. Gen. Ord. Cist.*, Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus*, IV. 1260, 1307.

[2] *propius*] propitius, MS.

"Tuorum reprobabo." Quid enim nisi sanctos reprobat, qui causam eorum ex casibus pensat? Ipsi namque præliantes bella Domini in mortem carnis corruerunt. Sed dum carorum fata deploramus anxii, factum fere excidit quod narrare habuimus. Ut ergo digressi regrediamur ad propositum; quod in capitulo Cisterciensi actum est super negotio vestro accipite. Capitulum trecentorum, ut dicebatur, patrum ingressi, venia petita, verbum breve fecimus, in quo et summam rei gestæ, et scandalum per omnes jam terras diffusum non omisimus, petentes ut laboranti ecclesiæ remedium ferre curarent, memoresque fierent quo sanctorum pretio empta fuerit, et redempta sæpius, quatenus in statu suo conservari posset. Ad quod dominus abbas Cisterciensis, respondens, "Scimus," ait "quia Cantuariensis ecclesia nobilis semper exstitit; sed "miramur si tantæ religionis vir aliquid in ea secus agit "quam deberet, nisi quia ut homo falli potest." Domino itaque Atrebatensi miserias vestras protestante, et ad pedes omnium pro vobis provoluto, adjecit abbas, "Libenter sive "per nuncios, sive per litteras, quoad poterimus ad pacem "ecclesiæ ipsius elaborabimus, dolentes quod conventus talis "taliter anxiatur." Certi ergo quia efficient viri tanti quod pollicentur, state constanter, in quo et statis, nihil mutati pro morte fratrum vestrorum, qui vos ipsos pro ecclesia vestra superimpendere parati estis. Dominum priorem salvavit Dominus propter Semet ipsum in medio millium morientium, quos pestilentia Romana invasit. Dominus quoque Ostiensis de morte communi, ut vos redimat, liberatus est, et ecce veniet desideratus tot temporibus, et replebitur gloria domus Domini in æternum. Quod ad supplicationem nostram capitulum fecit generale, quantum in scriptis est, docebit transcriptum litterarum quas destinant. Nescimus si quid amplius acceperunt in mandatis abbates qui ad dominum archiepiscopum mittendi sunt; credimus autem quia modicus aut nullus erit hujus laboris effectus. Valete, et etiamsi vos occiderit, sperate in Dominum.

1 Sam. xviii. 17.

1 Cor. xv. 1.

Ezek. xliii. 5.

Job xiii. 15.

A.D. 1188. After Sept. 14.

In the chapter at Citeaux 300 abbots were present, and we laid our case before them.

The abbot of Citeaux expressed astonishment at the archbishop's conduct. At the intercession of the bishop of Arras he promised to try to win peace for us.

The prior and the bishop of Ostia are still alive

We have little hope from the mission of the Cistercians to the archbishop.

CCLXXV. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres R. et J.

After Sept. 14.

Meminimus mandasse vobis quod, auditis rumoribus de morte fratrum nostrorum, deliberatum habuimus inter nos, alterum nostrum, me videlicet Johannem, ad dominum priorem destinare desolatum, alterum vero, me videlicet fratrem R., ad nundinas properantem, quæ jam instabat solutionem debitorum intendere. Verum hæc cogitantes comprehenderunt litteræ vestræ, quæ nos fratres adventantes præstolari jusserunt,

We were intending to go, John to Rome, and R. to Provins, when your letters stopped us. fo. 69 r°.

A.D. 1188. After Sept. 14. et prædictam quocunque modo solutionem differre. Sequentes itaque voluntates vestras, quæ proposueramus in anima nostra mutavimus consilia. Apud Cluniacenses ergo eos aliquamdiu expectavimus, ubi, quando veniret dominus Ostiensis, qui venturus est, minus certificati sumus, quamvis quod venire in proximo debeat, per monachos Cluniacenses, qui Roma recenter redierant exanimes, viris validissimis ipsius ecclesiæ ibi morte detentis, certiores effecti. Fratribus igitur quos emisistis moram majorem quam putabamus facientibus, ad nundinas Provini[1] revertentes, circa Catellionem quos obvios habere putabamus amisimus. Nos vero sexaginta marcas, quas misistis ad redimendam fidem nostram, Remis remisimus, ibi reservandas usque ad domini prioris adventum, de quo Provini per Romipedam quendam certificati sumus. Dixit enim quod in ingressu Veronæ eum viderit revertentem, et fratres duos cum illo, qualitatem personarum describens. Ipso etiam die asseruit se in mensa domini Ostiensis in eadem civitate comedisse. Fratres autem illos superstites credimus dominum Radulfum quondam eleemosynarium esse et magistrum Willelmum. Monachi enim Cluniacenses, de quibus supradiximus, nobis dixerunt quod illos tantum superstites reliquissent. Erat vero Anglicus quidam natus de Radingis, qui hoc nobis enarravit. Alii quoque multi jam rumoribus istis consonant, ut de cætero quod dicitur minus esse possit ambiguum. Unde ego frater J. statim adventantibus perrexissem obviam, nisi loculi leviores expensas omnino negassent. Quocirca una cum socio nostro domino R., Remis regressus, viaticum accipiens iter arripui. Spero autem prosequentibus orationibus in brevi quo tendo pervenire. Cæterum dominum Ostiensem idcirco in veniendo diutius detineri credo, quia Lumbardiam totam commotam et conturbatam invenit, et paci in transitu suo reformandæ, sicut filium pacis decuit, operam dedit forte, et a summo pontifice mandatum accepit, certe de officio legationis debuit, ut quasi pulchri sint pedes annunciantis pacem. Itaque hoc modicum sicut hactenus expectate longanimes, omnem sollicitudinem vestram projicientes in Deum, quoniam Ipsi cura est de vobis. Licet enim una cum Unigenito Ejus videamini in cruce derelicti, pugna tamen vestra desiderato aut certe meliori fine claudetur. Qui tenet teneat donec de medio fiat. Doceat vos Dominus vias Suas.

We waited for the brethren for a long time at Cluny, and then returning to Provins, missed them near Châtillon.

We sent the 60 marks, which you sent to save our credit, to Rheims.

We heard that the prior and bishop of Ostia are at Verona on their way.

So we have set out to meet them.

The bishop of Ostia is probably detained by the state of Lombardy.

S. Luke x. 6

Isaiah lii. 7.

1 S. Pet. v. 7.

2 Thess. ii. 7.

[1] The autumn fair of St. Ayeul at Provins, beginning on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

CCLXXVI. Conventui Cantuariensi frater transmarinus.[1]

A.D. 1188. September.

Tempore illo et die quo se apud Gadintunum malitia tota exseruit et excrevit, interfuisse me recolo, quando videlicet dominus Cantuariensis coram clero et populo de conventus Cantuariensis improbitate conquestus est. Ibi præ omnibus, excepto Cestrensi,[2] sævire cœpit in vos Elyensis.[3] Sed neque Rofensis[4] ibi os suum oppilavit. De Randulfo de Glanvilla hoc solum ad præsens dicere sufficiat, quod neque personam tuam diligit, neque conventus constantiam approbat, quam nuper in auribus meis nomine improbitatis obfuscavit. De decano Eboracensi[5] nulli dubium est, quin damnabilis illius capellæ canonicus exstiterit. Decanus autem Lincolniensis,[6] cum omnibus placere studeat, præsumi debet quod operam daturus sit diligentem, ut publicæ potestatis desiderio satisfaciat. Qui igitur sani capitis consulere vobis audeat, ut ad pacem inter vos et archiepiscopum reformandam, cum litteris capituli de ratihabitione viros mittatis quos isti ex vobis elegerint? Æstimo tamen eorum nomina de partibus transmarinis allata fuisse. Licet autem de nullius fratrum fide sit dubitandum, dubium tamen esse non potest, quin alius alio flexibilior sit, sive constantior. Ut ergo absque præjudicio melioris sententiæ, animi mei consilium proferam, si qui mittendi essent ad tam arduum negotium, universitatis vestræ debet esse electio. Verum quia nec id tutum esse video, maxime cum in hac causa status ecclesiæ vestræ perpetuo pendeat, et quasi de ecclesiæ anima agatur, cum etiam obsessi sitis ex præcepto archiepiscopi, nec tutum sit vobis egredi, cum etiam desint vobis et equi et expensæ et cætera ad iter necessaria, utpote qui stipe vivitis aliena, nec domini regis denarios velitis accipere, cum etiam fratres vestri in curia Romana causam ipsam prosequantur, necnon et regula beati Benedicti id habeat, ut quoties grande aliquid negotium ecclesiæ agitur, coram omnibus agatur, quia Deus quod melius est sæpe revelat juniori:—consulo ut duos de fratribus nostris discretis eligatis, de quorum fide non dubitetis, non tamen magni nominis, et eos ad dominum regem mittatis, devotas ei

Cf. No. clxxxvi.

Ps. cvii. 42.

The writer was at Gaitinton in February, and remembers the violence of the bishops of Ely and Chester, and the double-dealing of the dean of Lincoln.

The convent must be careful whom they send to the king, especially not to send those whom he wishes.

They had better send two of no great name.

[1] *Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus transmarinis*, MS.

[2] *Cestrensi*] Hugh de Nunant, bishop of Lichfield.

[3] *Elyensis*] Geoffrey Riddell.

[4] *Rofensis*] Gilbert Glanvill.

[5] Hubert Walter, dean of York, became bishop of Salisbury in 1189.

[6] Richard Fitz-Neal, dean of Lincoln; made bishop of London in 1189.

A.D. 1188. September. Also send letters stating that you dare not give full powers to any of the brethren, fo. 69 v°. but will be glad to hear what the king's proposal may be.

gratias agentes, quod dissensionem istam et discordiam nec vult nec potest sustinere, et quod operam paci reformandæ dignatur impendere, et alia verba quibus animus principis possit deleniri, annectentes in fine litterarum, quod propter prædictas causas et alias, quas forte meliores aut æque bonas invenietis, tam arduam causam, vel tam arduum negotium, nullis de fratribus vestris auderetis committere, sed audita per illos fratres vestros forma pacis, ad omne beneplacitum ejus, et ad omnem ejus voluntatem in forma pacis animos vestros inclinabitis, salvo statu vestro, et honestate vestra, et ecclesiæ vestræ indemnitate. Sed et nunciis ad vos venientibus mite responsum detis, affluentissimam habentes materiam, unde verba bona et dulcia et rationabilia formare potestis. Nostis enim scriptum, "Sermo bonus super datum optimum." Vale, sciens pro certo quod si ad nunciorum electionem fratres vestri in partes transmarinas mitterentur, aut pro voluntate regis et archiepiscopi pacem susciperent, aut[1] fierent vestigia nulla retrorsum. Volo etiam ut memor sit dilectio vestra verborum beati martyris Thomæ de rege Anglorum, "Cum "quo," inquit, "nemo unquam contraxit, qui ejus mus- "cipulas posset evadere." Bene valete. Quia omnia quæ præmissa sunt sub maxima celeritate scriptitavi, multa abbreviavi, quædam omisi, quorundam oblitus; unde et adhuc addo, respondere vos posse nunciis regis, quod plures fratrum in curia Romana mortui sunt, quidam domi decesserunt, nonnulli, vel infirmitate vel senectute impediente, labores conventus sustinere non possunt, neque chorum frequentare; unde neque tot, neque illos quos nuncii eligent, potestis mittere, ne servitium Dei debilitetur, et ecclesia nudetur consilio. Hoc autem modis omnibus caveatur, ne nuncii vestri cum nunciis regis eant, sed sequantur. Corrumpunt enim bonos mores colloquia prava; habeantque nuncii vestri certos fines mandati, quos non transgrediantur et citra quos non subsistant. Valete. Vespere nuncium tuum suscepi et mane dimisi.

Ecclus. xviii. 16.

Horace, *Epist.* I. i. 75.

Remember the caution of S. Thomas.

You can say that owing to the deaths at Rome and at home, more brethren cannot be spared.

1 Cor. xv. 33.

September. CCLXXVII. Conventui Cantuariensi prior Sancti Bertini.

The prior of S. Bertin reminds the convent of the trials of the saints

Sanctæ ecclesiæ filios non solum tempore gratiæ, sed etiam tempore Mosaicæ legis, et naturalis, a persecutoribus flagellatos, quis sacram scripturam mente revolvens non inveniat? Legimus enim Abel a fratre Caym invidia stimulante suffocatum; Abram,[2] cum ignem adorare contemneret, exustum; Loth a Babylonis

[1] *aut*] haut, MS.

[2] *Abram*] Aram, MS.

rege cum Sodomitis vinculatum ; populum Dei ab Ægyptiis servitute oppressum : David etiam a Saule gravissimas tulisse persecutiones quis nesciat? Machabæorum etiam veneranda prælia, ut legem conservarent, et fratres a persecutoribus liberarent, quis ignorat? et omnibus his prætermissis, cum eorum quidam peccatis exigentibus, alii ob majoris meritum coronæ flagella sustinerent, quis Christum a peccatis omnino immunem, et majora per tribulationes adipisci merita non valentem, a Patre pro nobis traditum, a Judæis tentum, a militibus crucifixum, mortem temporaliter sustinuisse, jam ambigat? His autem exemplis ego quidem, sicut omnes nostri, in tribulationibus vestris particeps, quas quidem quasi proprias mihi reputo, jamdudum vos ad tolerantiam parum instructos non timeo, cum mente vos viriliter stetisse considero, sed ne forte tædium[1] subrepat admoneo. Video enim Liberium papam cum hæresibus non subscriberet, et Athanasium damnandum judicare noluisset, exilio deportatum ; sed exilio fatigatum subscripsisse erubesco. Athanasium vero, cujus latibulis locus non inveniebatur idoneus, eo quod ubique persequeretur, cum gloria ad propriam sedem reversum, dignum imitatione non solum ego, sed sancta et Catholica, pro qua stetit, proponit ecclesia. Quis enim dubitet pro Christo mente sanus persecutori caput opponere, cum Ipse peccatis nostris exigentibus voluerit animam tradere pro nobis? Sanctorum etiam martyrum quis sani capitis dubitaret imitari vestigia? Nec etiam illud a memoria nostra aliqua amputari posse crediderim tribulatione, quod ab antiquis temporibus, quantum relationibus comprehendere possumus, præsules vestri usque ad præsentem, alii exilio, alii proscriptione, alii etiam morte mulctati[2] sunt. Fratres etiam vestros considerare oportet, ex quibus in præsenti negotio plures et potiores, ut nobis et vobis notum est, velut exules, nescimus in alienis regionibus quo scilicet honore sepulturam obtinuerint, quorum tamen animas, utpote fortium ecclesiæ suæ defensorum, et pro justitiæ defensione defunctorum, ab angelis in cœlo collocatas non dubitamus. Vos autem, quibus æque ut aliis Deus æterna præmia promittit, videte, ne sitis, ut pueri dicere consueverunt, per quos, ut per pejores, lepus transeat, quos velut extremos, ut apud satiricum dicitur, scabies occupet. Certum enim est vos ista, peccatis nescio vestris an nostris exigentibus, pati, quorum purgatione peracta, contra omnium æstimationem Deus liberationem immittet, etiam cum vos minus de ea certi eritis magisque

A.D. 1188. September. under the Law ;

and of our Lord Himself.

Beware of being weary of well-doing, by the warning of pope Liberius, and the example of S. Athanasius.

Remember the trials of the ancient archbishops, and of your brethren who have died abroad.

Do not you disgrace these.

Horace, *Ars Poet.* 417.

fo. 70 r°.

[1] *tædium*] stadium, MS.

[2] *mulctati*] Partially erased, and doubtful.

A.D. 1188. September. Pray for your enemies.

destituti. Non enim proponit sancta scriptura sanctorum persecutionem, ubi non subscribat vel temporalem liberationem vel æternam pro labore coronam. Valete: pro persecutoribus orate indesinenter, ne Deus eis æternaliter imputet quod ignoranter committunt, et nos vestris orationibus socios et tribulationibus dignemini efficere.

September.

CCLXXVIII. Omnibus Cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent entreat the cardinals to help them speedily.

Universitatem vestram, domini et patres reverendi, non credimus ignorare, qualiter ad sedem apostolicam tempore sanctæ recordationis Urbani papæ, pro statu ecclesiæ nostræ appellavimus, et quosdam de fratribus nostris cum priore nostro ad prosequendam appellationem nostram destinavimus. Nunc autem crescente morbo et crudescente materia, cum non sit nobis adjutor nec protector in tribulatione nostra, eousque deducti sumus, quod nisi cum summa celeritate sanctitatis vestræ sentiamus auxilium, in proximo est ut miserabilis vitæ nostræ miserias omnes pariter mortis compendio terminemus. Cum enim rebus et redditibus omnibus violenter et extraordinarie jam multo tempore spoliati sumus, non solum nobis victualia de die in diem deficiunt, sed nec etiam ad mendicandum panem nostrum, et potum lacrymarum quem de calice mœroris sed sine mensura accipimus, libere exire permittimur. Eapropter universitatis vestræ pedibus omnes et singuli in luctu et lacrymis provoluti postulamus, quatenus divinæ miserationis intuitu et gloriosi martyris Thomæ obtentu, calamitatibus nostris et miseriis maturius subvenire dignemini, attendentes, si placet, in quanta amaritudine anima nostra est, qui non solum universam substantiam nostram, sed etiam fratres nostros et ministros eorum in curia Romana amisimus. Quorum sanguinem una cum nostro ne requirat Deus de manibus vestris, finem, si placet, nostris quamcitius imponatis angustiis.

They are confined to the monastery.

Ps. lxxx. 5.

Their brethren at Rome are dead.

CCLXXIX. Conventus Cantuariensis omni abbati quicunque vult salvus esse.

The convent remind all abbots of their afflictions.

In quanta mendicitate et miseria jam multo tempore vixerimus, et maxime postquam a patre nostro archiepiscopo pro conservandis ecclesiæ nostræ dignitatibus et privilegiis, rebus et redditibus spoliati sumus universis, paternitatem vestram non credimus ignorare, cum rumor eorum quæ apud nos facta sunt, non solum finitimorum ora et aures repleverit,

sed jam fere in universum orbem exierit, licet minor sit fama opere, et rumor ipsarum rerum veritate. Unde cum non possimus status nostri, immo destitutionis nostræ qualitatem, quamvis ad hoc solum omnes et singuli plurimum niteremur, describere; ut sit de ipsa breviter et summatim dicere, cum non possimus singula quæ infirmitatis nostræ sunt singulis præ pudore detegere; qui tot et tantis abundavimus, antequam instabilis fortunæ fidem experiremur non esse stationariam, de tam sublimi ad tantam redacti sumus inopiam, quod de cætero oportebit nos vel inopia victualium deficere, vel panem nostrum publice mendicare. Quod quia in partibus nostris jam multo tempore fecimus, timentes nimietate, quæ odiosa et onerosa est maxime in pauperibus, amicis nostris nos reddere importunos, licet non sine gravi dolore et verecundia, convertimur [ad][1] alios, de quibus tamen[2] scimus et certi sumus, quia sicut non possunt nos non diligere, sic in necessitate ista nobis diligentibus se non poterunt non subvenire. Hinc igitur est quod ad vos, de quo inter alios spem et fiduciam ampliorem, non de meritis nostris, sed de mera liberalitate vestra concepimus, urgente necessitate confugimus, paternitati vestræ obnixius supplicantes, quatenus revocato ad memoriam quam pium et pretiosum sit, et maxime in prælatis, in tempore tribulationis subvenire oppressis, mendicitatem nostram et miseriam intueri et relevare dignemini, ut ecclesia Cantuariensis, quæ, si respiraverit, parata est in perpetuum vestris parere obsequiis, vestris ad præsens se sentiat relevari auxiliis. Valete, et veniam precum nostrarum importunitati præstantes, mementote quia sicut non habet legem necessitas, sic et erubescentiam consuevit eliminare paupertas.

A.D. 1188. They are actually reduced to beggary.

They are afraid of being importunate, but are compelled to ask for assistance.

CCLXXX. Conventus Cantuariensis abbati et Conventui Sancti Eadmundi.

Quoniam humanis legibus obviat et naturæ, qui, quod omnibus gratis tenetur impendere, alicui pro pretio facit esse venale, cum ex mandato Dominico teneamur non solum amicos sed etiam inimicos diligere, non credimus super eorum calamitatibus et miseriis non posse non dolere, qui vos diligunt in veritate, et sub consimili vita et veste, licet alio in loco eodem tamen sub principe, paribus pro meritis elegerunt militare. Hinc igitur est, quod ex proprio alienum metientes[3] affectum,

S. Matt. v. 44.

The convent of Canterbury trust that they are dear to the abbot and convent of S. Edmunds.

[1] *ad*] om. MS.
[2] *tamen*] tam, MS.
[3] *metientes*] mentientes, MS.

A.D. 1188. They briefly recount their troubles.

ad pietatis vestræ viscera in necessitate nostra securius censuimus esse recurrendum, sperantes eorum nullatenus defraudari solatio, quorum in obsequium accincti sumus et corpore et animo. Sane quia de status nostri, immo destitutionis nostræ miseria dilectionem vestram non ignorare credimus, superfluum videtur et vanum velle describere, quot et quantis affecti sumus injuriis, quibus provocati angariis, et ad ultimum quam numerosis spoliati possessionibus et divitiis. Ab octavis enim Epiphaniæ, quando universa quæ habuimus præter claustrum et corpora violenter et extraordinarie ablata sunt, fidelium viximus et adhuc utrumque vivimus eleemosynis, ita ut cum beato Job flagellati et afflicti, veraciter possimus dicere, "quæ prius nolebat tangere anima mea, nunc præ angustia cibi mei sunt." Ad memoriam igitur, si placet, revocantes in quanta amaritudine anima eorum est, et quam gravi afficiuntur dolore et erubescentia, cum aliorum coguntur mendicare suffragia, qui consueverunt erogare et propria, nobis in arcto positis in aliquo subvenire dignemini; considerantes quia nihil securius est quoad conscientiam, quam pro fratribus animas ponere, sic nihil gloriosius est quoad famam, quam pauperum et mendicantium relevare inopiam. Moveat itaque pietatem vestram maternæ calamitatis miseria, fratrum vestrorum tribulatio et angustia, exempli pernicies futuris temporibus formidanda. Prope enim est, ut in servitutem redigantur et filii et filiæ, si libertas generalis prius fuerit materno subjugata in vertice. Valete, fratres dilectissimi, et apud Deum et homines partes vestras interponendo, nobis fratribus vestris jam jam periclitantibus auxiliari dignemini.

fo. 70 v°.

Job vi. 7.

They entreat for assistance.

The slavery of the children will follow the subjection of the mother.

In eundem modum abbatibus et conventibus Sancti Albani, Westmonasterii et aliis quampluribus.

CCLXXXI. Conventus Cantuariensis Hamelino comiti Warennlæ.

The convent remind earl Hamelin of their reverse of fortune.

Cantuariensis ecclesia quam nobiliter fundata, quot et quantis dicata et donata sit possessionibus, in quanta prosperitate et affluentia rerum temporalium usque ad hæc nostra tempora perduraverit, et vos et alios fratres vestros satis credimus audisse et vidisse. Nunc autem rebus et redditibus ita spoliata est universis, quod ab octavis Epiphaniæ nec victum unius diei habuimus, ex omnibus quæ pro salute sua ecclesiæ nostræ reges et principes magnifice contulerunt, sed quod miserabile est, et de tam nobili ecclesia nunquam prius auditum, pauperum et peregrinorum toto hoc spatio viximus et

adhuc vivimus utrumque eleemosynis; et qui universis ad nos venientibus victui necessaria consuevimus misericorditer impendere, nunc eadem ab aliis gravi verecundia et confusione compellimur miserabiliter mendicare. Quapropter vobis, sicut fratri nostro carissimo, et ei de quo spem et fiduciam majorem in mendicitate ista et miseria concepimus, omnes et singuli supplicamus attentius, quatenus pro Deo et salute vestra, et hæredum vestrorum, ereptioni nostræ, tanquam Cantuariensis ecclesiæ filius et frater dilectissimus, adhibere dignemini, et de vestræ pietatis abundantia, quam Deus adaugeat, nostræ paupertatis relevare inopiam; considerantes, si placet, quam vanæ scilicet et volatiles sint divitiæ, quæ quotidie morte et infortunio auferri possunt ab homine. Rom. x. 12. Dominus autem, Qui dives est in omnes qui invocant Illum, vos et dominam comitissam, cum hæredibus vestris, quibus Deus virtutum tribuat incrementum, sic dirigat per bona temporalia, ut in æternum felicitate gaudeatis æterna. Amen.

A.D. 1183. They are reduced to beggary.

They entreat his good offices and charity.

Eodem modo comitissæ.

CCLXXXII. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui de Lewes.

Super inæstimabili et inevitabili rerum mutabilitate temporalium, et fortunæ statu instabili, non potest de jure conqueri, cui datum est vel unicum amicum invenire in adversis, ex iis omnibus quos præ multitudine vix enumerabat in prosperis, nec[1] juxta quod vulgo dicitur, tota ejus vita dicenda est misera, cujus vel una dies exstitit salutifera. Hinc est quod de dilectione vestra, quam aliis vacillantibus, et fortuitos fortunæ casus comitantibus, firmam et fortissimam invenimus, ut illud Salomonis veraciter de ea possimus Cant. viii. 6. dicere, "fortis est ut mors dilectio;" in exultatione cordis confitemur Altissimo, Qui vel unum reservavit nobis in desolatione nostra solatium, quod nobis fiat et desideratum in mœrore remedium et securum in necessitate refugium. Sane super largitatis et liberalitatis vestræ gratia, quam non de meritis nostris, sed de mera et multiplici bonitate et benignitate vestra, cognato nostro impendistis, non quas tenemur, sed quas possumus gratiarum vobis ex animo referimus actiones; rogantes, quod tamen erubescentes dicimus, ut quod misericorditer incepistis, saltem usque ad modicum tempus continuare dignemini. Speramus enim quod in proximo

He is not altogether unfortunate who has one friend left.

The convent of Canterbury are confident of the love of the convent of Lewes, and thank them for their kindness to a kinsman.

[1] *nec*] ne, MS.

A.D. 1188. fo. 71 r°. visitabit nos Oriens ex alto, et miseriis nostris Miserator et Misericors post flagella finem imponet. ¶ Valete, et veniam præstantes precum nostrarum importunitatibus, caritatem præsumptuosam, et necessitatem erubescentiæ memineritis esse ignaram. S. Luke i. 78. Ps. ciii. 8.

CCLXXXIII. Conventus Cantuariensis civibus Londoniensibus.

The convent remind the citizens of London that they are deprived of the benefactions of their ancestors, and reduced to beggary.

Ad universitatis vestræ notitiam satis credimus pervenisse, in quanta mendicitate et miseria sumus constituti, et qualiter non solum redditibus quos antecessores vestri dederunt ecclesiæ Christi, sed etiam rebus et possessionibus omnibus quæ in mundo habuimus, nudati et spoliati sumus, ita quod ab octavis Epiphaniæ usque hodie, nec unius diei victum de omni substantia nostra habentes, pauperum et mendicantium et etiam Judæorum viximus eleemosynis. Eapropter universitatem vestram rogamus attentius, quatenus intuitu Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ, qui de stirpe nobilitatis vestræ gloriosam duxit originem, nos in carcere positos eleemosynarum largitione visitare velitis, reducentes ad memoriam quot et quantas persecutiones et angustias pro ecclesia Cantuariensi martyr pretiosus sustinuit. In cujus sinu ne victualium deficiamus inopia, subvenire nobis non dedignetur liberalitatis vestræ clementia.

They entreat help for the sake of S. Thomas their fellow-citizen.

CCLXXXIV. Omnibus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ filiis et amicis.

The convent remind their friends of their unhappy state.

Miserabilis matris vestræ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ statum miserabilem, sicut universitatem vestram non ignorare, ita etiam vos credimus filiali ex affectu super ipsius desolatione lamentabili non posse non dolere. Cum enim post tot et tantas quas a retroactis temporibus sustinuit calamitates et miserias, universa enavigasse pericula et jam portum tranquillitatis crederetur adepta, irruit super eam repentina inundatio, et excita subito tempestate sævissima, non solum ventis et undis sed et omni fortunæ exposita, cum non sit præter Deum qui redimat vel salvam faciat, inter fluctus et scopulos jactata, eo magis æstimatur morti proxima, quo ab humano videtur auxilio destituta. Hinc est quod nos, licet indigni, qui cum matre nostra navigante navigavimus, et jam cum naufragante naufragamur, pro conservandis et dignitatibus et privilegiis ejus et statu a quo nunquam antea destituta est; ab octavis

Epiphaniæ rebus et redditibus spoliati universis, in luctu et lacrymis viximus, et adhuc utrumque fidelium vivimus elee-mosynis. Nolentes enim manus degeneres jugulo matris nostræ injicere, domino nostro archiepiscopo nec potuimus consentire, ut juxta eam in subversionem ejus aliam fundaret ecclesiam, et de bonis ipsius ditatam illam erigeret[1] alterius in ruinam. Unde ab ipso patre nostro supra modum et numerum contumeliis et injuriis affecti, et idem divitiis et possessionibus spoliati universis, quia durum esset et detestabile matrem nostram in extremis laborantem deserere, malumus in ipsa et pro ipsa victualium inopia qua quotidie cruciamur deficere, quam pro deliciis temporalibus legem Dei et libertatem ipsius prostituere. Eapropter universitati vestræ omnes et singuli supplicamus attentius, quatenus considerantes quam speciosum sit humanæ naturæ ornamentum misericordia, fugientibus ad vos in mendicitate et miseria sinum pietatis vestræ aperire dignemini, et de facultatum vestrarum abundantia paupertatis nostræ relevare inopiam, scientes pro certo, quoniam in proximo una cum matre vestra oportebit inter nos fratres vestros fame et inedia deficere, nisi maturius eisdem studueritis subvenire. Præsentium igitur latorem fratrem nostrum dilectioni vestræ commendantes, rogamus, quatenus eidem fidem indubitatam habeatis, et iis quæ ex parte nostra vobis proposuerit, aurem et animum inclinare velitis. Quicunque autem matri suæ aliquid in necessitate ista pietatis impenderit solatium, constituimus eum participem fieri omnium beneficiorum quæ in ea fient in perpetuum. Valete.

A.D. 1188.

They are living on alms, because they will not yield to the archbishop's wish to ruin the church.

They ask for relief out of their friends' abundance.

They will admit all benefactors to a share in the privileges and services of their church.

CCLXXXV. Henrico regi Conventus Cantuariensis.

July.

Noverit excellentia vestra, princeps nobilissime, quod cum vos sicut dominum et regem nostrum benignissimum vellemus adire, duo de fratribus nostris quos ad sublimitatem vestram pro necessitatibus nostris mittere voluimus, cum jam essent in procinctu itineris, semel et iterum, obseratis portis cœmeterii retenti sunt et exire prohibiti. Unde ad pedes majestatis vestræ nuncium, qualem habere possumus, non qualem vellemus, transmittimus, celsitudini vestræ in veritate significantes, quod jam ad tantam perducti sumus inopiam, quod de cætero oportebit nos panem nostrum publice mendicare. Quapropter pietati vestræ omnes et singuli supplicamus attentius, qua-

The convent inform the king that when they wished to send two monks to him they were hindered from quitting the monastery.

Cf. Nos. ccxlvii. and cclxxxvi.

[1] *erigeret*] eligeret, MS.

A.D. 1188. July. They enfo. 71 v°. treat him to restore their property.

tenus, pro salute animæ vestræ, elemosynas vestras et antecessorum vestrorum nobis restitui faciatis, ut in ea tranquillitate qua semper sub protectione vestra viximus, adhuc vivere possimus. Dilatet Dominus dies vestros cum gaudio in tempora diuturniora.

Before July 10.

CCLXXXVI. Conventus Cantuariensis abbati de Bello.

The convent hearing that the king is going abroad by way of Battle, entreat the abbot to tell him that the monks whom they were sending to him were detained at the gate of the cemetery, and not suffered to proceed.

Licet caritatem constet non posse aliquatenus tædio affici, timemus tamen ex importunitate fieri onerosi. Unde super crebris petitionibus nostris veniam postulantes, et vestrum ex nostro metientes affectum, rogamus et petimus, quatenus dominum nostrum regem, qui, sicut accepimus, in partes vestras causa transfretandi venturus est, pro nobis adire digne- Cf. Gervase, 1535. mini, eumque super negotio nostro securius et sollicitius convenire, in veritate ei suggerentes quod ad eum venire volumus, sed fratres nostri qui ad hoc destinati fuerant, cum essent in procinctu itineris, obseratis cœmeterii januis semel et iterum retenti sunt, et exire prohibiti. Sed et hoc eidem domino nostro, divinæ miserationis et nostræ mendicitatis intuitu, insinuare dignemini, quod de cætero, nisi citius nostra nobis restitui faciat, oportebit nos publice panem nostrum mendicare; et ut hoc constanter possetis asserere, noveritis pro certo illud in proximo necessario fieri oportere. Valete semper in Domino, et incessanter divinam gratiam pro nobis fratribus vestris implorate.

After June 16.

CCLXXXVII. Hamelino comiti Warenniæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent beg earl Hamelin to obey the archbishop's command, brought by William Fitz-Neal, and to release the prisoners.

Quoniam, sicut audivimus et certi sumus, dominus noster archiepiscopus antequam transfretaret, Willelmo filio Nigelli præcepit, ut per vos incarcerati liberarentur, rogamus vos sicut amicum nostrum dilectissimum, et eum de quo non minus quam de nobis confidimus, quatenus operam adhibere velitis, ut prædicti incarcerati per vos vel litteras vestras quamcitius a carcere eruantur. Hoc enim, sicut credimus, plurimum cedet honori et laudi, et nobis qui circumquaque affligimur, et quodammodo cum ipsis incarceramur, refrigerio et consolationi. Valete, et intuitu gloriosi martyris Thomæ et generositatis innatæ, petitionem nostram effectui mancipare dignemini.

CCLXXXVIII. Gaufrido suppriori fratres a curia Romana.

A.D. 1188. After Nov. 4.

The brethren sent to Rome inform the subprior of the death of the prior and the bishop of Ostia.

Paternitati vestræ dolentes significamus, quod dominus et pater noster prior mortuus est,[1] sed et fratres nostri omnes præter fratrem Willelmum mortui sunt, quem invenimus infirmum et debilem, et omnes ministros similiter infirmos. Dominus vero Ostiensis, ad quem solum sperabamus habere refugium, quinto die post adventum nostrum ultimum clausit diem. Nos autem propter tam sinistros eventus supra modum contristati sumus, nec est unde adhuc aliquid consolationis accipiamus. Monemus caritatem vestram quantum possumus, ut ea qua cœpistis constantia stetis in causa Dei, et alios ad standum firmius hortemini, et si dominus archiepiscopus forte voluerit vobis priorem præficere, omnino resistatis, donec recipiatis super hoc mandatum domini papæ, quod speramus vos in brevi accepturos. Scripsissemus quidem vobis aliter, si omnimodam fidem haberemus portitori. Valete semper in Domino.

They beg them not to accept a new prior from the archbishop.

CCLXXXIX. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres missi Romam.

After Nov. 4.

The brethren sent to Rome inform the convent of the death of the prior and brethren.

Quo animo in ecclesiæ suæ defensione steterint fratres nostri, hoc unum sufficit ostendere, quod ejus tuitioni animas suas impenderunt. Felices qui et requiescunt a laboribus suis, et finem pugnæ suæ Christum adepti, operum suorum fructum refectione non defectiva percipiunt. "Opera enim illorum sequuntur "illos." Quibus dominus prior in morte ipsorum gladio compassionis acriori confossus, tandem martyr accessit, ne videlicet ultra desiderator bonus differretur a regno, sed magis, sicut particeps fuit laboris et pugnæ, ita consors fieret retributionis et gloriæ. Solebat quippe dicere in valetudine sua, fratribus jam præmissis ad requiem, cum ei[2] sospitas a medicis mendacibus promitteretur, sicut accepimus; "Non placet Deo ut "convalescam; eam potius post fratres meos." Nonne in his verbis finem laboris vobis videtur affectasse, ac zelo sancto, quasi gloriæ sociorum invidens, ne derelinqueretur timuisse? Vexatio namque dederat intellectum, et in brevi tempora multa compleverat. Sive ergo aer pestilens tulerit

Rev. xiv. 13.

The prior did not wish to survive his brethren.

Isaiah xxviii. 19.
Wisdom iv. 13.

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[1] The date of the death of the prior is given in the obituary of Christ Church, "xii. cal. Novembr. "Honorius quondam prior;" and that of the bishop of Ostia, "prid. "non. Novembr."

[2] *ei*] eis, MS.

A.D. 1188. After Nov. 4.

eos, sive miscuit eis aliquis, ut putatur et dicitur, vere beati sunt qui pro veritate dimicantes, et perseverantiæ gratia propositum sanctum complentes, martyres esse meruerunt, adeo ut defunctorum corpora etiam Romani, puritatem causæ intuentes ac conscientiæ, ad ecclesias suas certatim rapuerint. Verum in cogitatione sua dicet aliquis, "Quis crediderit aut illos aut "nos Christo dimicasse? Immo manifeste Dominus pugnat pro "adversariis contra nos. Urbanus papa mortuus est, cum negotium nostrum expedire proponeret; dominus prior et fratres, "cum jam prope esset expeditum, dominus quoque Ostiensis, "pacem ecclesiæ reddere deputatus, eodem tempore de medio "sublatus est, et quid apertius? Manifeste tam pro illis quam "contra nos judicat Deus." Nequaquam; sed in fine temporum solvendus, Sathanas solutus videtur, et consurgere tribulatio qualis non fuit, ut si fieri possit moveantur etiam electi. Audite illud dictu mirabile. Pugnavit contra Christianos infidelis Saladinus, sicut audistis, et expugnavit, cessitque victoria inimico crucis Christi. Instaurabant autem nuper Pisani cum Jenuensibus navigia multa, hominibus, armis et victualibus munitissima, viri fortes, et terra marique paganorum insolentiæ formidabiles, videlicet ut Crucifixi confessores crucis injuriam vindicarent. Vix altum contigerant, et aeris pestilentia in præcordiis recepta, personæ destitutæ in mare projectæ sunt, deinde procellarum ac venti rabie irruente, naves absque rectore, salo diu jactatæ, tandem in littus ejectæ sunt et minutatim confractæ. Sicque Crucifixi necessitates successu caruerunt. Quid dicetis ad hæc? dereliquit Dominus populum Suum, et abominatus est hæreditatem Suam? Absit. Immo, pro certo probat Dominus populum Suum, et hæreditatem Suam non dereliquit. Irrideant itaque adversarii; de morbis lætentur; de mortibus nostris exultent; cædant, occidant, dummodo in sorte sanctorum sic mereamur ascribi. Sancti quoque ludibria, etc. Et quanto mitius nobiscum agitur, qui duriora meruimus, si eorum tormenta pensamus! Cæterum, "dabit "Deus his quoque finem." Ecce venit in potestate magna et majestate, qui Damascum subvertet, et dabit gloriam in Jerusalem, non is quem proposuimus, cujus laboribus pepercit Deus, sed quem disposuit Dominus, melius confecturus partis adversæ superbiam quam quem expectabamus. Confidite itaque, et nolite timere. Nisi fallimur nos, et omnes qui causam nostram in curia Romana pro Christo confoverunt, in ipso exaudivit Dominus vocem fletus vestri. Exaudivit Dominus deprecationem vestram; Dominus orationem vestram suscepit. Erubescant et conturbentur, etc. Valete.

Whether they died of disease or of poison, they are martyrs.

fo. 72 r°.

Let none be discouraged by this, although Satan seems to be loosed, and the last times come.

S. Matt. xxiv. 24.

The Pisans and Genoese going on the crusade have been attacked by plague and storm.

Phil. iii. 18.

God proves His people by these afflictions.

Ps. cvi. 39.

Heb. xi. 36.

Virgil, *Æn.* i. 199.

God has raised up another champion for us.

Ps. vi. 8, 9, 10.

CCXC. Gaufrido suppriori Cantuariensi fratres a curia Romana.

A.D. 1188. After Dec. 9.

Noveritis dominum Radulfum legatum in crastino conceptionis beatæ Mariæ iter arripuisse, sed sicut gigas currens viam bene complet dietis, nisi cum negotia occurrentia transitum ejus impediunt ad modicum: cito enim expediuntur. Itaque in plenitudine potestatis accedit, ita ut in litteris legationis ipsius generalibus expressum audierimus, quod quicquid egerit, ita ratum et firmum haberi debeat, ac si de ore domini papæ processisset. In negotio quoque nostro omnem habet coercionem, suspendendi videlicet et excommunicandi, sicut in forma ei præscripta continetur. Quæ si quid habet contra voluntatem vestram, hoc appositum non dubitetis contra votum nostrum. Sciatis autem dominum legatum eam omnino primum juxta desiderium nostrum composuisse; sed inimicus homo Octovianus, cum in audientia domini papæ et omnium cardinalium legeretur, quædam addidit quæ non petebamus, quædam vero quæ obtinuimus subtraxit. Cæterum nihil in ea est quod displicere debeat, cum regulam æquitatis non excedat. Placuit ergo, ut eadem forma litterarum dirigeretur quæ prius, cum adjectione quorundam. Quod vero de monachis adjectum legitis, idcirco appositum credimus, ut pudori domini archiepiscopi vel in aliquo parceretur. Omnia enim impleri necesse est, sicut diffinita sunt. Itaque fratrem Helyam consilio domini cardinalis in curia dolentes dimisimus, ne quis falsa suggestione possit aliud impetrare. Speramus autem, immo confidimus, quod dominus legatus omnia efficaciter exequetur. Duo enim litterarum paria quæ accepimus, sic partiti sumus, unum per dominum Ihonam par præmisimus, quatenus domino archiepiscopo, si in Anglia est, per vos sub aliquorum testimonio porrigantur. Si vero citra mare adhuc detinetur, per fratrem H. et R., si in cismarinis agit, vel ipsum Jo. deferantur. Credimus autem eum in Angliam rediisse ex quo verbum de pace inter reges audivimus. Alterum par sibi dominus cardinalis habet, ut, si neglexerimus, ipse ostendat. Expediret autem propter terminum diffusiorem, ut quamcitius in manus domini archiepiscopi devenirent. Quæ tamen inspicienda paucis, scribenda nulli, ante porrectionem exhibeantur, ne adversariis nimis tempestive innotescant, neque enim credimus ad eos pervenisse. Verum nec præpropere domino archiepiscopo dentur, ut videlicet possit ante tempus executionis ad curiam mittere; sed legato non longe agente, quindecim diebus vel tribus septimanis ante adventum ejus ut multum non minus sibi posset prævidere. Consilium legis

Ps. xiv. 5.

The brethren sent to Rome inform the subprior that cardinal Ralph Nigel started on his legation Dec. 9. He has the fullest powers.

Our enemy, cardinal Octavian, has inserted some things in the commission which we did not want, but of no importance.

We left brother Elias at Rome to watch

Be careful as to the time when you present the letters to the archbishop.

A.D. 1188. After Dec. 9.

peritorum est, quod ponimus. Si res in cismarinis actitanda est, fratres magis idoneos duos vel tres, qui ad nos mittantur providete. Dabit legatus advocatum; nec timeant in aperto

fo. 72 v°.

mittendi per portam exire. Utinam enim etiam legatum contra se novo aliquo gravamine adversarii provocassent. Ubicunque

Send our regular habits for us to S. Bertin.

vero futura sit executio, providete ut habitum nostrum regularem citra mare apud Sanctum Bertinum, si fieri potest, inveniamus. Scribite domino cardinali in forma quam mittimus,

Write to the cardinal, and send the letter by a servant.

si placet. Si modum necessitate vel voluntate mutaveritis, non invidemus. Litteræ vero per puerum venienti mittantur obviam, non per monachum. Quoniam autem primus discendi modus est, considerasse ad quem sermo, noveritis quia religiosus admodum est, subtilis, breviloquus et modestus. Unde verba vestra circumspecta esse oportet, pauca et modesta.

The cardinal will not accept gifts; he has refused a reliquary from me, brother John; but I have made him borrow the prior's pack-horse, so that he ought to restore that or its price.

Cæterum cavete, ne aliquid omnino munus ei offeratis. Ego namque frater J., cum nobis datus esset, accessi secretius et philaterium illud nobile quod protraxistis texto affigendum obtuli, volens ei in ipso causam martyris et ecclesiam commendare, quatenus intuendo memor esset quanti laboris fuerit et meriti apud Deum, ecclesiam illam tueri. Ipse vero cum relliquias plurimum desideraret, propter argentum tamen deauratum, et lapides circumpositos, recipere recusavit. Summarium tamen domini prioris non sine difficultate ei mutuo dedimus indigenti. Itaque equum nobis, vel ejus æstimationem, debeat restituere. Nolite ergo timere, scientes quia gratiam Dei tantum hoc labore suo sibi comparare, ut asserit, proposuit. Sciatis etiam quia in bona gratia domini papæ discessimus. Itaque dicentibus nobis quod fratrem quendam in curia reliquimus, ne ab eo aliquis aliud quam quod statuant, impetraret, papa respondit, "Bene volumus quod frater ille maneat

The pope said that we need not leave brother Elias, for all was safe.

"nobiscum, sed certe ei quod indultum est nemo unquam "contrarium impetrabit." Itaque non sitis solliciti de nobis, quia abundamus in omnibus, et frater nihilominus qui in curia est, si vos tantummodo interim potestis subsistere. Hæc est enim cura major in pectore nostro. Novus casus incidit obiter, et desiderarent multa quæ scripsimus immutari, sed præsentium lator vobis poterit quæ omisimus enarrare, et per nos, ut credimus, vobis tempore suo innotescent. Quæ fiunt non facimus sine majori consilio. Sed efficite modis omnibus, quibus potestis, ut non videamini de domino cardinali confidere, sed magis timere. Hoc enim ei placet et vobis expedit.

I, brother John, have some secrets for you.

Ego frater J. ei adhibeo, ut voluntatem ejus inquiram et consilium, vobisque significem, anxiatus, scit Deus, in multis. Verumtamen hæc sunt quæ nec nuncio committere volumus, nec littera designare. Experto et intelligenti satis dictum est. Valete.

CCXCI. Clemens papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.

A.D. 1188. Dec. 10.

Cf. No. cxciii.

Quanto in ecclesia Dei scientiæ munere, et religionis præmines honestate, dignitatisque apicem in partibus Anglicanis obtines ampliorem, tanto decet caritatem tuam vigilantiori studio a subjectorum injuriis vel oppressionibus temperare, et iis postpositis quæ justitiæ pulchritudinem decolorant, odoremque bonæ opinionis extinguunt, obedientiam et reverentiam debitam majoribus exhibere. Unde non sine causa miramur quod, sicut nobis proponitur, post appellationem ad sedem apostolicam factam, et bonæ memoriæ prædecessoris nostri Urbani prohibitionem, adeo circa novæ capellæ constructionem et alia multa, manus tuas in ecclesiæ tibi commissæ fratrum molestias aggravasti, ut nihil eis de interpositæ appellationis remedio accessisse, prout ratio juris expostulat, æstimetur; nec tu honori sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ matris tuæ videaris, prout oportuit, detulisse. Licet autem propositum nobis sit, fraternitati tuæ, quantum cum Deo possumus, deferendi, et personam tuam in omnibus quæ ex officio nobis incumbunt statuerimus honorare, quia tamen eorundem fratrum pressuras pariter et clamores cum bona conscientia præterire clausis oculis nec possumus nec debemus, fraternitati tuæ de consilio fratrum nostrorum per apostolica scripta mandamus et districte præcipimus, quatenus omni contradictione et occasione postposita, eo etiam non obstante, si te abesse contigerit ab ecclesia tua, quicquid post appellationem ad sedem apostolicam factam, vel prædecessoris nostri prohibitionem, in opere capellæ actum est, non differas demoliri, revocans et deducens prorsus in irritum, quicquid de instituendis canonicis, et aliis circa capellam factum est, et perperam innovatum. Eos etiam qui post inhibitionem sæpedicti prædecessoris nostri, in capella ipsa divina officia celebrare præsumpserunt, donec condignam nobis satisfactionem exhibeant, ab officio et beneficio habeas interdictos. Ministros conventus quos post appellationem interpositam amovisti, quos et idem prædecessor noster restituit, habeas restitutos, et eos quos pariter post appellationem interpositam excommunicare vel suspendere voluisti, habeas nihilominus absolutos, et universa quæ post appellationem ipsam in eorum gravamen attentata sunt, in invasione videlicet villarum et possessionum suarum, reddituum quoque et aliorum quæ ante appellationem habuerant, et ablatione similiter aliarum rerum, in statum pristinum, appellatione et contradictione cessante, reducas. Ad hæc, quia secundum formam juris post appellationem nihil est innovandum, volumus et præcipimus, ut

The pope reminds the archbishop that the greater his dignity, the greater should be his moderation.

He wonders at his disobedience.

Making all allowance for the archbishop, he commands him to demolish the chapel, annul the foundation, excommunicate the clergy, absolve the excommunicated, restore the property of the convent, and abstain from injuring the brethren.

fo. 73 r°.

A.D. 1188. Dec. 10. By an additional clause, he commands that restitution shall take place within forty days; and that if the monks have done anything against the archbishop's rights, it shall be undone. He is to observe the rule and custom of the house in the nomination of a new prior.

pendente judicio, in eorundem fratrum detrimentum circa statum monasterii nihil omnino satagas immutare: nihilominus præcipiendo mandantes, ut omnia quæ ipsis monachis a tempore tuæ promotionis, vel post appellationem vel ante, absque juris ordine illicite abstulistis in exeniis, villis, possessionibus, redditibus, seu rebus aliis, cum congrua recompensatione fructuum postea illicite perceptorum, et libertatibus, et administratione competenti et libera, infra quadraginta dies post harum receptionem restituere non moreris. Ipsis quoque monachis See No. ccxc præcipiendo mandamus, ut si ab eodem tempore aliqua contra jus tuum et honorem præsumpserunt, satisfactionem tibi appellatione remota exhibeant competentem. Quia vero prior monasterii in prosecutione negotii concessit in fata, volumus et præcipiendo mandamus, ut in institutione prioris, contra privilegia sedis apostolicæ et regulam beati Benedicti, et consuetudinem monasterii hactenus observatam non procedas; et si feceris, appellatione remota, non differas revocare; nullis litteris obstantibus a sede apostolica impetratis. Alioquin dilecto filio nostro Radulfo, tituli Sanctæ Praxedis presbytero cardinali, apostolicæ sedis legato, dedimus in mandatis, ut apostolica auctoritate te et omnes contradictores, et monachos ipsos si rebelles exstiterint, ad hoc, remoto appellationis obstaculo, ecclesiastica districtione compellat. Datum Laterani, iv. idus Decembris, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Ralph, cardinal of St. Praxedes, is to compel execution.

CCXCII. Conventui Cantuariensi frater Johannes.

A.D. 1189. January.

Brother John briefly recounts the sorrowful history of his journey.

Quod in aliis aliquando me culpasse memini, hoc in me ipso vituperandum invenio, quod videlicet fratres qui in curia militant eis qui domi sedent non summam gestorum tantum, sed singula seriatim non enarrant. Ego autem si quando congero scribendo aliqua, digero tamen nulla, tangens magis quam ordinans narrationem. Verum si dolores nostros, qui quotidie succedentibus calamitatibus innovantur, attendatis, eo facilius dabitis veniam, quia malorum ingruentium meminisse, nedum dicere, minus sufficio. De quorum tamen numero pauca pono, ne me merito incuriæ possitis arguere. Domino Ostiensi moram faciente majorem, de mandato vestro Romam regressus sum, coram Deo loquor, unam tantum habens marcam argenti ad viaticum, quam a domino A., canonico Remensi, mutuo accepi. Cui ne paupertas læta adesset, de morte fratrum rumor certus insonuit, quamvis qui et quot decessissent adhuc esset incertum. Consolabar autem dolores meos sic agens mecum, "aut non est ut aiunt, aut minus aliquid res "habet quam loquantur." Sæpe enim multiloquus rei magnitu-

He borrowed a mark at Rheims, and proceeded to Rome, hearing uncertain rumours of the death of the brethren.

dinem rumor excedit, et veris aliquid semper affingit multitudo narrantium. Pro certo ita est. Et procedens inde obvium habui qui diceret, fratres omnes mortuos esse usque ad unum. Singulorum autem notitiam se certissimam habere comprobavit, exprimens quis, quando obisset, et quis esset supra. Dolens itaque ac desolatus, de vita domini prioris, quem superesse asseruit, consolationem accepi. Necdum enim Dominus causam Suam damnasse videbatur, cum principali pepercisset. Progresso paululum occurrit puer domini Lugdunensis, dicens se domini prioris exequiis interfuisse, diem designans et locum. Adjecit etiam requisitus, dominum Ostiensem a pestilentia communi ereptum, promptum quidem iter arripere, sed adhuc debilem. Transgressus Senam et jam Romæ proximus, mortem domini prioris cum hospite qui eum bene noverat deflevi; et inter loquendum, ut materia major esset lacrymarum, "Vere," inquit, "causæ vestræ et ecclesiæ mors ipsius "detrimenti multum attulit, sed obitus domini Ostiensis re- "cens acriori universos pungit et perurget aculeo." Ad quod stupidus, "Is ergo," inquam, "mortuus est?" Et ille, "Non morietur," inquit, "in æternum, et die crastina "familiam ejus non hinc longe ostendes, Cluniacensem "ecclesiam unde exierunt repetentem." Et factum est ita. Cæterum et in urbe magistrum Willelmum, quem superstitem credideram, aridum inveni et exanimem, et cum mortuis magis deputandum, utpote cui nihil nisi solum diceres deesse sepulcrum. Die autem proximo R. coquum traximus ad sepulturam. Post quem Blundellus cito infirmatus exspiravit. Ego itaque, cum fratribus quos reperi, operam dabam quatenus eorum qui decesserant locum supplerem, non tam sperans industria mea, quæ nulla est, aliquid quam complere labores eorum. Legato tandem quem petivimus nobis deputato, summarium domini prioris quasi mutuo contulimus; statim Hugonem puerum, cum literis factum nostrum plenius continentibus, præmittentes, una cum domino cardinali sequuturi a tergo. Ex quo enim negotium injunctum est, quamvis et eo majus de subventione videlicet terræ Jerosolimitanæ suscepisset, omnem in utroque habens coercionem, ita festinavit ad creptionem vestram, ac si extunc sanguis vester esset de manibus ejus requirendus, adeo ut hoc ante alia absolvere decrevisset. Arripuit itaque iter sine mora, et nos cum eo. Cumque præmissum puerum, ut vobis cardinalis adventum nunciaret, crederemus jam dimidium itineris transegisse, invenimus eum apud Senam lecto lethali decumbentem. Johannem, quem solum habuimus puerum, dominus legatus in expensis nostris ad regem direxit. Cui nos cum his, quas sæpedictus

A.D. 1189. January. These turned out true; and next he heard of the death of the prior.

Between Sienna and Rome he heard of the death of the bishop of Ostia, and saw his family returning to Cluny.

S. John xi. 26.

Arriving at Rome, he found master William almost dead, and soon after buried the cook and Blundell.

He left Rome with the new legate, cardinal Ralph, sending on his servant Hugh before him with letters, but overtook him ill at Sienna.

fo. 73 v°.

A.D. 1189. January. He sent on the letters by Jonas, and himself accompanied the cardinal.

Hugo detulerat, litteras ad vos iterum commisimus Remis perferendas, scribentes A. canonico Remensi, quatenus eas absque dilatione per quemcunque bajulum ad vos transmitteret. Eramus autem quatuor simul. Quintum enim, videlicet dominum Helyam, de consilio domini cardinalis in curia reliquimus, adversariorum insidias elidere, et quod impetravimus nobis illæsum conservare. Dominum ergo Jo. litteris ad dominum archiepiscopum perferendis deputavimus, injungentes ei, ut eas nullatenus porrigeret, quousque legatum prope agentem accepisset: fieret autem porrectio solemniter et non sine testibus. Dominum Symonem magistro Willelmo procuratorem dedimus ad instantiam suam. Ego domino cardinali de ipsius adhæsi voluntate, qui statim unum de suis equitem mihi tanquam ministrum assignavit et socium. Cujus equo apud Parmam deficiente, intelligens affectum domini cardinalis circa eum, quod sanguineus ejus crederetur, alium ei equum una marca argenti comparavi, qui in prima dieta impos sui et inutilis factus est; cui ipso die emi alium. Cum itaque dominus legatus et omnes qui cum eo erant, in hoc et aliis multis non sine expensis magnis, ita nobis devinxissem, ut eum in negotio nostro meliorari vel mutari non posse non dubitarem, Papiæ subito infirmatus, Mortariæ autem mortuus est. Vidimus autem exanimem, dominus Symon, magister Willelmus et ego mœrentes, miseri et exanimes. Sed quid multa? Spretis periculis itinerum, periculis fluminum, periculis montium, periculis latronum et cæteris, viam ad urbem remensus sum, omnibus perditis quæ impendimus, præter sumarium domini prioris quem recepi, ipsumque in Alpibus ulterioribus, in monte videlicet Bardunensi amisi. Unde Senam veniens, Hugonem puerum, quem infirmum dimiseram, defunctum inveni. Romam vero cum pervenissem, nuncii domini regis, magister Simon Appulus et socii ejus quatuor agebant in curia, petentes dominum Octovianum ex parte domini regis legatum in Angliam. Hi in primis se nobis adversari dissimulabant, ut aliquid facilius in occulto impetrarent. Deinde petitiones domino papæ porrigere, et ei, sicut audivimus, munera non modica offerre, quatenus eos exaudiret. Erat autem prima eorum petitio de jam dicto legato. Secunda, ut opus auctoritate apostolica inceptum, perfici posset. Tertia, quatenus oblationes Sancti Thomæ domino archiepiscopo confirmaret, et rerum ecclesiæ liberam administrationem, quam ei dominus papa Urbanus indulserat. In quibus cum proficere non potuissent, responsales domini archiepiscopi se ausi sunt protestari. Sed quia nec mandatum habuerunt, nec satisdare poterant judicatum solvi, non sunt

Cf. No. ccxc.

He was put to much expense about horses at Parma.

At Pavia the legate fell sick, and died at Mortara: himself returned to Rome, having lost the prior's packhorse.

At Sienna he found the servant Hugh dead. At Rome he found Simon of Apulia and other agents of the king besieging the pope on behalf of the archbishop.

auditi. Versabatur in hoc maxime studium eorum, ut formam negotii nostri, in qua dominus legatus mittitur et adventat, possent inspicere, volentes rem ad communem redigere commissionem, ut magis cognitor fieret cardinalis quam executor. Cæterum dolis eorum cognitis, dominus papa et cardinales omnes se opposuerunt, et quoad negotium nostrum eos remiserunt sine effectu. Injunxit autem illis dominus papa, in virtute obedientiæ, quatenus regi dicerent, quod pro ecclesia Cantuariensi credat eum hoc tempore ita molestari. His recedentibus remansit R. Rothomagensis. Cui quasi insufficienti magister Ricardus clericus regis de Norwich, præpinguis facie et voce rauca, se adjecit, hostis malignissimus, ne vel ad horam fortiores nobis deessent adversarii. Ex hac narrationis serie, in qua pauca de multis compaginavimus, perpendere facile est intelligenti, quantus nos tribulationum ignis exurat, eo utique acrior, quo etiam ad vos violentius effunditur et involvit innocentes. Nulla enim nos æque affligit desolatio, quam morosa nimis consolationis vestræ dilatio. Videte ergo, quia curia Romana jam prope ad nihilum redacta est in rebus et personis omnibus usque ad unum, scilicet Gratianum, nec erit ecclesiæ Dei temporibus ejus qui nunc præsidet respirare, nisi dextera Ejus Qui solus summus est Pontifex mirifice circa eam operetur, et in virtute Sua conterat adversarios ejus. Non possumus omnia scribere, quia hoc rerum numerus et natura non patitur. Unum vobis adhuc, sicut sæpe, significamus, quatenus quocunque modo potestis conditionem vestram meliorare satagatis, ita tamen quod neque in constructionem novæ illius fabricæ consentiatis, neque in posterum privilegia vestra vel cartas concedatis evacuari. Nos vero quicquid egeritis, per Dei gratiam advocatum adducemus disertissimum, et de contingentibus causam, quantum in nobis est, nullum penitus omittentem. Valete.

A.D. 1189. January. They were trying to get a legate to investigate, not to execute the papal mandate.

See No. cccv. They are gone, but have left Robert of Rouen and master Richard to oppose the convent.

The Roman court depends almost entirely on cardinal Gratian.

fo. 74 r°.

Never yield to the archbishop; we will bring an advocate.

CCXCIII. Gaufrido suppriori et Conventui Cantuariensi fratres transmarini. January.

Salutem et a Deo salutari veram consolationem. Cum multa mala nos premant, gravius urimur in malis et angustiis vestris, Deus scit, et minus nostra sentimus, quoties vestra pensamus. Attamen nos adeo circumdant miseriæ multæ, ut videantur, ut minus sapientes dicimus, misericordiæ Domini mille. Videtis enim quia nihil omnino proficimus, sed quoties omnia credimus consummata, emergunt reinchoanda, ita ut damnationis sententiam in nos dicatur Dominus tulisse, et superbiam nostram, quæ nondum cessat, putetur velle destruere. Hoc

The brethren in Italy inform the subprior of their misfortunes.

A.D. 1189. January. The late legate is a great loss doubtless.

tantum nos in hoc casu consolatur, quod hunc qui decessit cardinalem, arbitrati sunt multi magis contra nos destinatum, maxime cum dominus rex eum et dominus archiepiscopus petissent. Unde eis magis mortuus putatur quam nobis. Verum, si non fefellit nos etiam moriens, nemo in negotio nostro magis affectus fuit: nemo unquam erit. Itaque ad curiam revertimur ne cedere videamur, et quia plures adhuc sunt in curia de quibus confidimus. Vos interim, si se verbum pacis obtulerit, caute agite, quasi de curia nullatenus dubitantes, aut de justitia consequenda. Forte enim occasione litterarum quas suscepit, quæ de consilio omnium fratrum emanaverunt, quas per dominum Jhonam destinavimus, pacem quæret archiepiscopus. Hoc tamen cavete, ne aliquando in constructionem novæ ecclesiæ consentiatis, sed geratis vos tanquam patientes injuriam, non approbantes. Quia si reclamaveritis, omnino stare non poterit. Idcirco autem maxime redimus, ut pacem meliorem, si venerit, facere valeatis. Certi tamen sumus quod legatus nobis non negabitur. Qui, qualiscunque fuerit, statum vestrum pro magna parte reformabit, et in forma præscripta destinabitur, sed forma sæpe melior in manu deteriori multum denigratur. Doceat vos Dominus vias Suas, et dirigat pedes vestros in viam pacis. Si quid in hac parte actum fuerit, vobis quantocius significetur, et mittentur expensæ obviam per aliquem fidelem nuncium. Valete. Magnos in curia habemus adversarios.

The archbishop will perhaps wish for peace when he receives the letters sent on by Jonas.

No. ccxci.

We shall get a new legate.

January. CCXCIV. GAUFRIDO SUPPRIORI ET CONVENTUI CANTUARIENSI, FRATER J. MISSUS AD CURIAM.

Brother John informs the subprior that the legate died at Mortara, Dec. 30.

Quanto major consurgit tribulatio, tanto firmiori in agone quo statis opus est animo. Animorum enim magnitudinem laboris ostendit immanitas, et inundatio tribulationum. Peccata nostra punit Deus et purgat, dum conatus nostros toties et tot modis evacuat, et tamen sanctorum meritis aliquid per hoc adjicit et accumulat. Ecce legatus alter, qui statum nostrum destinatus est reparare, in Lumbardia, cum jam prope medium itineris complesset, febre correptus, apud Mortariam mortis debitum exsolvit in crastino Sancti Thomæ martyris; profecto ut differatur liberatio pauperum a potente usque ad præfinitum tempus a Deo, quatenus stantibus corona accedat et gloria, et si qui spiritu alio ducuntur, in vobis manifesti fiant. Nolite ergo æmulari in eo qui prosperatur in via sua, in homine faciente injustitias, sed in omni patientia suscipite calicem quem vobis propinat manus Domini, præstolantes salutare Dei cum silentio. Veniens namque veniet et non

Ps. xxxvii. 9.

Lam. iii. 26.

Hab. ii. 3.

See Gervase, 1482.

tardabit, et forte hi sunt duo gladii in somnis prævostensi, quibus rota impingitur. Rotam enim impellunt, dum occasionem præstant et animum vos opprimendi. Veniet enim tandem tertius, nisi fallimur, Petri gladius, adhuc in manu domini prioris, hoc est in ejus operatione consistens, tertius videlicet legatus, qui per Dei gratiam in adversarios vestros justitiam exseret et exercebit apostolicam, et rota Katerinæ confracta, capita conteret omnium qui fabricaverunt eam. Cæterum somniorum vanitate relicta, ego frater J. iterum revertor ad curiam, ad dominum Helyam ibi dimissum propter insidias malignantium, Deo propitio, et orationibus vestris prosequentibus, completurus sub omni festinatione negotium. Morte etenim immutari potero, sed a prosecutione causæ tam manifestæ, quoad vixero, nullo modo, Deo volente, moveri. Valete, et orate pro nobis.

A.D. 1189. January. He interprets the famous dream of the monk at Canterbury.

He is returning to Rome to brother Elias.

CCXCV. Petrus cardinalis Conventui Cantuariensi.

January.

Dilectis in Christo fratribus et amicis, conventui Cantuariensi, Petrus cardinalis. Quanto caritatem vestram in Domino specialius et sincerius diligimus, tanto specialius de vobis curam et sollicitudinem debitam in corde gerimus, et ad ea quæ vobis expediant affectuose intendimus. Quapropter jacturam et gravamen de obitu venerabilis fratris nostri Radulfi tituli Sanctæ Praxedis presbyteri cardinalis vobis emersisse cognoscentes, una vobiscum super facto vestro condolemus. Verumque etsi multo personarum ac rerum discrimine vestra ecclesia diutius sit fatigata, tamen quia non obliviscitur Deus misereri Suorum, et non derelinquit in Se confidentes, vobis consulimus quatenus in his omnibus æquum animum habeatis, et Deus ecclesiæ Suæ et vobis providebit.

Cardinal Peter (of Piacenza) condoles with the convent on

fo. 74 v°.

the death of cardinal Ralph.

CCXCVI. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres a Curia.

Feb. 25.

Reverendis dominis suis Gaufrido priori et conventui, fratres H. et J. Post mortem domini Radulfi cardinalis et apostolicæ sedis legati, ad dominum papam secretius accedentes diximus; "Pater sancte, ecce, ut videtis, portum "contigisse putavimus, et in procellas maris rejecti sumus. "Cæterum non erit de cætero periculum evadere, nisi "festinaverit gratia vestra rati jam quassatæ subvenire. "Mortuus est quem nobis dedistis executor, nec restat "auxilium famosæ illi ecclesiæ quæ temporibus nostris de-"structa est, nisi pietas citius paterna prospexerit. Clerici "etenim domini regis majestati vestræ assistunt, quos "timemus ne aliquid in præjudicium illius obtineant, et

Brothers John and Elias inform the convent that they have had a private interview with the pope, and told him the purpose of the enemy.

A.D. 1189. Feb. 25. The archbishop wants Octavian (cardinal of SS. Sergius and Bacchus) for legate; but the pope refuses to send him.

" subversionem ejus non jam machinentur sed confirment. " Petunt namque dominum Octovianum legatum in Anglia, ut " audivimus, et vere sic erat. Cui si negotium nostrum " commiseritis, vos scitis quia dati sumus in manus hostium." Quibus omnibus ita respondit dominus papa, "Nolite timere. " Illum enim quem dicitis non destinabimus, neque clerici " domini regis aliquod contra vos verbum faciunt. Vos " autem modis quibus potestis nos instruite, et nos injuriam " vestram curabimus per Dei gratiam reparare." His dictis, ad pedes ejus provoluti gratias egimus de verbo bono et voluntate. Nominavimus itaque de quibus confidimus cardinales tres tantum, dicentes nos aliorum notitiam non habere. Hi autem erant quos designavimus ex nomine, magister Gratianus, magister Sefredus, magister Petrus Placentinus. In his et eorum quolibet nobis, si mitteretur, bene satis factum esse diximus. Excepit autem dominus papa de magistro Gratiano primo, quod gratiam domini regis non haberet, nec ipse regem diligeret, dicens non esse talem nobis necessarium, qui primo aspectu principem offenderet, non placeret. De aliis duobus adjecit, quod cum absentes essent mitti non possent. Erant enim in Lumbardia. Itaque ut ad unum sit dicere, Cantuariensem ecclesiam in manus ejus dedimus, immo in ipsa, Anglicanam, supplicantes ad pedes, quatenus paterna pietate ei prospiceret, ne tempore suo penitus exspiraret, sanctitati ejus semper futura devotior, si liberaret eam. Ipse ergo, habito aliquot diebus cum cardinalibus consilio, de quo præ aliis confidere dinoscitur destinavit, tituli [1] Sancti Marci presbyterum cardinalem, Johannem Anagninum. Diximus autem domino papæ, cum eum mittere decrevisset, quod ex quo mittebat quem voluit, caveret sibi et ecclesiæ Romanæ, ne, si legatus aliter ageret quam deberet, ipse diceretur ecclesiam Cantuariensem destruxisse, qui talem misit. Adjecimus insuper, quod si per quemcunque legatum capellam illam clericorum destrueret, et nostram ad omnia repararet, servitium promissum ei redderetur. Quod si horum alterum, vel utrumque non fieret, diximus nos nihil omnino promittere, nec velle teneri, scientes quia eorum quæ retro sunt Romani obliviscuntur, in anteriora semper extensi. Phil. iii. 13. Promissum vero vobis jam sæpe significavimus. Respondit autem quidam familiarissimus ejus, quod non multum sollicitaremur circa hujusmodi, quia nullatenus omitteret dominus papa quin Cantuariensis ecclesia pristinam ad gloriam reduceretur. Itaque fiduciam habentes, una cum legato ad vos

They asked for either Gratian, Sefred (cardinal of S. Mary in Via Lata), or Peter of Piacenza; but the pope refused these.

He offers John of Anagni, cardinal of S. Mark.

The brethren bade him be careful who he sent, and added that unless the measures taken were complete, the convent would not feel bound to fulfil its promise to the pope.

[1] John of Anagni, made cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Porticu by Hadrian IV., in 1158, cardinal priest of S. Mark by Alexander III., and bishop of Præneste in 1191: died 1196.

revertimur gressu formicino, inter malorum millia nihil molestius ferentes, quam quod de statu vestro incerti sumus, utpote formidantes ne vos mala inundantia permutaverint. Cæterum de prudentia vestra, domine supprior, vehementius admiramur, et dolemus magis, quem audivimus mortem domini prioris et fratrum lugere inconsolabiliter, de quorum gloria magis debuit exultare. Rachel enim plorans filios suos et nolens consolari, quia non sunt in rebus transitoriis, consolata tamen credit quia sunt, in vero videlicet esse et æterno. Quod si de eorum exitu tali non gaudetis, injuriam facitis domino papæ, qui eos martyres vocat, nisi forte et vos et illos malletis mori confessores. Consolamini itaque, consolamini, immo vos omnis intuens animum sumat et audaciam, et de ducis virtute miles animetur ad pugnam, ne ariete qui ad pugnam procedere debet retro converso, grex quoque totus sequatur inglorium. Et quid est quod timere debeatis, cui etiam si vinci contigerit, gloriosum erit dimicasse? Non estis major quam ut injuriam pati possitis: quam utique melius est pati quam facere; non formidetis calicem Domini bibere, si ad majestatis consortium cupitis pervenire. Scimus quia timor causæ, quasi pereuntis, vos intime movet, quam nullatenus melius potestis aut efficacius, quam hilari malorum sustinentia, et etiam sanguinis si oportuerit effusione, allegare. De misericordia Dei desperandum non est adhuc viventi; confortamini igitur, et confortate pusillanimes, in Deo ponentes spem vestram, scientes hoc vestræ magis expedire saluti, quod Ejus beneplacitum est voluntati. Beneplacitum vero Domino super timentes Eum, et in eos qui sperant super misericordia Ejus. Valete. Quæ non potuimus scribere pro brevitate temporis, præsentium lator requisitus plenius poterit enarrare, per quem litteras W. clerici de Bello transmittimus ei dandas. Si forma executionis domino archiepiscopo non dum est porrecta, studiosius deponatur, ne cui fictæ fidei etiam inter fratres innotescat. Nuncius noster ad vos succingitur præcursurus, per quem gesta et gerenda vobis plenius significabimus. Sed domini papæ, qui gravatur aliquantulum, convalentiam exspectamus. Datum v. kal. Marcii, legato jam parato ad iter.

A.D. 1189. Feb. 25.

They are now returning at an ant's pace.

S. Matt. ii. 18.

They console the subprior with reflexions on the martyrdom of the prior.

S. Matt. xx. 22.

fo. 75 r°.

Ps. cxlvii. 11.

If the form of the mandate has not been delivered to the archbishop, put it by, and keep it secret.

CCXCVII. Gaufrido suppriori et Conventui Cantuariensi frater R.

A.D. 1189. February.

Longum et difficile esset enarrare omnia adversa quæ passus sum post Natalem Domini, sed quia omnia hæc patior in remissionem peccatorum meorum, sicut mihi injunxistis, pauca mihi esse videntur. Non vos latet, credo, quia mihi et fratri

Brother R. recounts his adventures since Christmas.

A.D. 1189. February. Brother Jonas, with the pope's letter, met me and brother Henry at Rheims. I and Jonas proceeded to Gisors, and thence to Le Mans, where we found the king and archbishop.

nostro H. frater noster J. occurrerit in domo domini Radulfi decani cum litteris domini papæ. Qui omnes progressi sumus usque ad Chalmunt; ibi recessit a nobis frater H. timens. Nos duo perreximus usque ad Gisorz, et litteras nostras W. comiti porreximus, et alias archiepiscopo Rotomagensi per puerum nostrum misimus, audientes quod dominus rex et archiepiscopus Cantuariensis apud Cenomanniam essent, quo cum omni festinatione perreximus, invenientes ibi dominum regem et archiepiscopum et Rogerum regis eleemosynarium, qui multum diligit ecclesiam nostram. Cui porreximus litteras conventus, et secreta nostra sicut præcepistis communicavimus; qui laudavit nobis, quod prius deberemus porrigere litteras conventus domino regi quam litteras domini papæ archiepiscopo. Nos vero timentes ne dominus rex prohiberet litteras domini papæ archiepiscopo porrigere, consilium mutavimus, ita quod frater noster, qui nuncius fuit domini papæ, litteras quas tulit archiepiscopo prius porrexit, qui eadem die de morte domini Radulfi cardinalis certificatus fuit. Frater noster J. timuit sibi et recessit, relinquens me solum in curia. Ego vero litteras conventus in vigilia Purificationis domino regi, per consilium et auxilium Rogeri eleemosynarii, porrexi, qui illas benigne suscepit, et mecum benigne, audiente Rogero eleemosynario, locutus est. Cui ego, "Domine, miserere digne-
"mini vestri ipsius et ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, quæ a tempore
"beati Augustini usque ad tempora vestra, et omni tempore
"vestro usque modo, bene et honorifice tractata fuit. Sed est
"quidam quem satis novistis, qui fere illam destruxit, et
"bene novistis quod illa mater est et caput omnium eccle-
"siarum regni vestri, et qui illam destruxerit non faciet
"vobis honorem." Et ille, "Quid appellas destructionem?"
Ego vero sciens quod me vellet capere in sermone, tacui, et traxit me fratrem R. et secretius dixit, "Quid appellas des-
"tructionem? Dic secure," et tacui. Ipse tertio adjecit,
"Appellas illam novam ecclesiam destructionem?" Cui ego,
"Domine, quid manifestius quam quod constructio illius
"ecclesiæ sit destructio nostræ? Canonici ecclesiæ illius jam
"per annum et quinque septimanas possederunt omnia bona
"nostra, et curiam nostram usque ad ostium claustri." Et
ille juravit sacramentum suum, quod talem curam inde acciperet, quod ecclesia nostra honorem et utilitatem haberet, et recessit. Die tertia convenit archiepiscopum per decanum Eboracensem et Rogerum eleemosynarium, et convenit inter eos quod scriberet conventui; prædictus decanus dictavit litteras, me præsente et audiente, et ego feci illas sigillare. Quod cum sciret archiepiscopus, quam citius potuit ad curiam

No. ccxci.

I delivered the letter of the convent to the king, Feb. 1

The king inquired what I meant by the destruction of the convent.

I told him that it was the new church.

On the third day, Feb. 3, the dean of York drew up a letter;

venit, volens litteras inspicere. Misit sæpedictum decanum et Petrum Blesensem ad cancellariam: fregerunt sigillum domini regis. Quibus superveniens dixit decano[1]. "oportet "quædam deponere et quædam apponere." Cui ego, "Talia "potestis apponere quod litteras non feram." Qui ira commotus dixit, "Certe non feres; ego feram," et thalamum intravit, et tria capitula apposuit. Egressus a thalamo, duo paria litterarum fecit, mihi tradens unum, et aliud retinuit in eadem forma.[2] Ego vero nullo modo vobis misissem litteras, nisi ut essetis præinstructi. Ego nimis attenuatus labore et dolore, non ausus sum mare intrare. Vobis laudant amici vestri, quod non exeatis ab ecclesia vestra pro aliquo. Differte quantum potestis mittere ad curiam domini regis, quia Dominus visitabit nos per curiam Romanam in brevi. Ego interim de licentia vestra, ubi melius potero expectabo, quia multum irascitur erga me archiepiscopus. Valete, et orate pro me. Die quo porrexi domino regi litteras, perrexi ad episcopum Lincolniensem, qui multa aspera mihi dixit, et ultimo in fide laudavit, ut prosternerem me ad pedes archiepiscopi. Cui pauca respondi, "Non ad hoc missus sum." Benedictione accepta recessi, et perrexi ad hospitium Cantuariensis, quem salutavi. Cui tepide respondit. Cui ego, "Domine, miserere "dignemini ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, quæ fere destructa "est." Et ipse eadem verba, dicens "quam vos destruxistis." Cui ego, "non sunt aliqui in mundo qui ita doleant de de- "structione illius ecclesiæ sicut nos, quia nos omnia amisimus, "vos autem in bono statu illam invenistis, et tantæ religionis "et tantæ discretionis estis, quod in tali statu illam vel in "meliori ponetis." Qui vocavit clericos suos ut caperent me in sermone. Accepta benedictione ab eo recessi. Cui, archiepiscopo scilicet, postea in aula domini regis obviavi, et licentiam recedendi ab eo petivi. Cui ipse cum maxima ira respondit, "Non per me venisti, nec per me recedes." Quare laudant amici ecclesiæ nostræ, ut nullo modo intrem in Angliam. Multa alia vobis scripsissem, si non timerem illos qui omnia secreta nostra mandant magistro R. Sancti Martini, et ipse statim mandat archiepiscopo.

A.D. 1189. February. but Peter of Blois and the dean broke the seal, and the archbishop added three clauses to it.

I have visited the bishop of Lincoln, who advised me to submit; also the archbishop, who tried to entrap me in talk.

fo. 75 v°.

S. Matt. xxii. 15.

I am afraid to return to England.

CCXCVIII. Henrico regi Angliæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

After March 21.

Excellentissimo domino suo Henrico regi Angliæ, etc., conventus Cantuariensis. Noverit excellentia vestra quod

[1] *decano*] decanus, MS.

[2] This letter is given in Gervase, 1539, and will be found in the Appendix to the present volume.

A.D. 1189. After March 24. The convent inform the king that after the visit of Ranulf Glanvill (March 24) they had determined to send messengers to him, but the dean of York would not give them a satisfactory safe conduct: they entreat his favour for the bearers.

postquam dominus Randulfus de Glanvilla a nobis discessit, voluimus ad vos de fratribus nostris transmittere. Unde etiam litteras domini Huberti decani Eboracensis, de salvo in eundo et redeundo conductu, postulavimus, sed eas habere non potuimus, nisi in ea forma qua nobis scripsistis, mittere vellemus. Quod utique facere non possumus, tum quia non fuit inter nos qui rem tantam auderet suscipere, tum quia non sumus ausi ita præcise negotium universitatis alicui committere. Quapropter nuncium quendam cum litteris nostris ad hoc ipsum serenitati vestræ intimandum misimus: qui cum infecto negotio reversus esset, quia ad vos accessum habere non potuit, elegimus magis periculo nos exponere, et iter quocunque modo arripere, quam per absentiam nostram serenitatem vestram offendere. Unde præsentium latores fratres nostros ad pedes majestatis vestræ destinamus, humiliter et devote omnes et singuli cum lacrymis deprecantes, ut nostri misereri dignemini, nec ulterius patiamini, si placet, nos ita affligi; desicut ista non meruimus, prout credimus, et desicut parati sumus domino nostro archiepiscopo, dummodo nostra nobis restituat, et capellam deponat, debitam et devotam in omnibus obedientiam et reverentiam exhibere. Vitam et incolumitatem vestram conservet Rex regum, et dilatet imperium.

See Gervase, 1540.

After March 24.

CCXCIX. Conventus Cantuariensis G. magistro Militiæ Templi.[1]

The convent inform the Master of the Temple why they did not send messengers to the king, and ask his intercession.

Salutem et afflictis compati. Quia angustiæ nobis sunt undique, et novæ anxietates nobis succrescunt quotidie, ad vos tanto fiducialius recurrendum esse censuimus, quanto bonitatem et benignitatem vestram ferventiorem et fideliorem circa nos invenimus. Inde est quod preces affectuosas vobis porrigimus, rogantes attentius, quatenus partes vestras apud dominum regem adhuc velitis interponere. Timemus enim ne irascatur nobis, eo quod juxta formam litterarum quas nuper nobis destinavit, ad eum non misimus. Sic enim mittere valde periculosum et dispendiosum videbatur, et maxime desicut sumus incarcerati et expensis attenuati. Voluimus tamen quosdam de fratribus nostris ad excusandum nos mittere; et ut animum ejus possemus mitigare, sed litteras libere exeundi, quas a domino Huberto decano Eboracensi postulavimus, habere non

[1] Gerard of Bideford was Master of the Templars at this time; but he was a prisoner in the Holy Land, and the letter can hardly be addressed to him. Probably the Master of the Temple in London is meant, Geoffrey Fitz-Stephen. See Gervase, *Chron.*, 1554. *Mon. Angl.* vi. 821.

potuimus, nisi fratres nostros ita mitteremus cum litteris nostris, ut quod ipsi facerent absentibus nobis, nos ratum et gratum haberemus. Hoc enim fuit summa litterarum domini regis. Valete semper in Domino. A.D. 1189. After March 24.

CCC. Ricardo comiti Pictavensi Conventus Cantuariensis.

Ricardo comiti Pictavensi, conventus pauper et mendicus. Quia rebus et redditibus omnibus jam pene per annum spoliati, in mendicitate et miseria multa viximus et adhuc vivimus, vobis sicut domino nostro humiliter et devote supplicamus, quatenus intuitu Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ, partes vestras apud dominum patrem vestrum interponere dignemini, ut pro salute sua et hæredum suorum, nostra nobis faciat restitui, nec permittat nos ulterius, si placet, tam miserabiliter cruciari, quia nec victualia habemus, nec ad mendicandum ea exire permittimur. The convent entreat the intercession of count Richard.

CCCI. Gaufrido suppriori frater Johannes.

April.

Visis sanctitatis vestræ apicibus, ex infidelis discessu non sum tantum contristatus, quantum de fratrum nostrorum fidelium sospitate lætificatus. Benedictus Deus Qui non amovit orationes nostras et misericordiam Suam a nobis. Bonus est Dominus Qui non deserit sperantes in Se. Quis unquam fiduciam habens in Domino derelictus est ab Eo? Siquidem omnes bilingues et mendaces oportet a vobis recedere, neque aliqui vobiscum fideliter stare poterunt, nisi illi quibus datum fuerit desuper, quod jam de quibusdam experimento didicimus. Recesserunt enim a vobis viri iniqui et mendaces, falsi fratres, nec mirum, quia nunquam vobiscum fide et veritate steterunt. Idcirco turpe, et sicut decet infideles, a vobis discesserunt. Sed si profani discedunt, nihil ad nos. Habent enim adhuc boni in domo Dei socios fideles, et mali similiter complices suos habent, quod enim audivi jam video adimpleri; didici siquidem a clericis archiepiscopi quando apud Cenomanniam fui, eos non latere omnia secreta capituli Cantuariensis, sed quæcunque sunt dicta vel facta plenius scire, omniumque nomina qui partem illorum fovent bene retinuisse. Sed ne terremini pro talibus. Dominus enim nobiscum est fortis et potens, non timebimus quicquam quicquid nobis faciant homines. Bonorum enim virorum est stabilire cor, et spem firmam in Domino Deo ponere, sicuti vos plenius fecistis. Quapropter obsecro vos, state fideliter; agite viriliter et confortamini, quia misericordia Dei prope est, et in proximo vestra liberatio. Valete:

Ps. lxvi. 18. Judith xiii. 17. Ps. xxiv. 8. Ps. lvi. 4.

A brother (Jonas?) cannot be sorry to hear of the flight of Osbert de Bristo. (See No. cccii.)

He had heard at Le Mans that the secrets of the convent were fo. 76r°. betrayed to the archbishop.

A.D. 1189. April.

et memor esto mei coram Domino in orationibus vestris, et in capitulo coram fratribus. Deum enim testor, quod magis eligo pro libertate ecclesiæ nostræ et fratrum, si necesse fuerit, honeste mori, quam, honore ordinis nostri amisso, viliter vivere. Litteræ enim commendatitiæ nobis valde necessariæ forent, et ad comitissam Campaniæ similiter inopia revelanda. Salutat vos dominus Willelmus monachus, qui in servitio fratrum nostrorum diligens et fidelis inventus est.

He asks for commendatory letters to the countess of Champagne.

After March 26.

CCCII. Omnibus Christi fidelibus Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent write to warn the faithful against Osbert de Bristo, who deserted the convent and fled to the archbishop on Passion Sunday, March 26.

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos præsentes litteræ pervenerint, Gaufridus supprior ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, et ejusdem loci conventus humilis et humiliatus nimium, æternam in Domino salutem. Inter adversa innumera quibus diebus nostris Cantuariensis opprimitur ecclesia, hoc gravius ipsius accedit miseriis, quod infirmitatem quam in membris patitur putridis, sine scandalo et ut oporteret, præcavere non potest. Hinc est quod universitati vestræ notum fieri dignum duximus, quendam non monachum, sed apostatam vilissimum, Osbertum de Bristo nomine, clam a nobis aufugisse, et in scandalum fratrum ecclesiæ quondam suæ, fugam arripuisse, et sub spe prælationis ad dominum nostrum et patrem archiepiscopum confugisse, professione sua et stabilitate quam in ecclesia Cantuariensi fecerat mentita; quod absque maledictione omnium archiepiscoporum qui Cantuariensi ecclesiæ a diebus Christianitatis præfuerunt, sed et maxime gloriosi martyris Thomæ, et proprii oris excommunicatione, non fecit. Si igitur hujusmodi hominem ad vos devenire contigerit, nec verbis ipsius fidem habeatis, nec ut monachum ipsum recipiatis. Prima enim Passionis Dominicæ die post cœnam a nobis decessit, sortem Judæ potius eligens, quam cum undecim Christum sequi. Valete.

After March 12.

CCCIII. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres a curia Romana.

The brethren at Rome inform the convent of the legation of John of Anagni.

Reverendis dominis priori et conventui Cantuariensi, fratres a curia Romana. Venit ad vos Johannes Anagninus, vir de quo, quantum permittit natio, confidimus, ideoque magis quia se ipsum obligavit coram nunciis domini regis, promittens se impleturum quicquid ei ecclesia Romana injungeret. Venit itaque in forma quam nostis meliorata. Quæ si domino archiepiscopo innotuit, aliter factum est quam ordinavimus. Sin autem, non ostendatur antequam veniamus. Cæterum "durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis." Multa habemus vobis

Virgil, *Æn.* i. 207.

scribere, sed per nuncium certiorem vobis melius innotescent; vel istum sequitur e vestigio vel jam pervenit. Fratres ergo qui cis mare sunt ad vos revocate, qui palam et ordinate veniant. Si capti fuerint, non curetis. Utinam enim, sicut in alterius adventu vobis scripsimus, et istum legatum in aliquo contra se provocassent. Ideo vero dicimus revocandos, quia si res in partibus cismarinis actitanda est, aliis opus est quam quos destinastis. Verumtamen et circa hoc vobis tempore suo plura mandabimus. Vos autem quod magis expedire videritis, hoc in omnibus facietis. Valete. Orate pro anima Nicolai de Heliun, clerici domini archiepiscopi, de cujus bonis mortui sex aureos accepimus, unde aliquamdiu sustentati sumus.

A.D. 1189. After March 12. Recall the brethren from France; if they are taken prisoners, so much the better, it will provoke the legate. Pray for the soul of Nicolas of Helion.

See No. ccxc.

CCCIV. Johannes legatus Conventui Cantuariensi.

After March 12.

Johannes Dei gratia, tituli Sancti Marci presbyter cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis legatus, capitulo Cantuariensi. Universitatem vestram latere non credimus, qualiter sacrosancta Romana ecclesia, tanquam pia mater, unica et speciali affectione vos diligit, et pressuras vestras pariter et angustias misericorditer relevare intendens, nos ad partes istas de suo latere pro salute vestra atque solatio destinavit. Nos autem ob reverentiam pretiosissimi martyris Thomæ, et pro dilectione quam ad vos habemus, sperantes obsequium Deo posse reddere placabile, tantum laborem satis bono animo recepimus, et multis non dubitavimus periculis nos exponere, ut veram pacem et dignam vobis consolationem, ducente Domino, portaremus. Sane quia credimus multas vobis tentationes et varias imminere, provida sollicitudine vos duximus commonere, ut sitis filii patientes, et vos murum pro domo Israel opponere non dubitetis, et nulla tentatio nisi humana vos apprehendat. Faciet enim Deus cum tentatione proventum, ut possitis sustinere. Mandamus etiam vobis ut, omni abjecta hæsitatione, plenariam de Romana ecclesia fiduciam habentes, quicquid facitis aut facturi estis, Romanæ ecclesiæ patrocinium nullatenus mandetis oblivioni. Ipsa enim vos proteget semper et defendet, et jus vestrum in nullo periclitari permittet. Valete.

John of Anagni, cardinal of S. Mark, informs the convent that he is prepared to take their part, and exhorts them to persevere, and trust in the Roman church.

Ezek. xiii. 5.

1 Cor. x. 13.

fo. 76 v°.

CCCV. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres a curia Romana.

April.

Sacro Cantuariensis ecclesiæ conventui, fratres H. et J., obedientiam. Merito nos de negligentia possetis arguere, si transcriptum formæ litterarum in qua dominus legatus mittitur, quam melioratam scripsimus, non misissemus. Verum cum vobis per puerum quendam de Normannia, quem a morte

Brothers Elias and John inform the convent that they have met at Paris the messenger

A.D. 1189. April. whom they had sent on with a copy of the letter of legation.

domini Radulfi quondam in servitio nostro detinuimus, noveritis dudum destinasse. Qui domino cardinali et nobis Parisius occurrens, et exemplar litterarum quæ ad vos perferenda susceperat resignavit, nec servitium injunctum aliquatenus quoad nos implevit fraudulentus. Ipse tamen ad dominum regem et archiepiscopum litteras domini legati de adventus ipsius fideliter tulit in expensis nostris. Unde quæ ille mandata reddidit, per harum bajulum vobis destinamus, mutata tamen prout rerum eventus imperavit. Noveritis quod in itinere quo venimus, cardinales, archiepiscopi, episcopi et viri magni domino legato preces porrexerunt affectuosas, ut justitiam vestram vobis conservaret, et ecclesiam vestram indemnem; et spopondit. Legimus etiam ei litteras domini regis, quibus de vobis aliquos cum litteris de rato ad præsentiam suam vocavit, et injurias multiplices vobis illatas exposuimus, adeo ut circa vos bene affectus videatur. Cum quo de consilio ipsius ad colloquium regum proficiscimur, litteras domini papæ domino archiepiscopo porrecturi ante ipsum. Ipse quoque de latere suo nobis, si petierimus, promisit advocatum, cujus advocati animum promissis et muneribus bene nobis conciliasse credimus. Sicut mandastis, si nobis litigandum erit, mallemus rem in Anglia, quam in cismarinis actitari, tum propter evidentiam rei, tum propter copiam testium et instrumentorum. Convenit autem nos jam multoties, et vos per nos jussit conveniri, ut viam pacis, si qua inveniri posset, eum edoceremus. Cui sæpe respondimus, quod capella illa dejecta et rerum restitutione facta, credimus nos consilio ejus libenter adquiescere, salvis privilegiis et cartis ecclesiæ. Vos igitur providete vobis in litteris omnibus quæ archiepiscopo vel executoribus datis directæ sunt, de termino quo archiepiscopo porrectæ sunt, et personis quæ porrexerunt, de loco et testibus porrectionis, et aliis nihilominus causæ necessariis, nec multum timeatis Rogeri et Osberti versutias, qui castra Domini deserentes, et transfugæ facti, partem non meliorem sed molliorem elegerunt, nec formidetis Robertum Rotomagensem quasi in curia relictum. Cautum est nobis in ea parte, quantum potuimus, legis peritum de cujus fide confidimus ibi pro nobis statuentes. Johannes quoque monachus nobis dixit non esse curiam sine monacho nostro, quamdiu ipsum haberet. Robertus quoque Rotomagensis ab urbe tardius egressus est, sed expectantes nos quidnam ageret, cito præcessit. Unde nec consulunt amici vestri, ut aliquem de vobis illuc transmittatis, donec viderimus quid futurum sit de negotio. Similiter neminem de fratribus qui apud vos sunt mittatis ad cardinalem, nisi de iis qui in cismarinis agunt, si fuerit forte necesse, quatenus ei magis innotescat incarceratio vestra, quam evagandi

They have been careful to prejudice the legate in favour of the convent. They are going to the meeting of the kings to deliver their letters.

The instructions they have given to the legate.

Do not fear Roger Norreys or Osbert, or Robert of Rouen. We have a friend at court in the monk John.

See No. ccx.

licentia. Quod si res in partibus istis tractanda est, per ipsum legatum patebit vobis exitus. Quid vero vobis agendum sit, redeuntes a colloquio, porrectis litteris, vobis plenius significabimus, utentes fere in omnibus consilio domini cardinalis: sic enim expedire videtur. De phylacterio de quo mandavimus vobis non multum solliciti sitis domino cardinali scribere, donec ubi res actitanda sit vobis innotescat, forte enim manus vestra dabit illud. Multa habemus vobis dicere, sed quæ præsentes et prope positi melius intimabimus. Valete. Habitum nostrum si habetis, mittite Withsandum.

A.D. 1189. April. We will write more at length when we come from the conference. Send our habit to Whitsand.

No. cccv.

CCCVI. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres H. et J. April.

Salutem, pacem et Spiritus Sancti consolationem. De legato nostro certam spem et fiduciam habeatis. Dixit enim secretius et quasi in confessione referendo, qualiter multi nos insensatos reputarent qui talem elegimus, qui multiplici ratione ad regis voluntatem possit inclinari. "Certe," inquit, "nec pro rege, "neque pro regina, neque pro parentibus meis aut amicis, "omittam quin exequar quicquid mihi fuerit ab ecclesia ista "injunctum." Et subjunxit, "Nolo ut hoc verbum alicui "innotescat." Vos ergo, sicut mihi commissum est, ita accipite ut apud vos sepultum maneat. Mavult enim vos quasi conqueri de eo, quam confidere vel jactanter habere: unde non ausi sumus omnia universitati scribere, ne quis forte malignari cupiens sermonem patefaceret adversariis, et legatum offenderet. Consiliarium habet magistrum Burñ., quem nos in curia habuimus advocatum. Assessorem quoque ipsius speramus, magistrum Angelum notarium, qui domini Urbani litteras et dictavit et scripsit. Quorum uterque nobis devotus est, et per Dei gratiam fiet devotior. Mandate itaque nobis per primum nuncium, utrum magis velitis dicto B. annuum beneficium assignari, aut munus aliquod majus simul et semel conferri. Alterum enim credimus expedire. Remittimus, immo quasi præmittimus ad vos J. et S. fratres. Quam cito scierimus ubi causa expedienda erit, quod fieri necesse est vobis significabimus. De consilio tamen legati omnia faciemus, qui nos tum per se, tum per prænominatum B. de agendis nostris instruit. Penuriam puerorum magnam patimur, omnes enim successive lectum ægritudinis inciderunt, usque ad unum. Quidam Romæ relinquuntur, nescio si convalescant. Valete; confortamini et magni animi estote, quia "nunc animis opus "est, nunc pectore firmo." Nec moveat vos prioratus ambitio, cui satis fuit subprioratus ad pœnam. Omnia per legatum ordinabuntur; multa haberem vobis scribere, sed quæ atramento mandari nolunt. Valete.

Brothers John and Elias have received from the cardinal private assurances of favour.

His counsellor and assessor are also devoted to us: the former should have a reward.

We send back brothers Jonas and Simon.

We are in great want of servants, all ours are ill.

Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 261.

Do not be anxious about the priorate.

A.D. 1189. After May 20.

CCCVII. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres H. et J.

fo. 77 r°.

Brother John writes that the pope's letter was delivered to the archbishop at Le Mans, May 19.

Venerabilibus dominis et fratribus suis, conventui Cantuariensi, fratres H. et J., salutem. Cenomannis constituti, litteras domini papæ domino archiepiscopo, legato præsente, porreximus in die solemnitatis Sancti Dunstani. Qui deposito pileo assurgens eas reverenter accepit, aspectum nostrum non aliter ferens quam clavum in oculo. Ad legatum vero conversus solus cum solo diu loquebatur. Interim sedentibus nobis in domo ubi hæc fiebant, videres clericorum alium illudere, alium in se æstuare, omnes humilitatem nostram contemnere. Mihi allateratus, cujus os maledictione et amaritudine plenum est, Willelmus Sine Fide, contumeliis me affectum et probris, proditorem me vocavit, qui domesticus aliquando domini archiepiscopi, consilia ejus omnia conventui patefeci, principium totius mali, causa et materia: nec omissum est verbum illud de Juda dictum, "Qui edebat panes meos," etc, et multa in hunc modum. Quibus omnibus pauca reddidi coram aliquibus cum modestia ponens custodiam ori meo. Forte enim ad hoc venerat, ut me ad turpia provocaret, quatenus injuria a me accepta querulus palam omnibus exclamaret. "Hæc et hæc "mihi dixit monachus iste, his et his audientibus." Quid multa? bibimus subsannationem quasi aquam, et saturati opprobriis ad hospitium nostrum nos recepimus; unde ipso die, quia sumptus facere noluimus, ejecti sumus. In crastino ad cardinalem reversi diximus, "Domine, fecimus quod jussisti, "porrigere litteras nostras, sustinentes usque modo. Jam ut "scitis porrectæ sunt, et tempus quadraginta dierum domino "archiepiscopo indultum. Reliquum est ut de consilio vestro "procedamus, dicite quod placet, et nos faciemus." Ad hoc ipse respondit, "Locutus sum heri cum domino archiepiscopo "in hæc verba, 'Domine archiepiscope, diligo personam tuam, "'sed magis diligo Deum et animam meam. Dicitur quia "'fratres tuos bonis suis spoliasti, et quasi incarceratos fame "'affligis.' Ad quod archiepiscopus coram rege dixit, 'Non "'est ita; sed liberum est eis exire si volunt.' Cui verbo "dominus rex statim attestatus est. Subjecit quoque archi-"episcopus quod possessiones et res vestras vobis libenter "redderet universas, si velletis ei facere quod prædecessores "vestri fecerunt prædecessoribus suis." Quod audientes admirati, eo videlicet quod inclusionem nostram tam mundo manifestam auderet archiepiscopus inficiari, petivimus ut aliquem de clericis suis nobiscum mitteret in Angliam, rerum speciem intueri et ad eum referre, dicentes nos in partes Flandriæ redire velle, tum pro temporis et coemptionis acerbitate,

Numbers xxxiii. 55.

Ps. x. 7.

William of S. Faith loaded me with reproaches as a deserter from the archbishop.

Ps. xli. 9.

Ps. xxxix. 2.

Job. xxxiv. 7.

Lam. iii. 30.

The next day we asked advice of the cardinal, from whom we heard that the archbishop denied that the monks were kept shut up in the monastery, and offered to restore our possessions if we would show him the same obedience that our predecessors had shown to his.

tum propter domino archiepiscopo indultum in litteris domini papæ, tum etiam ut de nobis certitudinem aliquam haberent fratres. Ipse vero modicum adhuc nos expectare jussit, quia archiepiscopum vocaverat statim venturum. Suorum autem neminem hac vice ad vos transmittere consensit, credens in persona sua venire. Interim ingressus est archiepiscopus, cum quo sermone prius habito secretius, nos vocavit dominus legatus, et archiepiscopus clericos suos omnes, et præ aliis angelos suos apostatas monachos. Et incipiens a tempore ingressus sui, enarrabat domino cardinali, quomodo claves trium obedientiarum in primo capitulo ad pedes ejus positæ fuerint, quomodo quærenti quid hoc esset, dominus prior responderit, "Istæ obedientiæ a vobis teneri debent. Si vul-
" tis obedientiariis istis claves resignare, potestis; si aliis, et
" hoc liberum est vobis." Adjecit etiam quomodo ordinaverat obedientias illas; qualiter thesaurarii ei responderint, et post multa, quod cum vellet eas monachis committere, quidam noluerunt ab eo recognoscere, quidam non ausi sunt, sicut ipsi dixerunt, propter conventum: unde et possessiones ad ipsas obedientias pertinentes in manu sua cepit jure suo usus, non injuriam faciens. Nec omisit qualiter in Normannia personas in eis ordinavit coram domino rege et baronibus suis, et quomodo cellerarius ejus in contemptum ipsius inthronizatus est, et in capitulo tractatus et carcere, et multa in hunc modum veris non vera subtiliter admiscens, et magis veritatem rei supprimens. Ad quæ omnia diximus non venisse nos ad litigandum, nec velle tunc, quamvis possemus bene et vere respondere. Quia tamen frater, qui posuit sedem suam ab Aquilone, injurias sibi illatas frequenter replicavit, asserens me ipsum secundo loco post vos inter alios judicasse, respondi nihil in contemptum domini archiepiscopi illi factum fuisse, sed eum recte et regulariter pro offensa sua tractatum, quod tamen verbum secretum capituli denudaverat, nec alias proponendum. Tunc dominus cardinalis ad archiepiscopum conversus ait, "Domine archiepiscope, rogo et moneo, ut pacem
" facias cum fratribus tuis; quia si non feceris, necesse habeo
" juxta formam mihi præscriptam procedere." Cui archiepiscopus, "Præsto sum," ait, "eis omnes possessiones et res
" suas hic in continenti reddere si voluerint, ita tamen ut mihi
" faciant quod fecerunt prædecessoribus meis, et mihi usque
" ad tempus motæ litis." Quo in verbo aliquamdiu hærentes diximus, nos nihil facturos conventu inconsulto, nisi vellet simpliciter et sine modo reddere, aut hoc saltem modo ut ei faceremus quod deberemus facere. Voluntas itaque domini legati fuit, ut aliqui de vobis ad eum venirent, si velletis pace vel judicio litem terminare. Ad quod bene assensum dedit

A.D. 1189. After May 20.

He thinks that he need not send to Canterbury, as he will go thither soon. The archbishop came in with his fallenangels, and told his version of the story.

How he had ordered and taken account of the obediences; and we had deposed his cellarer and imprisoned him.

We replied that we would not dispute with him. Roger Norreys attacked me as one of those who had sat in judgment on him: I answered that I had done lawfully. The cardinal begged the archbishop to be at peace with us; which he said he would do, if we yield him the customary obedience. We refused to act without consulting the convent.

A.D. 1189. After May 20. fo. 77 v°.

archiepiscopus. "Sed sunt" inquit, "quidam in ecclesia "turbatores pacis quos venire nolumus, utpote subprior, "Alexander de Dovoria, Aaron, Odo et alii, qui si venerint, "nihil agetur." Et nos e contra, "Domine archiepiscope, "hoc nihil ad te. Venire debent quos conventus voluerit, nec "est vestrum eligere vel refutare." Et senior apostata, "Ad "quem ergo pertinet, si non pertinet ad eum?" Ad quem nos, "Cum causam habeas contra alium, quæ ratio est ut tu tibi "eligas adversarium? Hic est, domine archiepiscope, tractatus "inter lupos et pastores. Cum viam concordiæ diu quæ-"sissent, nec invenirent, dixerunt lupi, 'Canes vestri omnem "'discordiam operantur in vobis; date nobis ipsos, et erit "'pax perpetua inter nos.'" In hoc ergo apologo confusus archiepiscopus dixit, "Veniant igitur quicunque voluerint, "præter suppriorem solum, quem excommunicavi in pleno "concilio, qui etiam excommunicatus divina celebravit." Et nos ad hoc, "Immo, ipse primus omnium veniet, si decreve-"rint. Caput enim nostrum est. In quem si tulistis sen-"tentiam, nulla est, quia appellatio interposita fuit prius." Et ille "Appellatio igitur eximit hominem ab obedientia?" Et nos "Immo, potestatem prælati suspendit ad talia." Tunc cardinalis, omnia hactenus patienter audiens, ait, "Si ergo "scribendum est eis, quomodo scribemus?" Cui archiepi-scopus, "Conventui." Et nos "Immo, certe suppriori et "conventui, aut litteras non recipiemus." Et archiepiscopus, "Faciat dominus cardinalis quod vult, hoc sciens quod "propter inobedientiam excommunicatus est, et indulgentiam "habeo domini papæ, ut possim propter inobedientiam quem-"libet excommunicare, appellatione remota." Ad quod nos, "Si quid tale vobis indultum est, de appellatione intelligen-"dum est subsequenti, non præcedenti." Hic archiepiscopus indignatus est. "Tu ergo," inquit, "determinabis?" "Non "ego," inquam, "sed jura." Tunc cardinalis, "Volo ut "scribatis ministris, quatenus liberum sit eis qui voluerint "intrare, exire et venire ad nos;" et concessit, eo ipso recog-noscens, quam prius negaverat, inclusionem nostram. Soluto itaque concilio, veni ad legatum, ostendens indulgentiam papæ Urbani, et litteras Clementis papæ de excommunicatione vestra speciales, luce clarius faciens, quod post appellationem sententia lata est; quia tempore domini Urbani appellatum liquet ex litteris ipsius, tempore domini Clementis senten-tiam tulit dominus archiepiscopus. Adquievit itaque cardi-nalis, et scripsit vobis sicut videtis. Litteras legati ad vos directas bene custodiatis. Consilium vero magistri Juxta-montis noveritis, ut in partibus istis litigaturi non veniatis neque mittatis. Vos ergo, si placet, scribite domino legato, et libenter

The legate proposing that you should send some of the monks to settle with the archbishop, the latter tried to dictate who should be sent, and especially excluded the subprior.

We replied that he should be the first to come, and that his excommunication was null.

I succeeded in getting the archbishop into a passion, and he virtually confessed that the convent were imprisoned.

No. cxxxi.

Nos. ccxiv., ccxv.

After this meeting I showed the legate our indulgences, and he has written to you.

No. cccx.

consiliis ejus velletis adquiescere, sed difficile nimis esset et periculosum, ecclesiæ cartas et privilegia, et alia quibus inimitimini instrumenta, mari committere, et testes in locis tam remotis vel exhibere. Unde quamvis pacem diligitis et desideratis, magis eligitis moras temporum licet nimis molestissimas pati, maxime quia si pax inter reges, Domino laboribus ejus aspirante, reformata fuerit, illuc mittere non erit necesse; si procella steterit, nimis erit difficile; rogantes ut ad vos acceleret. Sed hæc alias plenius innotescent. Nunc ergo dominum Helyam ad vos transmittemus, qui omnia novit æque ac nos, ut per eum plenius instruamini. Alterum enim nostrum circa advocatum laborare videtur consiliosum, quia illum quem vultis non speramus habere. Unde et puero diximus ut non procedat ad ipsum, considerantes quia etiam si venire vellet aut posset, sero veniret, et hoc propositum habuimus etiam antequam mandaretis; cætera quoque quæ per eundem puerum facere vultis, quia omnino credimus inutilia, ipsum [differre jussimus] quousque mandatum vestrum acceperimus. Consiliosum credimus ut maneria vestra et alia ablata recipiatis. Licet tamen dixerit archiepiscopus quæ videntur ad rationem sibi reddendam pertinere, credimus tamen velle libenter restituere, nec pati ut ante legati adventum facies rerum non immutetur. Bonum autem erit si res vestras habueritis, quia melius poterit causa instrui, et qui pro vobis stabunt in spe lucri devotiores erunt, et libentius laborabunt.

A.D. 1189. After May 20.

Write and tell the legate that you will acquiesce in his advice, but cannot send your charters and witnesses abroad: beg him to hasten. I send brother Elias to you.

I think the archbishop will yield.

CCCVIII. Clemens papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.[1]

A.D. 1189. March 2.

No. ccxci.

Quanto in ecclesia Dei scientiæ munere, *etc.*, *ut supra*. Alioquin dilecto filio nostro Johanni, tituli Sancti Marci presbyteri cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis legato, dedimus in mandatis, ut apostolica auctoritate te et omnes contradictores, et monachos ipsos, si rebelles exstiterint, ad hoc remoto appellationis obstaculo ecclesiastica districtione compellat, et eos quos ad veritatem plenius indagandam scierit nominari, quod gratia et timore postpositis testimonium perhibeant veritati, simili censura cogere non postponat. Datum Laterani, vj. nonas Martii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

The pope informs the archbishop that he sends cardinal John of Anagni, to compel obedience.

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[1] This letter is given at length by Gervase, c. 1322, c. 1542, with the date "iv. Idus Martii" in both copies.

A.D. 1189.

CCCIX. Suo amico suus fidelis et amicus.

An opinion as to the powers of the judge-delegate.

Executor formam et modum mandati non habet excedere. Quod enim secus actum fuerit, non teneret. Proinde in dubiis certam dare sententiam non potest compelli, siquidem incerti interpretatio mandantis respicit ad arbitrium. In hoc tamen casu, si placuisset iis quibus demandatur, sine periculo posset

fo. 78 r°.

ulterius procedi, nisi crimen tam notorium, quo detestabile suos auctores palam detegit et prodit nominatim, præcipue cum ipsi rei post latam sententiam damnatæ[1] irreverenter incumbunt violentiæ. Sub legis enim umbra latitare non possunt, qui in crimine admisso suum proterve defendunt errorem. Terrore tamen publicæ potestatis imminente, his dissimulantur diebus quæ manifestam in se continent immanitatem. Proinde

In these terrible days, hardly any one can be trusted; the legate may be hunting for gain: our adversaries have hopes, perhaps unfounded.

vix in ecclesia Dei consistit columna quam non concutiat, utinam non confringat, hujus tempestatis terribilis perturbatio: sed et illius cui vestrum dicitur committi negotium formidabilis est adventatio. Solent enim hujusmodi ad odorem lucri nares habere infectas. Quæ vero sit persona, vel qualis ei fuerit credita dispensatio, quam citius fieri posset, expediret nos certiorari. Ii siquidem qui militant ex adverso, ab ejus adventu jam sibi videntur in portu navigare. Ibi tamen incautis qui de sua nimis præsumunt industria, fortius et citius occurrit naufragium. Sub umbra alarum Suarum protegat nos Deus a facie persequentis. Valete.

Ps. xvii. 8, 9.

After May 20.

CCCX. Johannes Anagninus et legatus Conventui Cantuariensi.

The legate assures the convent of his zeal for their service,

Salutem, et de adventu suo spem habere firmiorem. Devotionem et reverentiam, quam circa Romanam ecclesiam et personam nostram geritis, ad cujus diffugium et consolationem spe non modica ducti recurritis, propensius attendentes, ecclesiæ vestræ libertati conservandæ provida sollicitudine intendimus, vestrisque profectibus, largiente Domino, operam exhibebimus efficacem. Sane gravaminibus et pressuris quibus indesinenter ex litterarum vestrarum tenore vos intelligimus laborare, debita benignitate compatimur. Domino quoque juvante, nisi malignus homo impedimentum aliquod irrogaverit, in proximo debitum finem imponere cogitamus. Cupientes igitur laborem vestrum et angustias in adventu nostro ex parte sublevari, litteras nostras archiepiscopo destinavimus, dando

[1] *damnatæ*] dampnare, MS. The whole sentence is obscure and perhaps corrupt.

ei in mandatis ut, omni mora et contradictione cessante, juxta tenorem apostolici mandati cuncta restituat, et alia omnia facere non omittat : liberum etiam aditum et egressum habentes, solita libertate et vestrarum rerum administratione recepta, nullis de suis vobis obstantibus seu contradicentibus, tam ad dominum papam quam ad nos pro vestris necessitatibus, secure venire ac redire possitis ; pro certo scituri quod voluntatem gerimus et propositum, quantum cum Deo poterimus et honestate, vobis adesse, et utilitatibus vestris diligentius aspirare. Vos autem quicquid vobis factum fuerit nobis significare non omittatis. Valete.

A.D. 1189. After May 20.

and informs them that he has ordered the archbishop to obey the papal mandate, and to give them free egress and ingress.

CCCXI. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres de transmarinis.

A.D. 1189. July 1–6.

Consilium habentes a viris magnis qui nos, ut credimus, in veritate diligunt, et uti volentes quæ se obtulit occasione, ad dominum regem, cum anxiaretur, per medios enses properavimus, sperantes una cum aliis multis, quod afflictionis maternæ filius misereretur afflictus, maxime cum magnates terrarum ei crebro suggererent, quod pro vexatione Cantuariensis ecclesiæ mala irruentia pateretur. Ad quem venientes, salutavimus ex parte vestra, dicentes, " Salutat vos conventus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ " ut dominum." Quibus ille dixit, " Fui aliquando dominus " eorum, et adhuc sum et ero ;" et submurmurans adjunxit ita ut vix audiretur, " et malas gratias vobis, mali proditores." Cumque supplicationem nostram et vestram seriatim audisset, " Modo," inquit, " recedite, et loquar cum fidelibus meis." Et advocans Willelmum de Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesia, aliquamdiu eum convenit. Reversis autem nobis et rogantibus quatenus beneplacitum suum nobis diceret, respondit ; " Jussi litteras " vestras fieri." Sperantes itaque spiritum bonum Domini irruisse in eum, ad cancellariam nos contulimus, ubi litteras domini regis accepimus quas vobis destinamus. In quibus perspicuum est idem animi homini inesse quod prius, quia non facile est posse mutare Æthiopes, nec populum Domini dimittere Pharaonem. Consilio ergo habito, visum est nobis cardinalem et legatum adire, quatenus si dominus archiepiscopus ablata omnia, sicut coram domino legato dixerat, vellet restituere, recipere non moraremur, facturi ei quicquid

The brethren made their way to the king through swords.

They saluted him as their lord, and he replied that so he was, small thanks to them.

He has commanded letters to be written to the convent.

No. cccxii.

[1] This letter was written apparently between June 29, when Henry made peace with Richard and Philip, and the 6th of July, on which day he died at Chinon. Gervase says that the king died and was buried within seven days of his interview with the monks.

A.D. 1189. July 1–6. Thence they went to the legate at Rouen, and offered to accept restitution from the archbishop, as the legate was forbidden by the king to enter England.

facere deberemus. Ad legatum igitur venientes cum litteris vestris, quæ nobis in loco ipso, videlicet apud Rothomagum, optato advenerant, una vobiscum et pro vobis justitiam nostram nobis supplicavimus exhiberi, ostendentes terminum a domino papa indultum, quem ipse legatus bene noverat præterisse, nec in aliquo paritum fuisse mandato apostolico. Quibus ipse litteras domini regis ostendit, prohibentis ne proficisceretur in Angliam, eo ac domino archiepiscopo circa remanentibus, neque negotium vestrum sine ipsius exsequeretur præsentia. Videntes igitur quod contra regem non præsumeret, replicata necessitate quam patimini, diximus nos res nostras, si redderet dominus archiepiscopus, non refutare, salvo jure nostro in aliis. Misit ergo duos de clericis suis, dicens illis, "Ite ad archiepiscopum, "et dicite ei," qui similiter Rothomagi erat, "'Fratres "'Cantuarienses venerunt ad nos, conquerentes quod cum "'tempus quadraginta dierum elapsum sit a porrectione litte-"'rarum, nullum de mandato domini papæ adhuc senserint fo. 78 v°. "'emolumentum.' Dicite præterea, quod restitutionem rerum The legate proposed this to the archbishop. "suarum, quam coram me nuper obtulit, non renuunt, sed "requirunt, salvo sibi jure suo in omnibus querelis aliis, loco "suo et tempore reservatis. Diligenter autem rogate illum, "ut sic habeat in hac parte, ne debeam contra eum durius "agere, quia licet ei quantum fas est deferre volumus, "Deum et dominum papam magis reveremur." Fecerunt autem nuncii, sicut eis jussum fuerat. Cæterum autem cum die sequenti ad dominum legatum reversi responsum domini archiepiscopi quæsivissemus, dixit dominum archiepiscopum velle quidem res vestras restituere, sed dicere, eis restituendas esse qui domum administrant, aut saltem per eos conventui in commune, videlicet, per cellerarium, camerarium et sacristam, et ideo eos vocandos esse. Quod quidem verbum non negantis fuit, sed negotium differentis. Veriorem enim causam subjunxit ille legatus dicens; "Dicit præterea archiepiscopus "dominum regem velle tractatui interesse, unde nec vult, "nec audet, sine rege quicquam facere." Ad hoc nos, "Ecce, "domine, videtis quod quæ obtulit nobis dominus archiepi-"scopus vobis audientibus, modo negat, et decretum ecclesiæ "ad voluntatem regis intendit moderari, differens usque ad "ejus adventum, quod de mandato apostolico jam deberet "consummasse. De cætero rogamus vos et obsecramus in "Domino Jesu, ut quod vestrum est faciatis. Si potestis ad "ecclesiam illam transfretare, jus suum ei conservate. Sin "autem, quod in partibus istis potestis, hoc facite." Itaque, carissimi fratres et domini, adhuc dilata est dimissio nostra, nec creditur sine manu regis res ullatenus explicanda. Quomodo autem per eum liberandi sitis persecutorem nostrum,

The archbishop replied that the officers of the convent must be summoned to receive restitution, and he would do nothing without the king.

vos videritis, qui, nisi fallimur, quod ei accidit his diebus in ignominiam et opprobrium sempiternum, vobis imputat, non emendatus sub flagello, sed exasperatus magis, et contra nos quasi ad ultionem animatus. Quid ergo dicemus ad hæc? Si Rom. viii. 31. Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? Confidimus in Domino. Ps. iii. 8. Liberet nunc nos, si vult, quia Domini est salus, et ad Eum Ps. cxxiii. 2. oculi nostri. Multa præter hæc habemus vobis scribere, sed harum bajulus dominus A., si ad vos venerit, ea vobis melius et plenius explicabit. Valete.

A.D. 1189. July 1–6. The king lays all his troubles to the charge of the convent.

CCCXII. Henricus rex Conventui Cantuariensi.[1]

July.

Salutem, et Deo miserante in reditu suo in Angliam pacem. Super angustiis et molestiis quibus hucusque oppressa est ecclesia Cantuariensis, supra modum gravamur et movemur. Verum, sicut rei veritas se habet, bene nostis et pro certo debetis habere, hoc neque me volente, neque approbante, neque affirmante, factum fuisse, sed ad honorem Dei et ecclesiæ vestræ, si per me stetisset, jam diu pacificata fuisset dissensio, quæ tam diu, inimico suadente, inter dominum archiepiscopum et vos est protracta. Nunc autem, sicut audistis, descendit ad partes vestras Johannes tituli Sancti Marci presbyter cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis legatus, ad pacificandum tantæ dissensionis turbinem. Cui quanta poterimus diligentia, ad honorem Dei et domini archiepiscopi et vestrum, assistemus. Sed quoniam in absentia nostra et domini archiepiscopi, in tam arduo negotio debito ordine procedere non posset, vobis mandamus et consulimus, quatenus causæ vestræ meritum sollicite vobiscum revolvatis, usque in adventum nostrum. Et interim in unum convenientes, animos vestros, salvo in omnibus jure et honore ecclesiæ vestræ, ad ea quæ pacis sunt inclinetis, ut in adventu nostro viam ad tanti negotii decisionem faciliorem inveniamus. Teste Willelmo de Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesia, apud Aczai.

The king assures the convent that their persecution is no fault of his.

The cardinal of S. Mark is on his way, and the king will find some way of peace, when he returns to England.

Dated from Azai.

CCCXIII. Gaufrido suppriori Cantuariensi quidam amicus.

Vobis siquidem tam nunciorum voce, quam scriptorum significatione, ea quæ vel contigisse, vel voluntate mea, jam ad eventum prona cognoveram, remota silentii taciturnitate manifestare consueveram. Nunc autem vestræ consolationis, utinam liberationis, audito nuncio, nequaquam animum a consueto bonæ voluntatis obsequio retinere possum. Inde est

A friend congratulates the subprior

[1] This letter is given by Gervase, c. 1545.

A.D. 1189. on the improvement in the prospects of the convent from arrival of the legate.

quod vobis scribens nunc tandem congaudere compellor, quod diuturna in miseris expectatione tandem ad portum salutis applicantibus jam affore spem salutis, quamvis adversorum tædio affectus, sentio. Audivi enim certissimis intersignis, vestræ causæ auditorem nunc terminaturum affore, qui vestram, Deo auctore et vestra patientia promerente, defendat auctoritatem. Quod si iste forsan priorum exemplo, Dei adhuc exigente vindicta, subtraheretur, nequaquam oporteret vos, tanquam divinæ voluntati incompositos, ejus expectare successorem. Nostis enim, si bene memini, sacerdotum auctoritatem a muliere digne redargutam, eo quod divinæ liberationi terminum posuissent. Valete.

Judith viii. 10, &c.

A.D. 1189. After August 6. On the archbishop's return the convent sent the prior of S. Gregory to offer him a procession. (July 31. Gervase, 1546.) The next day he

CCCXIV. Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus missis ad regem.

fo. 79 r°.

Misimus Dovoriam priorem Sancti Gregorii obviam domino archiepiscopo, ut ei processionem ex parte nostra offerret, et diceret quod nos de jure ante alios ei deberemus occurrere, si res aliter se haberent. Qui in crastino apud Wingeham veniens, misit ad nos prædictum priorem, magistrum Samsonem, et R. vicearchidiaconum, et R. de Sancto Martino, mandans, ut mitteremus ad eum sacristam, camerarium, S. thesaurarium, cantorem, et Alanum, et si quis eorum impotens esset veniendi, alios loco illorum mitteremus. De consilio vero universitatis, ut materiam querelandi tolleremus, misimus S. thesaurarium, Alanum et R. de Cripta. Qui cum eum ex parte supprioris et conventus salutassent, et obtulissent processionem, respondit quod salutem conventus susciperet, sed non supprioris, quia eum se dicebat excommunicasse, et adhuc excommunicatum denunciabat. Et habito consilio cum suis de processione respondit, quod libenter eam reciperet si subpriorem amoveremus, et Johannem de Bremble; cui responsum est quod hoc nullatenus faceremus, etiam de ultimo omnium amovendo. Petierunt præterea, ut mandatum domini papæ et cardinalis faceret. Qui respondit, "Sic feci." Præcepit autem domino Alano ut ordinem custodiret, nec obedientiam aliquam subpriori exhiberet, nec pro subpriore haberet. Qui respondit quod nuncius erat, nec ad hoc missus. Archiepiscopus autem, protensis in cœlum manibus, oravit tertio eundem sermonem repetens, "Vindicet me Deus de "subpriore." Cui cum responsum esset, quod si subprior esset ubi erit infra centum annos, non desisteremus, sed forsitan fortius ageremus, respondit, "Sciatis quod judicium "de eo factum est, et pœna pro foribus est, nisi venerit "ad satisfactionem." Minatus est etiam quod Cantuariam

summoned the officers of the convent to Wingham. (August 1.)

August 3. He demanded the deposition of the subprior and John de Bremble: and when this was refused, he implored God to avenge him on the subprior.

S. Mark xiv. 39.

veniret, et priorem et subpriorem et alios obedientiarios nobis præficeret. Et his auditis reversi sunt. Erat autem feria quinta. Currentibus vero et crebrescentibus hinc minis de captione et de incarceratione nostra, inde consiliis de humiliatione et misericordiæ postulatione, cum more solito sustineremus, sabbato veniens Cantuariam per portam cœmeterii, licet Osbertus de Bristho per aliam viam vellet eum ducere in curiam suam, spreto in itinere consilio ejus, pulsantibus contra eum signis, ecclesiam intravit, procedens in directum per medium conventum usque ad altare, et data benedictione post evangelium missæ, quæ eo veniente de Spiritu Sancto erat inchoata, ad tumbam extra chorum descendit, sicque per martyrium et claustrum in cameram suam reversus est. Et quia quosdam de senioribus in ingressu suo ei obviam misimus ad salutandum et respondendum, si proponeret aliquid contra nos, rogavit prius per se, et postea per capellanum suum, W. Wigorniensem, ut cum eo manducarent: qui responderunt, quod, rebus se habentibus ut nunc, non possent ordinate hoc facere, neque cum pace animi sui: sed pace facta libenter id facerent. In crastino misit ad nos abbatem Sancti Augustini, et priorem Sancti Gregorii, sex milites, sex sacerdotes, et cives, et alios multos, offerens nobis possessiones nostras, ut eas reciperemus, salvo jure suo et nostro, et mandato domini papæ. Cumque plures de fratribus nostris ad hoc recipiendum misissemus, dominum R., cui custodiam ordinis, sicut dicebat, commiserat, nomine universitatis ad hoc recipiendum cum aliis adesse præcepit. De restitutione vero ablatorum respondit, quod consilium principis et cleri Angliæ sequeretur, quia thesaurum ecclesiæ, quod in custodia ejus erat, distraximus. Venit dominus A. et alii cum eo, qui, sicut diximus, salvo jure nostro et suo et mandato domini papæ, seisinam possessionum suarum, per librum quendam receperunt. De subpriore vero dixit quod antea dixerat, et adjecit quod eum caperet ubicumque inveniret, quia se dicebat inde auctoritatem habere. Nominavit vero nobis cellerarium in camera sua in ipsa hora dominum Felicem. Quod cum videremus, comperientes nos esse delusos, remisimus ad eum, appellationem nostram renovantes, ponentes nos et nostra sub protectione domini papæ et cardinalis. Cætera præsentium lator vobis poterit plenius enarrare. Unus autem vestrum aut duo ad dominum cardinalem cum litteris conventus cum omni festinatione accedite, supplicantes ei, ut saltem sero vobis subveniat. Secundo excipit capellam; ecclesias, exenia, et possessiones obtulit, cum ea libertate quam habuimus quando eas in manu sua accepit, ita tamen quod cellerarium

A.D. 1189. After August 6.

On Saturday, Aug. 5, he came to Canterbury, entered the church, and gave the benediction after the Gospel in the Mass of the Holy Ghost.

The seniors refused to eat with him.

The next day, Aug. 6, he sent to offer us restitution of the manors, saving his rights and ours, and the pope's mandate.

He threatened to seize the subprior; and nominated brother Felix as cellarer: whereupon we renewed our appeal.

A.D. 1189. After August 6. He insists on nominating the officers.

voluit non per conventum fieri, sed de consilio eorum quos vellet ad hoc vocare, et ut de consilio ejus fierent maneriorum custodes et thesaurarii. Valete.

CCCXV. Conventui Cantuariensi frater J.

After August 13.

Brother John writes that he has urged the legate to inform the duke of Normandy of his intention to proceed on his mission.

Post discessum fratrum nostrorum J. et A., domum domini legati fere assiduus frequentavi, tanto circa opus injunctum sollicitior, quanto aliis discedentibus operam istam solus susceperam. Tractabatur autem tunc temporis inter magnates de ingressu legati in Angliam; ipso instanter agente erga ducem Normanniæ,[1] ut legationis susceptæ implere posset officium, et causam Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, pro qua specialiter missus est, fine debito terminare. Qua de causa frequentius accessi, ne notitiam meam quod gerebatur aufugeret. Instantiæ itaque ipsius dux ita respondit: "Lætus ac libens vos "viderem in partibus illis, sed terra ipsa multum gravata "est, et peregrinatione mea amplius gravabitur; unde ut "per vos magis gravetur mihi et meis minus videtur con-"siliosum. Præterea coronationi meæ et negotiis regni, "utpote novus princeps, habeo intendere, unde segnius forte "quam deberem susceptioni vestræ vel honori vacarem. Ad "hoc enim consulunt proceres me, ne coronationi meæ legatus "intersit, ne possit Romana ecclesia aliquid in ipsa in pos-"terum vendicare." Et dominus legatus, "Terram vestram "per ingressum nostrum gravari non vultis, nec nos eam "gravare proposuimus, sed tantum circa Cantuariensem "ecclesiam mandatum domini papæ executioni mandare, et "reverti. Coronationi vero vestræ, nisi multum rogatus, "interesse non consentirem." Cui dux, "Ut audio, hac "tantum causa in regnum desideratis ingressum, ut inter "archiepiscopum et monachos suos pacem reformetis. Nos "autem, per Dei gratiam, bene litem istam sedabimus sine "vobis. Unde non erit vobis illuc migrare necessarium. "Attamen quoniam Grandimontanam ecclesiam opus habetis, "sicut asseritis, visitare, interim illuc divertite. Nos autem "cum baronibus terræ illius de adventu vestro plenius trac-"tabimus, significaturi vobis in proximo voluntatem nostram. "Cæterum volo ut ad hoc aliquem de vestris mittatis in "Angliam, per quem quod visum fuerit una cum nunciis

The duke politely refused to allow it; alleging the burdens of the people, and the risk of papal interference if the legate should be at the coronation.

fo. 79 v°.

He also advised him to go to Grammont for a time, and send a messenger to England.

[1] Richard received investiture as Duke of Normandy, July 20, and came to England, August 13.

" nostris vobis remandemus." Hæc verba non per se dux, sed per Rotomagensem, Cestrensem et proprium cancellarium locutus est, internuncios. Quibus dominus legatus ad instantiam nostram formam in qua venit ostendit, constanter asserens, et per eos duci demandans, se capitula ibi contenta omnimodum velle impleri, videlicet, ut opus destruatur, ut ablata omnia restituantur, ut clerici suspensi, immo excommunicati, teneantur, et excommunicati ab archiepiscopo absoluti habeantur. Ad hoc illi, " Et si consenserint monachi " absolvi, nonne liberum erit eis?" Et legatus, " Liberum " quidem, sed illicitum et omnino superfluum, nec tali absolutione quicquam ageretur." Satis itaque visus est hac parte pro nobis dicere, ita ut tinnirent aures audientium. Utinam et in hoc permaneret. Sæpius vero sic locutus est, et sæpe aliter. Attamen jam verbum istud publicavit, et in audientia magnatum dictum, sine confusione non revocabit. Mittit ergo clericum suum Taddeum in Angliam ad ducem, ejus circa ipsum inquirere dispositionem. Cum quo de consilio ipsius ego frater J. Withsand veni, exhibens eum in tribus equitaturis a Normannia usque huc. Hoc autem idcirco facere consensi, ut statum vestrum prope positus plenius agnoscerem, videns nec mihi nec vobis multum expedire, si cum legato in Pictaviam recederem, et ut clericus ipse propriis oculis inclusionem et afflictionem vestram, quam dominus archiepiscopus negat, possit intueri. Per quem dominus legatus litteras mittit in Angliam ad archiepiscopum, quibus utetur si ingressus ei in regnum denegetur et contempserit archiepiscopus. Transcriptum earum vobis mitto, quod vix furatus sum; paucissimis et probatæ fidei ostendendum adhuc, de quibus nulla sit dubitatio. Expedit causæ, expedit et personæ meæ, qui ei fidem promisi. Patentes super hoc negotio petivimus fieri prælatis Angliæ, clero et populo, sed nondum potuimus impetrare; speramus autem; jam enim consilium nostrum requirit in agendis suis et secreta committit. Mittite ei pellicium grisium clausum, bonum et amplum, et, si inventa fuerit Londoniis penna de pellibus martrinis, ei similiter, si potestis, destinate. De pellicio nullatenus omittatur, promisi enim. Pacem tamen cum aliquo rerum dispendio non refutetis, non multum innitentes curiæ de cætero. Audivimus enim quod Octovianus Ostiensis factus sit episcopus. Bobo amicus archiepiscopi, Portuensis; Albinus, homo convertibilis, Albanensis. Pro hujusmodi creationibus Tusci, virtus curiæ, dicuntur curiam deseruisse, scilicet dominus Gratianus et dominus Sefredus. Et tamen non video posse omitti, sive pacem habueritis sive non, quin aliquis illuc destinetur vel plures. Si pax venerit, curiæ serviant, privi-

A.D. 1189. After August 13. The legate then showed his commission, and took our part manfully.

He sends his clerk into England to the duke: I, brother John, have brought him to Whitsand.

I send a copy of a letter from the legate to the archbishop.

Send the legate a handsome grey coat, and a robe of marten's fur.

Octavian is made bishop of Ostia, Bobo of Portus, Albinus of Albano.

A.D. 1189. After August 13. legia et cætera innovata relaturi. Si procella steterit, quatenus possunt prosequantur negotium, litteras cardinalis habituri. Dudum enim super hoc cum ipso locuti sumus, et promisit litteras suas se daturum libenter ad curiam profecturis. Cæterum et ipsi legato serviendum erit, et iis qui cum ipso sunt, quibus minus factum est, propensius quidem si justitiam nostram nobis fecerit, de qua de cætero magis spero. Motus enim est contra archiepiscopum, et sive venerit ad vos, sive non venerit, quicquid cum Deo et honestate sua poterit, asserit se facturum. Ipse tamen consulit ut, salvis ecclesiæ dignitatibus, quamvis non rebus omnibus, pacem amplectamini. Clerico itaque ad vos venienti omnia ostendite, videlicet injurias illatas, et jura quibus innitimini; et hoc honoris impendite quod potestis. Valete.

The cardinal will give letters of introduction to your messengers: he and his people must be rewarded.

CCCXVI. Conventui Cantuariensi G. prior jam transmarinus.[1]

After August 9.

Transgressi Atrebatum dominum Atrebatensem episcopum obviam habuimus. Qui quomodo circa nos res haberet interrogans et audiens, asserebat se credere rem longe aliter se habere, et multo melius nobis factum esse. Audito quoque quod nemo inter dominum archiepiscopum et nos mediator esset, dicebat se iturum ad vos et operam daturum ut pax plena fieret, quam libentissime, si vellemus. Et accipiens de voluntate nostra certitudinem, quod videlicet pacem vellemus, respondit, "Quid ergo fiet? Vos hinc ad legatum ibitis "pacem turbare, et nos inde paci operam dabimus? Sed "subsistite interim alicubi, si placet, ut possimus archiepiscopo "dicere, quod nihil contra eum perquiritis, et date litteras "vestras, ut pacem honestam propter absentiam vestram, si "venerit, non dimittant, et nos laborem itineris in nomine "Domini aggrediemur. Alioquin vel ipse archiepiscopus "contra eum conatus vestros recentes opponet, vel conventus "absentiam vestram. Unde et labor noster peribit et impensa." Ad quod diximus nos nuncios conventus esse, nec posse subsistere, aut negotium nobis injunctum omittere vel immutare. Itaque post pauca dixit se iturum Cistercium, missurum ante eum nuncium suum capellanum in Angliam ad archiepiscopum; credere nos interim reverti a legato, et tria hæc simul posse concurrere, ut videlicet ipse a capitulo Cisterciensi reverteretur, et nuncius ejus ab Anglia, et nos a legato, et res per gratiam Dei bene disponi. Verum et adjecit, quod omittendum non

The subprior has reached Arras, where the bishop offers himself as a mediator, if the convent will not counteract his efforts.

fo. 80 r°.

The subprior assured him that he wished for peace: he promised to send a chaplain to England.

[1] Geoffrey, the subprior, fled from Canterbury on or about August 9. *Gervase*, c. 1546, 1547.

est. "Si," inquit, "capella illa destruatur, et fiat vobis restitu- A.D. 1189. After August 9.
"tio possessionum, ecclesiarum, reddituum, et rerum omnium,
"sicut tempore promotionis ejus habuistis, et de perceptis He inquired whether, if the archbishop restored the possessions of the convent, they would suffer him to build his church elsewhere. I said, "Not such a church."
"medio tempore reddantur quæcunque inveniri poterunt, nonne
"vobis satisfactum erit? Nonne liberum alias ædificare?"
Et nos "Si omnia hæc fecerit, forte ut alias ædificet fratres
"sustinebunt, sine detrimento vel diminutione majoris ecclesiæ.
"Nunquam tamen in ecclesiam talem consentient, quia nus-
"quam sine præjudicio majoris credimus posse fieri." Itaque
data benedictione et accepta licentia, recessit a nobis. Hæc
autem idcirco vobis scripsimus, ut sciatis et nunciis ejus
respondere, si venerint, et a proposito nostro non temere
recedatis. Bene namque speramus de negotio, dummodo
steteritis, nec minus aliquid futurum credimus, quam insinua-
verit prædictus episcopus; sed, Deo juvante, amplius. Cæterum
et super his plura vobis scriberemus, sed erit hujusmodi locus
et tempus magis vacuum, nisi fallimur. Interim autem si pacem
feceritis, videte ne me aut eos qui mecum sunt, a forma pacis
exclusos periculo exponatis. Pace namque facta, nulla nos Be careful, in any terms you make, not to sacrifice me and the brethren who are here.
tuebitur appellatio, et indulgentia, quam a domino Urbano
habetis, exspirabit. Unde et domino archiepiscopo pro libitu
suo liberum erit in nos desævire, nec erit qui de manu ejus
possit eruere. Valete. Hæc omnia in notitiam omnium
fratrum bene venire sustineret et singulorum. Utimini si
placet. Audivimus et credimus quod dominus legatus in
Angliam pro certo venturus est, si non potest ut legatus,
saltem ut peregrinus. Clerico ipsius, si ad vos redierit, vultum Make promises of reward to the legate's clerk.
hilarem ostendite, et promissis onerate. Nec obstet paupertas
præsens quo minus hoc fiat. "Pollicitis dives quilibet esse Ovid, *Ars. Amat.* i. 444.
"potest." Valete iterum.

CCCXVII. Johannes Anagninus legatus Conventui Cantuariensi.

After August 9.

Si sint inter vos aliqui, qui vos ad pacem redire cum archie- The legate, after expressing his desire for peace, warns the convent to accept no terms derogatory to the Holy See,
piscopo vestro moneant et hortentur, nos illam pacem volumus
et optamus, per quam et in qua auctoritati sedis apostolicæ
et Romanæ ecclesiæ non derogetur in aliquo, nec juri vestro
fiat aliquod præjudicium, cum aliter inire concordiam non
esset pax sed major turbatio. Quod si cum utilitate vestra et
honore Romanæ ecclesiæ paci vestræ non patet via competens
et honesta, confidite et confortamini, quod cum ad partes
vestras venerimus, justitiam vestram in quibuscunque poteri-
mus cum Deo et honestate nostra, fovere curabimus, nec
pacem aliquam ratam haberemus, quæ in præjudicium aliquod

A.D. 1189. After August 9. and to observe carefully the rights of the subprior.

Romanæ ecclesiæ fieret, vel contemptum, seu libertati vestræ dispendium generaret. Ad hoc universitatem vestram monemus attentius, vobisque omnibus districte præcipimus, quatenus subpriori vestro, sicut ei qui vere vester subprior reputatur, obediatis in omnibus, et eum subpriorem habeatis sicut hactenus habuistis, nec alium aliquem recipiatis in loco ipsius; si etiam Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in tantam præsumptionem prorumperet, ut alium ei substituere conaretur: maxime cum dominus papa eum pro absoluto habeat, et reputet subpriorem, et nos ad omnem eum communionem admittamus, et subpriorem modis omnibus reputemus. Valete.

After August 9.

CCCXVIII. Johannes Anagninus legatus Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.

The legate informs the archbishop that he is desirous of peace, and warns him to obey the Holy See,

Meminimus vestræ fraternitati nos scripsisse sæpius, et etiam viva voce vos monuisse frequenter, ut ad pacem et concordiam cum Cantuariensi rediretis ecclesia; et utinam simus exauditi. Quod si nos adhuc forte noluistis audire, tamen nos, quantum ad nostrum spectat officium, ab inceptis nequaquam desistimus, sed tanquam venerabilem et carissimum fratrem nostrum, ad ea quæ pacis sunt iterum exhortamur, rogantes et monentes instantius, et in virtute Dei et obedientiæ quam Romanæ ecclesiæ in receptione pallii jurati promisistis, firmiter præcipientes, ut secundum formam mandati apostolici procedatis in negotio Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, nihil innovantes, nihil statuentes, nec immutantes aliquid contra domini papæ nostrumve mandatum, sed neque aliquid omnino gravaminis inferentes. Subpriorem quoque ejusdem ecclesiæ et alios, quos pro absolutis habet Romana ecclesia, et nos sicut absolutos recepimus, pro absolutis habeatis, etiam absque contradictione et molestia eos in suo gradu, ordine et officio ministrare, usque adventum nostrum ad partes vestras, libere permittatis. Cum enim ad partes illas, auctore Domino, veniemus, jura vestra vobis illæsa servabimus, et in quibuscunque cum Deo et justitia poterimus, fraternitati tuæ adesse curabimus. Quod si contra formam apostolici mandati a vobis est vel fuerit aliquid circa personas vel res immutatum, nos auctoritate qua specialiter fungimur in hac parte, denunciamus omnino non tenere, et penitus in irritum revocamus.

especially doing no wrong to the subprior.

After August 9.

CCCXIX. Johannes legatus omnibus Christianis.

The legate proclaims

Noverit universitas vestra, quod a sententia quam Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in suppriorem et fratres alios ejusdem

No. cxxxi.

ecclesiæ, post appellationem ad summum pontificem interpositam, et contra indulgentiam sedis apostolicæ priori et conventui Cantuariensis ecclesiæ concessam, temere tulit, dominus papa et ecclesia Romana decernit absolutos, et omnimodis non tenere. Unde nos dictum subpriorem ad omnem communionem recipientes, universitati vestræ mandamus, et auctoritate qua fungimur districte præcipimus, quatenus, quicquid vobis dicatur, pro non excommunicato habeatis, tam ipsum quam alios quos similiter prædictus archiepiscopus excommunicasse dicitur, nec propter hoc vos in aliquo evitetis. Stultissimum enim est, et minus catholicum, eis quos ecclesia Romana excommunicat communicare, et insanum nihilominus et impium eorum fugere in aliquo communionem, quos ipsa filios recipit et agnoscit. Valete.

A.D. 1189. After August 9. that the sentence of excommunication passed on fo. 80 v°. the subprior by the archbishop is invalid.

CCCXX. Philippus rex Franciæ Ricardo duci Normanniæ.[1]

Between July 20 and Sept. 3. The king of France writes to the duke of Normandy in favour of the church of Canterbury

Ea devotione qua glorioso martyri beato Thomæ Cantuariensi tenemur, eo intuitu quod genitor noster venerandæ memoriæ rex Lodowicus et martyrem et Cantuariensem ecclesiam dilexit, inducti, vestram affectuosis precibus sinceritatem sollicitamus, quatenus, justitiæ gloriosique martyris consideratione, ecclesiam quam ipse rexit, et adhuc venerabilis sui corporis illustrat præsentia, in suo jure vestra foveat discretio, nec eam, quæ diu sub oppressione violenta luxisse dicitur, ulterius aliqua vexari præsumptione sustineat: sub tanto misericordiæ et æquitatis tenore rem agentes, quod ecclesia ad novitatem vestræ dominationis gaudeat se dignitatis suæ firmitatem obtinere, et injustam oppressionis miseriam per vos evasisse. Ad cujus rei executionem de gratia martyris habenda, sicut credimus, potestis esse securi, nostraque benevolentia vestræ grates multas habitura est dilectioni. Valete.

CCCXXI. Regina Franciæ Ricardo duci.

Between July 20 and Sept. 3. The queen of France writes to duke Richard

Ea devotione qua dominus noster rex Francorum pro desolatione ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis vestræ dilectioni preces affectuosas porrigit et devotas, nos etiam gloriosi martyris Thomæ accensæ desideriis, vestram dignum duximus exorare clementiam, quatenus statum matris vestræ jam dictæ ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, quam idem gloriosus martyr proprii

[1] Richard was girt with the sword of the duchy of Normandy July 20th, and was crowned king of England Sept. 3rd.

A.D. 1189. July or Aug. in favour of the church of Canterbury.

sanguinis effusione acquisivit, tempore vestri regiminis ab omni tribulationis angustia dignemini relevare, ut eam opprimentes vestræ potestatis dominio desistere compellatis; tanta igitur benignitatis ubertate petitionem domini regis nostramque exequi dignemini, ut beatissimi martyris interventu et vestrorum meritorum, dies vestri prospere disponantur, et regni vestri potentia deinde divino moderamine dirigatur, gratesque vobis rependere debeamus uberrimas, quod preces domini regis nostrasque vestra fecerit excellentia fructuosas. Valete.

August.

CCCXXII. Gaufrido suppriori et sociis transmarinis quidam frater.

The convent inform the subprior and his companions that they have sent to London for the coat and robe. The new cellarer is very oppressive.

Answer to No. cccxv.

Accelerante præsentium latore ad mare, saltem aliqua de statu nostro vobis significare dignum duxi; habebitis autem nuncium nostrum proprium infra diem tertium vel quartum. Misimus enim Willelmum pelliparium Londonias, propter pellicium grisium et pennam de lindeseie, quia eam quam ipse habuit statim vendidit, quia ex longa detentione perierat, prout ipse asserebat. Cætera vero quæ postulastis facimus præparari, cum festinatione vobis mittenda. Factus est nobis cellerarius cujus digitus jam nunc grossior est dorso patrum suorum, vir major mente quam corpore, cujus opera utinam consona sint nomini et non contraria rationi. Venit ad nos comes Willelmus, et habito cum eo solo secretius consilio, petivimus ut apud ducem pro nobis partes suas interponeret. Qui spopondit quod totum posse suum faceret. Dictum est etiam ei præcise, quod pax nullatenus fieri posset, nisi prius caput nostrum subpriorem haberemus, qui minis et terroribus perturbatus, erat ad cardinalem profectus, et nisi capella demoliretur, et ablata restituerentur. Consuluit etiam nobis ut prius per nos ei supplicaremus, antequam litteras regis Franciæ ostenderemus. Unde misimus S. thesaurarium et Jonam obviam duci, qui coronari debet, sicut comes nobis dixit, Dominica ante Nativitatem Sanctæ Mariæ. Ex ore etiam comitis accepimus, quod dux pacem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ desiderat, et ad eam faciendam anhelat. Archiepiscopus vero gressu formicino, immo testudineo, Wintoniam vel Londonias tendit, gratiam ducis et reginæ non habens nisi pro necessitate temporis, sicut dicitur. Non enim vidit eam postquam venit in Angliam. Accepi a quodam viro magno, quod archiepiscopus ad hoc laborat, et modis omnibus laborabit, ut ad pedes ejus veniam postuletis, promittens coram omnibus misericorditer vobiscum facturum: sed, sicut prædictus vir mihi secretius dixit, indignationem vellet remittere, sed pœnam

1 Kings xii. 10.

They have obtained the intercession of earl William;

and sent Symon and Jonas to meet the duke.

The archbishop is creeping to court, in no great favour, and with doubtful intentions.

excommunicationis judicio suo et suorum vellet reservare. A.D. 1189. August.
1 S. John iv. 1. Quocirca videte ne omni spiritui credatis, si enim in muscipulam istam incideritis, vix erit e nobis qui evadat manus ejus. De ministris nostris excommunicatis multa est apud nos disceptatio; conventus enim, qui resumpto spiritu, quem in discessu vestro pene exhalaverant, cum signifero suo S. thesaurario, iter regium aggressus, eos rejicit, et eorum administrationem, asserentes quod nec unum iotha de cætero remittent, pœnitentiam agentes super eo quod de cellerario pro bono pacis sustinuerunt. Cellerarius vero dicit archiepiscopum præcepisse, ut procurationem suam habeant, ne videamur eum in eis persequi. Cui coram omnibus ad consilium vocatis, qui hæc scripsit respondit, "Non videtur rationabile "ut conventus penuriam in cibo et potu et vestimentis sus- "tineat, et de consuetudinibus suis multa suspendat, ut G. "pistor et J. coquus et alii plenariam procurationem habeant," et accedente melancholia subjunxisse sic, "Cinc cenz deehez "ait il, ki pur archeveske u pur celerier a cose revan," et responderunt omnes, "Amen;" sicque remansit ea vice,

There is a question about the excommunicated servants.

The new cellarer claims full maintenance for them, but it is hard that we should starve to keep the cook and baker.

See No. ccxix.

fo. 81 r°.

"Qua sine non possum bene vivere, vivat in ævum,
"Maxima pars nostri dimidiumque mei:
"Vivat amor noster dum nostrum vivit uterque,
"Alter et alterius sit sine fine memor." Valete.

CCCXXIII. Gaufridus supprior Alano tertio priori. September.

Quod vobis scribimus eatenus secreta esse volumus et celata, ut nisi locus et tempus inciderit, in publicum non exeant. Si vero ita res exegerit, senioribus possunt ostendi. Si tractatum fuerit de demolitione capellæ, destructioni omnimodum erit insistendum, ut pereat in loco ipso memoria ejus. Si de translatione usque Lamehe, vel alias, nobis et qui nobiscum sunt fratribus videtur sustinendum, quamvis nullatenus consentiendum, ita tamen ut ecclesiæ et exenia ei collata ad nos revertantur. Aliæ quoque ecclesiæ quas in suo fundo positas conventus sibi dicit competere, petendæ videntur, nec facile concedendum ut collegio illi conferantur, nisi forte conventus pro bono pacis huic quæstioni renunciare consenserit, ita ut plenaria fiat aliorum restitutio et pacifica sit possessio. Super omnia vero providendum, ut multiplici fine ecclesia illa, ubicunque futura, nostræ astricta sit et subjecta, ne possit calcaneum suum contra vos levare in posterum. Non quia hoc placeat, sed "est quodam prodire tenus, "si non datur ultra." Si de institutione prioris sermo fuerit, quamvis videamur in litteris conventui directis aliud innuisse,

The subprior privately instructs the third prior to insist on the destruction of the new church; but if needs be, to let it be transferred to Lambeth or elsewhere, reserving all the rights of the mother church.

S. John xiii. 18.

Horace, *Epist.* I. i. 32.

A.D. 1189. September. He is willing to accept any prior regularly elected.

læti tamen et libenter reciperemus personam quæ conventui placeret, secundum voluntatem eorum electam, utpote dominum Symonem, H. cellerarium, R. de Tumba, vel aliam honestam et idoneam personam, quam conventus elegisset. Dimisimus in partibus istis fratres J. de Bremble, et A. de Dovoria, alterum quia, ut scribitis, non est ei tutum reverti, alterum donec revertamur, aut aliquid certius de statu nostro cognoscat. Providete eis quod potestis. Valete, et orate pro nobis. Salutamus dominos nostros omnes et singulos.

He has given John and Alexander leave to remain abroad.

After Sept. 17.

CCCXXIV. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido priori et sociis ejus.

The convent sent eight monks to the coronation (Sept. 3) to withstand the archbishop if he should petition on behalf of the new church.

Ad ea quæ haberemus vobis scribere, si mora libera nobis esset, non posset epistolaris brevitas sufficere; sed quæ non possumus ad præsens, processu temporis faciemus. Noveritis igitur quod ad coronationem regis octo de fratribus nostris misimus cum vestimentis, et cartis quas dominus archiepiscopus sibi exhiberi petierat, et ut resisterent in faciem archiepiscopo, si ad pedes regis, eo coronato, pro conservanda et confirmanda capella se prosterneret, quod indubitanter facturum eum nobis fuerat significatum. Scripsimus vero super hoc Bathoniensi et Dunelmensi, et aliis amicis ecclesiæ, qui omnes nobis in hoc faventes parati erant stare cum fratribus nostris, et cum eis contra prosternentem, si se ita prosterneret, prosternere. Consecratus est rex, præmisso juramento de protegenda ecclesia et pace ejus servanda, et de conservando unicuique jure suo, ut etiam rex ipse de suo adjecit, dicens quod sanctam ecclesiam propensius et melius quam antecessores sui fecerunt, protegeret et promoveret: quod verbum omnes acceptaverunt. Siluit vero archiepiscopus, forsitan præmunitus quid facturi eramus, si de capella mentio fieret. Dedit autem dominus rex domino archiepiscopo, qui cum eo ipso die comedit, cornu eburneum miræ magnitudinis, quod comes Willelmus ei præsentaverat, quod et archiepiscopus per sacristam beato Thomæ misit, pallium etiam quoddam quod barones Dovoriæ et Quinque Portuum, quod de consuetudine antiqua in coronatione regis habuerunt, ab ipsis baronibus super altare Christi oblatum est in memoriam æternam. Rex etiam ante coronationem suam, apud Brunhelle S. thesaurario et Jonæ benigne respondit in hæc verba, "Numquid interro-
" gatis aliquid quod de jure non debeatis habere?" Qui cum respondissent "Non;" subjunxit, "Volo ut habeatis in
" omnibus quicquid habere debetis, et archiepiscopus habeat
" quod debet habere." Celebratis electionibus post corona-

The king was crowned, adding to his coronation oath a promise to defend the church.

The archbishop sends an ivory horn, the king's gift, to S. Thomas; and the barons of the Cinque Ports a pall for the high altar.

tionem apud Gadintun, confirmavit rex nobis cartas patris sui, novas et veteres, de verbo ad verbum; cartas si quas habemus cum archiepiscopo de libertatibus, sak et sokne, et de geld, et Denegeld, et de placitis essartorum, et de vino. De aliis vero consilium fuit amicorum ut sustineremus donec ipse veniret ad nos. Manerium de Clive, quod retinuerat archiepiscopus propter servientes nostros, nobis reddidit, post multas minationes et verba inde prolata. Habemus etiam redditus Londonienses. Accepimus a Taddeo, clerico cardinalis, quod dominus ejus licentiam habet veniendi devotionis causa, et terminandi si quid residui fuerit quæstionis inter nos in adventu ejus. Timemus autem ne veniat homo ille, et more suo minis et terroribus præficiat nobis quem ipse voluerit. Suspicantur vero de S. camerario, sive de R. cloacario. Unde oporteret ut contra hoc nobis per cardinalem quam citius subveniretis. Adhuc enim iis qui nobis favent multa minatur. Retulit nobis vir quidam magnus, quod etiam jam publice prædicatur, quod cardinalis in Normannia consilium dedit archiepiscopo, ut domino papæ obediat in demolitione capellæ, et ea demolita, ecclesiam incipiat. Sed et, sicut sui asserunt secretius, de sententia in vos lata confirmationem domini papæ privatam habet, sed eam non proferet, nisi aliter vos [non] possit evincere. Nuper enim cum de loco consecrationis episcoporum coram fratribus nostris verbum fieret, quærentibus quibusdam de suis, ubi fieri haberet, Willelmus Malæ Fidei respondit, "Ubi deberent sacrari nisi Cantuariæ?" Cui archiepiscopus, "Nescio quando Cantuariæ celebrabo;" et advertens præsentiam nostrorum, verbum studuit mutatoriis palliare; post pauca enim, immemor eorum quæ dixerat, dixit se Cantuariam oportere maturius venire, et ecclesiæ suæ priorem præficere. Si cardinalis venerit, de advocato vobiscum adducendo cogitate; si vero sine eo veneritis, videte quomodo caute ambuletis, timemus enim "mutantem Prothea "vultus." Curiam de hominibus nostris nondum plene possumus habere. Convenimus inde archiepiscopum, qui vocato Adam de Cherringes, quæsivit ab eo, qualiter esse solebat. Qui respondit, milites antiquiores illo esse in provincia qui idem satis nossent. Cui sacrista ait, "Fi! Quid dicis? nonne "vidisti et interfuisti apud Holingeburn, ubi coram me duo "rustici propter furtum duellum commiserunt, et victum "feci ego suspendere, sicut justitia conventus? et tu ipse in "curia nostra sæpenumero placitasti." Dilatum tamen est negotium. Capellam de Marisco nobis per sacristam et alios concesserat. Cum vero alii venirent, petentes ex parte conventus, ut archidiacono scriberet de presbytero recipiendo in ea, dixit quod inde bene provideret quis ibi cantaret. Cui

A.D. 1189. After Sept. 17.

At Gaitington (Sept. 17) the king confirmed our liberties, and we have received our London rents.

No. cccxxv.

We are afraid of having Symon the chamberlain or Roger Norreys for prior; we

fo. 81 v°.

hear that the legate has advised the archbishop to pull down his chapel, and begin a church.

Ominous words have been spoken about the consecration of the new bishops.

Horace, *Epist.* I. i. 90.

We have not quite succeeded in recovering our courts.

The sacrist recovered the chape in the Marsh,

A.D. 1189. After Sept. 17. but the archbishop tries to cheat him.

cum admirantes referrent quid per sacristam et alios pridie mandasset, et quod jam in capella essemus, respondit "Concessi "sacristæ viginti solidos de capella, quos volo bene ut habeat;" nilque amplius potuimus reportare. Scripsimus vero ei, supplicantes ut capellam novam faceret demoliri, et ablata omnia restitueret, suppriorem et alios pro non excommunicatis haberet, et alia quæ in mandato continentur impleret; alioquin pax nullatenus esse posset. Cum vero de consilio omnium mittere vellemus ad cardinalem, et litteræ essent pro parte exaratæ, supervenit Thaddeus festinans ad mare, petens a nobis puerum qui cum litteris ejus præcurreret ad cardinalem. Unde ei J. nuncium concessimus, per quem etiam expensas misissemus, nisi timeremus per hoc eum retardari. Unde nisi citius expensas vobis miserimus, mutuo accipite, et nos indubitanter persolvemus. Cætera Thadeus et lator præsentium poterunt vobis de statu nostro et iis quæ apud nos acta sunt enarrare. Valete semper in Domino.

The legate's clerk Taddeo will accompany the bearer.

After Sept. 3.

CCCXXV. Johanni Anagnino legato Ricardus rex Anglliæ.

The king thanks the legate for his zeal in collecting the tithe in the dioceses of Poictiers and Limoges and urges him to further exertion.

Paternitati vestræ quantas valemus gratiarum referimus actiones, super sollicitudine diligenti quam de colligendis decimis, tam a clericis quam a laicis, in Pictaviensi et Lemovicensi episcopatibus habuistis. Verum quoniam eadem collectio subventioni terræ Jerosolimitanæ potest plurimum expedire, et episcopi ac barones terrarum illarum sub umbra auctoritatis sedis apostolicæ volunt, sicut accepimus, se teneri; rogamus caritatem vestram tam affectuose quam possumus, quod ad prædictam collectionem efficaciori et magis studiosa sollicitudine intendatis, et fraudem eorum qua se volunt eidem collectioni subtrahere, constanti sollertia refellere studeatis, quidque super hoc possitis agere, per latorem præsentium, clericum nostrum, nobis curetis sub ea festinatione qua poteritis nunciare. Et quoniam devotionis nostræ initia vobis volumus exhibere, rogamus vos attentius ut nepotem vestrum cum eodem G. ad nos mittere festinetis, a nobis, volente Deo, sicut honori vestro et nostro conveniet honorandum. Nos vero interim ad componendum inter archiepiscopum et monachos Cantuarienses diligenter operam impendemus; et si opera nostra effectum fuerit consecuta, tunc pro devotionis intuitu quam ad gloriosum martyrem, beatum scilicet Thomam, geritis, poteritis in Angliam transfretare. Si vero per nos eadem non poterit sedari seditio, vobis tunc etiam pro eadem compositione tractanda patebit ingressus. Super quo, dum collectioni intenderitis decimarum, per proprium nuncium vel per latorem

In the meantime the king will try to make peace between the archbishop and the monks.

præsentium, si ad nos cum festinatione redierint, mandatum nostrum curabimus intimare: propter hoc enim per nuncium vestrum, vel per latorem præsentium, cum eum ad vos direxerimus, adventum vestrum præscire volumus, ut vos honorificentia quæ tantum virum deceat possimus suscipere, et per terram nostram plenius honorare. Teste Willelmo de Mandavilla.

A.D. 1189. After Sept. 3. After that the legate may come to England, giving the king timely notice.

CCCXXVI. Gaufrido suppriori et sociis suis quidam frater Cantuariensis.

After October 6.

Latere vos nolumus dominum archiepiscopum nostrum post coronationem regis manum suam super nos gravius quam solebat, aggravasse. Duos enim de monachis nostris, scilicet dominum Badewinum et magistrum O. de Tumba, et homines eorum, scilicet Hernoldum Ferre et alios duos, cum equis suis apud Tenham retinuit, quos ei obviam illuc destinavimus, denunciantes ei quod nullum priorem in absentia vestra et sine consilio vestro et fratrum nostrorum qui vobiscum sunt, deberet facere, nec nos possemus recipere; quos statim jussit arctius custodiri. Hamonem clericum, fratrem Ysaac Cantuariensis, cepit, et in carcerem suum quem fecit apud Otteford mitti jussit, quem magister Samson altero nepotum suorum voluit redimere, nec potuit. Burgenses etiam Cantuarienses nec vadimonio nec plegio a carcere potuerunt eum liberare. Sexta enim feria ante festum Sancti Dionysii, cum inciperemus majorem missam, veniens archiepiscopus in capitulum nostrum cum innumerabili manu tam clericorum tam militum quam plebium, conventum ad se venire præcepit. Nos ergo venire nolentes, tum quia missam incepimus, tum quia R. Norreis, sicut accepimus, nobis priorem præficere voluit, per quosdam fratres nostros appellationem nostram innovavimus. Quibus recedentibus, cito post R. Norreis priorem nominavit, et in sedem prioris deosculans eum posuit, nobis omnibus et singulis absentibus. Quo facto recessit, et curiam nostram saisire fecit. Nos vero servientes archiepiscopi absque omni violentia expellentes, portas firmavimus, et claves apud nos tenemus. Portam vero cœmeterii nobis abstulit, et nos per circuitum muri armata manu die ac nocte ita vallavit, quod nec ad legatum nec ad regem aliquem monachum aliquo modo mittere possumus. Robertum medicum et Willelmum Azelinum, qui proditores nostri diutius exstiterunt, archiepiscopus mandavit in virtute obedientiæ. Qui cum a tertio priore licentiam habere non poterant sine consilio capituli, recesserunt a nobis quia de nobis non erant. Radulfum de Harundel, et Alexandrum Dovoriæ, Ysaac, Galterium de Sture, magistrum Willelmum, in capitulo

Gervase, 1550.

The convent inform the subprior that the archbishop fo. 82 rº. has imprisoned the messengers they sent to Tenham, (Oct. 4) to warn him that they would not accept a prior from him without consent of the subprior.

On Oct. 6 the archbishop came into the chapter house and made Roger Norreys prior. He also attempted to seize the court, and has taken the gate of the cemetery.

A.D. 1189. After October 6. He excommunicated several of the monks; and summoned others to elect a prior.

nostro coram omni populo excommunicavit, et conventui per tertium priorem mandavit in virtute obedientiæ et sub interminatione anathematis, ne eis communicemus. Herveum cantorem, Zachariam, Felicem cellerarium, qui corde nobiscum non stat, Benjamin quem non cognosco, et Lodowicum, et alios multos in virtute obedientiæ mandavit, quorum nullus ad eum ivit excepto cellerario, qui cum ab archiepiscopo in camera sua requisitus fuisset, ut aliquem nominaret de quo posset facere priorem contra prohibitionem capituli, duos de fratribus ei nominavit. Galterius de Ba jam factus est capellanus Rogeri Norreis; omnia maneria nostra saisiavit archiepiscopus, et priori suo tradidit. Osbertus de Bristo procurator est et magister omnium, sicut audivimus, maneriorum nostrorum. Misimus ad regem cum litteris conventus; et archiepiscopus, quamcito priorem suum fecerat, Willelmum Sine Fide, et R. de Sancto Martino ad regem destinavit, denuncians ei, quod priorem in ecclesia sua fecerat, et quod a conventu recipi non poterat: petens per eos quatenus dominus rex per litteras suas nobis præcipiat ut eum in priorem recipiamus. Petit etiam, ut audivimus, ut eos quos excommunicavit et inobedientes omnes alios capi permittat. Quid igitur nobis faciendum sit ignoramus. Consolationem et auxilium a domino legato timentes expectamus. Nisi enim citius in propria persona in Angliam venerit, ecclesia Cantuariensis destruetur, et grex a pastore, immo a lupo, dispergetur. Nigellus valde minatus est ab archiepiscopo. Hæc igitur ego vobis scripsi, quia omnes alii intenti erant aliis negotiis. Valete.

Walter of Bath is the new prior's chaplain, and Osbert has taken the management of the manors.

The convent and the archbishop, have both sent to the king.

After October 12.

CCCXXVII. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori et sociis suis.

The convent sent brother James and Elias to the king, and he proposed the removal of the church. He does not care about Roger Norreys.

Post discessum vestrum turbata sunt omnia, et manus patris super filios vehementius aggravata. Discesserunt enim a nobis qui non erant ex nobis, R. medicus et Azelinus omnium pestium pessimus. Per hos duos revelata sunt abscondita nostra, et facti sunt in diabolum malum in Israel. Obsedit nos dominus archiepiscopus, decem diebus apud nos moram faciens. Interim tamen misimus ad dominum regem, Jacobum et Helyam magnum, per quos litteras nobis misit quarum rescriptum vobis mittimus.[1] Dixit autem rex inter alia, quod capella si tantum fieret ut transponeretur, nonne hoc multum esset? Et de R. Norreis ait, quod propter hoc nec per medium

1 Macc. i. 38.

Gervase, 1551.

[1] A copy of the letter here referred to occurs in Gervase, c. 1552, in a letter to the legate, which will be found in the Appendix.

diem lis fieret. Dixit etiam se nolle quod aliquid de iis quæ nobis de jure competunt perderemus. Juravit etiam quod ecclesiam Cantuariensem super omnes alias in mundo diligebat. Sed cum peterent ut fratres et servientes captos faceret absolvere, respondit quod de captis vel de excommunicatis archiepiscopi nullatenus se intromitteret. Magis tamen in omnibus visus est partem archiepiscopi fovere et defendere. Quia vero consilium omnium amicorum fuit, ut regis animum donis et promissionibus alliceremus, misimus R. de Orpintun, et R. de Eastreia, et H. cognatum vestrum ad dominum regem, ut eum nobis facerent sive sic, sive sic. Ad hoc vero maxime nititur archiepiscopus, ut altaria omnia subvertat, et ut compromittamus in arbitros, ut sit sicut abbas noster, et regis et reginæ adventum ad nos obtentu excommunicationis suspendit. Quia igitur nullum habemus refugium, nec cardinalis qui nunquam fuisset, in nullo nobis subvenit, consilium factum est, quod si aliter non possumus evadere, ponamus nos in consilio regis et regni, salva demolitione capellæ et Rogerii depositione, et salvis privilegiis et cartis et statu ecclesiæ antiquo. Timemus enim novi hominis voluntatem præcipitem, et hostis impietatem. Scripsimus abbati de Hyda, et de Glestingberi, qui fuit prior Bermundeseiæ, quorum sigilla in testimonium habemus de restitutionis modo per eos facto, qui nobis dixerunt se fuisse reginæ nuncios et non papæ, nec posse domino archiepiscopo vim facere nec coarctare. Timor regis et desperatio cardinalis multos enervavit, et nisi maturius fuerit subventum, fiet strages magna. R. Norreis per maneria nostra fidelitatem sibi facit ab hominibus jurari, et dona accipit, et epulatur quotidie splendide, et duo apostatæ R. et A. cum eo, destruentes omnia, vendentes bladum cum impetu et sine mora, et boscum prosternentes sine misericordia. Curiam nostram adhuc retinemus, ita quod monachum cum Willelmo de Capis ad portam habemus. Si quid remedii potestis nobis procurare, nunc maxime opus est. Alioquin manus dabimus in brevi, minis, terroribus et inedia territi. Multi autem de nostris videntes quæ fiunt, discessum parant, nolentes sustinere mala quæ ventura prædicantur. Sed potens est Dominus, Qui non patietur nos tentari supra id quod poterimus sustinere. Valete. Sperate in Domino Jesu. Mandamus etiam vobis ex parte conventus, quatenus advocatum vobis cum festinatione faciatis habere, quia nisi Deus subveniat, sumus ad totum perdere. Misit etiam dominus archiepiscopus J. de Palerne ad curiam Romanam cum festinatione ad confirmandum, sicut dicitur, Rogerum, et propter alia. Consilium est multorum, quod si non potestis per cardinalem negotium consummare, appellate pro statu ecclesiæ, saltem eo quem

A.D. 1189. After October 12.

He seems to incline to the archbishop.

We afterwards sent three others fo. 82 v°. to offer him a present.

We are so helpless that we must throw ourselves on the king, saving the demolition of the church and the nomination of Roger Norreys.

Gervase, 1549.

He with his traitorous friends, Robert and Azelin, is wasting our possessions.

1 Cor. x. 13.

The archbishop has sent to Rome to have him confirmed.

A.D. 1189. After October 12. Get some new mandates from the legate.

dimisistis. Significate nobis consilium vestrum, utrum per vos an per alios quos vobis transmittemus, velitis prosequi appellationem. Perquirite etiam litteras cardinalis ad archiepiscopum, ut habeat pro non excommunicatis quos dicit se excommunicasse, et alias litteras patentes episcopis et abbatibus, ne quid statuant contra mandatum domini papæ in præjudicium causæ nostræ, et ut denuncient sententiam in vos latam non tenere, et ut aliis litteris nobis prohibeat, ne quid faciamus in præjudicium sedis apostolicæ: omnimodis enim vellemus evitare in arbitros compromittere. Valete.

After Nov. 14.

CCCXXVIII. Conventui Cantuariæ Gaufridus prior et socii.

The subprior has heard with pain the news of the intrusion of Roger Norreys as prior, and reported it to the legate by brother Symon.

Vere multi et magni dolores vestri, fratres carissimi, quos nec vos præ multitudine narrare potestis, nec nos præ magnitudine doloris audire. Sed quia initia dolorum hæc sunt, quos futuros Veritas Ipsa denunciat, et jam mundus totus calamitatibus plenus, et solutus Sathanas in membra Christi ubique fere terrarum libere desævit ad libitum, minus miramur, intelligentes vos magis visitari a Domino quam affligi, si in tribulatione hac malorum et dolorum animæ vestræ impollutæ permanserint. Verum et nos una vobiscum afflictos corporalis quoque labor conficit, et pro vobis sollicitudo major excruciat. Statim enim cum J. puerum cum litteris institutionem prioris et subprioris profanam et alia multa continentibus accepimus, litteras ipsas per dominum S. ad legatum cum festinatione misimus, fratrem enim J., cum adhuc debilis post infirmitatem esset, destinare non potuimus. Nos autem prævenimus ante faciem legati parare vias ejus; litteras ipsius ad regem Franciæ, comitem Flandriæ et comitissam Boloniensem de transitu ejus deportantes. Supplicavimus vero cardinalem quatenus, juxta necessitatem quam vidit, vias suas acceleret. Venientes autem ad regem Franciæ, et verbum nostrum in aures ejus complentes, accepimus nuncium vestrum, denuo de compromissione facienda in viros regni prudentes, et mœsti facti sumus, potestate sola rem agi conspicientes, et omnino suffocari justitiam. Quid multa? Illas quoque ad dominum legatum transmisimus, præmissas e vestigio secuturi, et ipsum, nisi transitus negatus fuerit, adducturi quamcitius. Interim consilium aliud vobis dare non possumus, nisi ut litteras ipsius legati ut potestis utamini, quæ et nobis pacem facere contra formam mandati apostolici videntur inhibere, et factam penitus reprobare. Quod si hujusmodi valere non possunt, non estis majores quam qui vim pati possitis. Quod autem vi metuve factum est, pro infecto habendum est. Nulla vero

S. Matt. xxiv. 8.

No. cccxxvi.

Mal. iii. 1

He has also heard that the convent are compelled to agree to an arbitration.

See No. cccxxix.

compromissio admittenda erit, nisi salvis privilegiis et cartis et jure nostro per omnia. In ecclesiæ autem novæ construc- A.D. 1189. After Nov. 14.
tionem nunquam consentiendum, neque in eorum creationem, They must make the best terms, for there is no help.
qui contra ecclesiæ consuetudinem et scripta authentica ecclesiæ sunt promoti. Valete, et quod patimini jam diu experti, nolite vos deteriores exhibere quam prius, sed præliamini viriliter bella Domini. Si possetis majorem accipere dilationem, quousque inde responsum legati ad vos veniret, multum esset, quia infra terminum nobis positum non videmus vobis nisi a Deo auxilium. Responsum domini regis, et domini archiepiscopi, fo. 83 r°.
et litteris legati, nobis quamcitius significare non omittatis.

CCCXXIX. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido priori et socIis.

After Nov. 14.

Misimus ad regem fratres nostros, R. sacristam, S. the- Our brethren reached London Nov. 5, and waited for the king until Nov. 8.
saurarium, J. de Bochinge, Aaron, Gervasium, R. de Eastreia, Jacobum, R. de Orpintun, Hereveum, R. de Tumba, Nigellum, R. Norreis, Helyam magnum, magistrum Willelmum. Qui cum venissent Londonias Dominica proxima post festum Omnium Sanctorum, expectaverunt regis adventum usque ad feriam quartam. Et sedentibus eis, ipso die, mane in capella infirmorum Westmonasterii, supervenit archiepiscopus, et habito cum suis consilio, statim misit Willelmum de Sancta Fide, mandans magistro Willelmo, ut exiret sicut excommunicatus, On that day, at Westminster, the archbishop tried to send away brother William as excommunicated. They were then brought before the king, and demanded restitution.
ne contaminaret ecclesiam, et si nollet, ipse eum faceret expelli. Præcepit autem fratribus per ipsum Willelmum, in virtute obedientiæ, ne ei communicarent. Et surgens magister Willelmus respondit, "Dominus papa potestatem domini archi- "episcopi suspendit, ita quod in me nec in aliquem nostrum "sententiam potest promulgare, et ecce, indulgentia domini "papæ, et litteræ cardinalis;" et cum diutius ibi expectassent, ne viderentur exire propter sententiam, tandem intraverunt in thalamum regis exteriorem; archiepiscopus vero in interiorem cum episcopis intravit. Habitoque cum eis diutius consilio, vocati sunt fratres ante regem et episcopos et magnates terræ. Qui cum in primis postulassent restitutionem ablatorum et possessionum, respondit archiepiscopus, The archbishop then claimed restitution of the treasure which he said they had spent.
"Et ego postulo restitutionem thesauri, scilicet quod est "domini regis, et fuit in mea custodia, et custodiam sigilli, "unde spoliatus sum, et ecce scriptum, quid et quantum, et "quantum ipsi abstulerunt de thesauro," quod tamen lectum non fuit ibi. Qui cum fratres instanter peterent restitui et judicium curiæ regis expeterent, utrum deberent restitui ante litis ingressum, respondit rex, "Non est dies placitationis, sed con-

A.D. 1189. After Nov. 14.

" cordiæ et amoris; unde dicite quid petatis." Qui responderunt, " Petimus in primis demolitionem novi operis cum " omnibus quæ causa ipsius facta sunt; petimus ut revocet " in irritum nominationem hominis illius quem super nos " nominavit." Et cum instarent tam episcopi quam clerici, ut eum priorem nominarent, hoc verbum ab ore eorum nullatenus potuerunt extorquere. Petierunt præterea ablata medii temporis, et fratres incarceratos dimitti liberos, et suppriorem et socios libere posse reverti, et alia multa, et exsurgens Willelmus de Sine Fide dixit, " Domine rex, supprior " de regno vestro sine licentia vestra exivit cum thesauro " ecclesiæ, et regnum vestrum turbavit et turbat." Surgens autem Dunhelmensis locutus est sic, " Dominus archiepiscopus " vult ut habeatis in rebus et libertatibus quicquid habuistis " tempore Lamfranci, Anselmi, Radulfi, Willelmi, Theobaldi, " Sancti Thomæ, usque ad tempus Ricardi." Cumque interrogassent quare Ricardum excluderet, cum non esset hæreticus vel schismaticus, immo canonice electus et ab ecclesia Romana consecratus, respondit Dunhelmensis, " Monachus " vester erat, et ideo forsitan quædam irrationabilia vobis " indulsit, quæ archiepiscopus non concedit." Et ait Bathoniensis, " Quod rationabiliter fecit et confirmavit sit stabile, " sicut esse debet." Dixerunt autem constanter, quod nullo modo in aliquo excluderent Ricardum, neque tempora ejus, neque cartas ejus; fuit autem ibi contentio magna. Dixit autem archiepiscopus inter alia, qualiter claves in primo capitulo ad pedes ejus positæ sunt, et quod prior ibidem ei dixerat, cum interrogaret quid positio illa clavium significaret, quod illæ tres obedientiæ ad donationem et ordinationem ejus pertinerent. Conquestus est etiam quod in ecclesia sua nihil amplius peregrino extraneo potuit habere, et adjecit, " In " ecclesia quæ mea est, et unde persona ego sum, non possum " celebrare, nec nisi sicut peregrinus extraneus intrare et orare. " Si quem vocavero, statim mihi respondet, aut quod non veniet, " aut quod propter conventum venire non audet, aut quod inde " loquetur." Fuit autem prima die rex, ut videbatur, nobiscum. Archiepiscopus vero dixit quod se ex toto super regem et consilium ejus poneret, de omnibus querelis quæ inter nos vertuntur: fratres vero, ne viderentur de rege et personis regni diffidere, et minus de justitia sua confidere, si consilium regis et regni spernerent, petierunt consilium et amicos cum quibus inde deliberarent. Vocaverunt autem Bathoniensem et magistrum Templi et ad ultimum Dunhelmensem. Quorum consilium fuit, ut consilio regis et eorum quos ipse eligeret adquiescerent, salvis privilegiis et cartis, ita tamen quod si quem haberent suspectum eum amoverent. Cumque

The brethren demanded the deposition of Roger Norreys, refusing him the title of prior.

William of S. Faith accused the subprior.

The bishop of Durham's proposal, excluding the acts of archbishop Richard.

The bishop of Bath supports us.

The archbishop claims the three obediences and complains that he has no power in his own church.

He offers to abide by the king's decision.

The bishops of Bath and Durham, and the Master of the Temple advised us to do the same.

verbum hoc coram omnibus fuisset significatum, dixit archiepiscopus, "Salvis privilegiis et cartis regum." Illi autem dixerunt, "Salvis omnibus." Voluit enim archiepiscopus quod omnia quæ perquisita erant, a tempore motæ litis tam ab ipso quam a nobis, cassarentur. Sicque die illa vespere superveniente concio soluta est. Quibus mane redeuntibus postulatæ et porrectæ sunt litteræ de ratihabitione, quarum summa hæc erat, quod nos gratum et ratum haberemus quod ipsi facerent super tractanda pace inter archiepiscopum et nos, salvis privilegiis et cartis et statu ecclesiæ. Nominavit autem rex personas istas in quas compromitteremus, Rothomagensem, Dunhelmensem, Wintoniensem, Londoniensem, Saresberiensem, Helyensem, Norwicensem, de Sancto David. Bathoniensis et Cystrensis extra synagogam facti sunt, quia alter alteram partem fovebat. Nominavit etiam abbates de Westmonasterio, de Sancto Albano, de Radinges, de Sancto Eadmundo, de Waltham; priorem de Merethon. Voluit etiam nominare de Riveals et de Boxleia abbates quos nostri amoverunt. Cumque interrogati essent fratres, si sequi vellent quod isti discernerent, respondit magister Willelmus, "Inspiciantur cartæ "nostræ et archiepiscopi, et privilegia ipsius et nostra, et "quod eis inspectis inde judicaverint, fiat." Et acclamaverunt omnes eum bene dixisse. Cumque interrogare vellent per singula capita utrum huic verbo consentirent, respondit Nigellus sic, "Repetatur verbum, ut intelligamus quid dixerit." Et dixerunt omnes "Nequaquam," quia iterum non posset eadem verba habere. Sciebant enim quod in repetitione verbi cautius incederetur. Et incipientes a sacrista interrogaverunt de consensu verbi. Qui respondit, "Mihi visum est quod "bene dixerit." Thesaurarius vero et Aaron interrogati, dixerunt quod inde cum sociis suis deliberarent, et habito cum fratribus consilio, reversi sunt dicentes, quod privilegia et cartas ecclesiæ nec pro morte nec pro vita in alicujus ponerent arbitrium. Unde et inducias consulendi conventum postulaverunt, quibus non impetratis a curia recesserunt. Rex autem in recessu eorum dixit, quod non ita recederent, quod nec pes unus remaneret. Ipsi tamen non sine magno timore ad nos reversi sunt. Sed antequam reverterentur, litteras hujusmodi nobis miserunt, scilicet quod archiepiscopus licentiam a rege acceperat capiendi excommunicatos suos. Quibus lectis, statim ipsa nocte per muros emisimus Ysaac et W. de Stura, quia jam januæ nostræ arctius custodiebantur. Ysaac evasit. Walterius in descendendo læsus, quasi contractus super manus et pedes summo diluculo cœmeterium nostrum intravit, qui in medio cœmeterio a custodibus januæ interceptus est et captus, et in curia archiepiscopi custodiæ

A.D. 1189. After Nov. 14.

The next day (Nov. 9) the brethren produced their full powers, and the king named the arbitrators.

Gervase, 1555.

fo. 83 v°.

Brother William declared the terms on which we accept their decision.

Some of the brethren refused and left the court.

When we at Canterbury heard that the archbishop was going to seize the excommunicated, we sent away Isaac and Walter of Stour.

A.D. 1189. After Nov. 14. Walter was taken and sent to Tenham, and we are besieged by five hundred men. (Nov. 11.)

arctiori mancipatus. Ipso vero die post prandium, ligatis sub ventre equi pedibus ejus, cum multa armatorum manu apud Tenham ductus est: quid de eo fecerint penitus ignoramus. Ab eo siquidem tempore arctius nocte dieque sumus obsessi, in tantum ut si aliquis ad nos de nostris intraret, nisi data fide quod non reverteretur, donec inter nos et archiepiscopum pax esset, denuo non exiret. Similiter et de iis qui nobiscum erant, si vellent exire, iterum non intrarent. A die vero Sancti Martini usque ad proximam diem Martis, ne cibus nobis portaretur publico edicto prohibitum est. De illis vero qui nos obsident, ut dicitur, ferme quingenti homines sunt, quorum quisque qui loricam habet singulis diebus pro stipendio quatuor denarios de redditibus nostris accipit; qui vero non habet, duos. Custodiunt autem omnes exitus civitatis et vicos, in tantum ut si aliquis de civitate noctu, aliqua necessitate compulsus, domum egrediatur, statim capitur et quis sit interrogatur, et cognito quod non sit monachus vel monachorum serviens dimittitur. Peregrini qui ad memoriam Sancti Thomæ veniunt, in redeundo a ministris archiepiscopi explorantur. Sed et priorissa de Mallinges cum quadam monacha sua fere usque ad nudum est explorata, sed et fœminæ intrantes omnes explorantur, ne quid cibi afferrent. Uni tantum de servientibus nostris, Rogero videlicet de Hoiland, ad cibos nostros emendos die Martis licet exire, sed nulli alii. Dum adhuc fratres Londoniis erant, omnibus audientibus, Hugo de Nunanth dixit ad regem, "Domine rex, "si vultis mihi credere, infra duos menses in nulla sede "episcopali in regno vestro erit aliquis monachus, quia "justum non est," et adjecit, "Monachi ad diabolos." Cumque ostenderentur litteræ cardinalis, acclamaverunt omnes dicentes, "Quis est legatus ille? et unde legatus? et quid "nomen ejus?" Et rex, "Quis est ille legatus? estne legatus "Angliæ?" Et ait Roffensis, "Antequam licentiam domini "regis habeat intrandi in regnum, non potest esse legatus." Deinde Cestrensis, "Cum licentiam domini regis habuerit, et "venerit cum insignibus, tunc erit legatus, sed ante nihil vale-"bit quod fecerit." Et respondens Cestrensi Bathoniensis ait, "Domine episcope, etsi non potest legatus esse Angliæ, potest "tamen legatus hujus esse causæ, sicut ego vel tu, si dominus "papa nobis delegasset." Cum igitur fratres nostri peterent inducias consulendi conventum, et domum venissent, in crastino venerunt H. de Cornhella, vicecomes, et clerici regis et marescalli cum eo, et clerici archiepiscopi simul, litteras domini regis conventui porrigentes quarum transcriptum vobis transmittimus. Scripsit etiam civibus Cantuariæ, ut parati essent cum vicecomite et ministris suis ad faciendum

The prioress of Malling and other women have been rudely searched.

Hugh of Nunant's advice to the king.

He and others refuse to recognise the legate, but the bishop of Bath answered them.

Henry de Cornhill the sheriff has brought letters from the king.

No. cccxxx.

præceptum regis. Cumque certi essemus tam ex verbis Bathoniensis, quam aliorum publica et privata relatione, quod quinque et viginti fratres vel plures, si forte contradicerent archiepiscopi voluntati, ad nutum clericorum ipsius caperent, et in custodiam et carcerem regis ponerent, et thesaurum et sigillum et omnia ornamenta ecclesiæ, et tumbam et curiam et omnia in manu sua saisiarent, et contradicentes ejicerent, de communi consilio visum est consultius pro loco et tempore minus malum eligere, et ne ordo monasticus subito exstirparetur, vi et metu coacti, gladio cervicibus imminente, assensum qualemqualem præbere, considerantes, quod hujusmodi de post facto debeant omnino viribus carere, et in irritum penitus revocari. Mittimus vobis transcriptum litterarum extra pendentium, [quas] tam per eosdem nuncios nobis transmissos, quam per fratres nostros quatuor quos evocaverat ad eum, transmisimus. Valete.

A.D. 1189. After Nov. 14. Hearing that five and twenty of the brethren were to be seized and all given over to the archbishop, we have yielded and accepted the arbitration. *Valeat quantum.*

fo. 84 r°.

CCCXXX. Ricardus Rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi. Nov. 12.

Cum vellemus operam impendere diligentem ad reformationem pacis inter venerabilem patrem nostrum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et vos, prædictus archiepiscopus se arbitrio et dispositioni duodecim magnorum et honestorum et prudentium virorum, qui communi consilio sunt electi, libenter exposuit, eorumque ordinationi sive judicio causam suam cum sua integritate commisit. Cum autem monachi qui illuc venerant, se id ipsum facturos in crastino promisissent, a conventione sua semel et iterum resilierunt, et sic frustratis diligentia et labore nostro quem exhibuimus ad reformationem concordiæ, contumaciter recesserunt. Mittimus igitur ad vos latores præsentium, rogantes adhuc ut, si in consilio habueritis vos arbitrio eorundem bonorum virorum committere, significetis nobis per litteras vestras extra pendentes, in quibus nihil ponatur quod pacem impedire debeat, aut differre. Quatuor etiam de monachis vestris veniant ad nos cum eisdem litteris, ut possimus deliberare et tractare de pace, et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ scandalum, quod in perturbationem totius regni vertitur, amovere. Alioquin, nos aliam viam scandalum removendi quæremus. Vos autem iis quæ latores præsentium vobis ex parte mea dixerint, credatis et faciatis. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium, xii. die Novembris.

The king informs the convent that the archbishop has accepted an arbitration of twelve men, and orders that the convent shall send him four monks with their determination about it.

Hæc vobis scribimus fratres Cantuarienses, ut concessionem nostram, quam metu et timore fecimus, in irritum revocetis.

Postscript to No. cccxxix.

A.D. 1189. After Nov. 14. The sub-prior forwards the letters of the convent to the legate and urges him to make haste.

CCCXXXI. JOHANNI ANAGNINO ET LEGATO GAUFRIDUS SUPPRIOR.

Mittimus sanctitati vestræ litteras conventus nostri ad vos, et fratrum aliorum ad nos directas. In quibus afflictionem ecclesiæ Cantuariensis poteritis intueri, et contemptum sedis apostolicæ patentissimum. Res enim omnes iterum datæ sunt in direptionem, in manum prioris novi, quæ ad nullum unquam priorem pertinebant. Personæ præcipuæ sub protectione vestra aut captæ aut incarceratæ sunt, aut contra decretum apostolicum excommunicatæ, immo et tota congregatio, sicut prius, manu armata obsessa. Miseremini, pater, et si quid potestis, adjuvate nos. Accedite et accelerate, ne de manibus vestris sanguis pauperum requiratur, ad quorum liberationem directi estis. Noveritis autem quia dominum G. Tutor obviam habentes, quæsivimus utrum speraret omnino regem pati velle, ut transiretis per terram ejus in Angliam. Quibus respondit se nullo modo aliud credere neque superdubitare. Nos tamen nihilominus ad regem Franciæ cum litteris vestris properamus, cito renunciaturi vobis quæ acceperimus. De aliis vero personis, comite videlicet Flandriæ et comitissa Baloniæ, nec cogitare velitis. Valete. No. cccxxix.

After Nov. 14. The sub-prior informs the convent that the legate has issued a letter postponing the dealing with their cause until his arrival.

CCCXXXII. CONVENTUI CANTUARIENSI GAUFRIDUS SUPPRIOR ET SOCII SUI.

Sicut vobis alias significavimus, dilatio nuncii domini legati negotium nostrum distulit, et ejus adventus absolvit. Statim enim ut litteras domini regis de ingressu suo in Angliam accepit, et vestras de vocatione nostra, cum litteris hujusmodi nos dimisit, de principali negotio totum suspendens, usque officium suum in propria persona exequatur. Nisi enim fallimur, a forma mandati apostolici non recedit, sed omnia quæcunque jubentur implebit. Quod autem domino archiepiscopo benignius scribere videtur, non miremini, quia formam judicis non excedit, qui utrique parti jus suum reddere tenetur, et nulli prorsus denegare justitiam. Vos itaque, litteris quas mittimus diligenter inspectis, quid facto opus sit deliberate, utrum videlicet vobis standum sit an transmeandum; principis animum pensandum præ aliis. Nos enim parati sumus facere voluntatem vestram, et consiliis vestris adquiescere, quicquid nobis contingat: ut autem advocatum nobiscum adducamus unum vel plures, operam dabimus per Dei gratiam efficacem. Itaque constantes estote et constanter agite, quia beatus vir qui confidit in Domino, et erit Dominus fiducia ejus. Valete. Jerem. xvii. 7.

CCCXXXIII. Clemens papa Johanni Anagnino et legato. A.D. 1189. After November.

Cum ecclesia Romana præcipue temporibus istis discretorum consilio virorum indigeat, multis e fratribus nostris voluntate Divina ex hoc mundo vocatis; cum ex decessu illustris memoriæ Willelmi, quondam regis Siciliæ, et multis aliis gravibus articulis, magna nos undique contingat sollicitudine perurgeri, te ad nostram deliberaveramus præsentiam revocare, nisi per tuas nobis litteras innotuisset, Cantuariense negotium debita nondum esse determinatione finitum. Quoniam igitur quædam specialis missionis tuæ causa exstitit ipsius negotii diffinitio, nec nos diutius monachorum clamores et ecclesiæ Romanæ contemptum salva possumus conscientia sustinere, discretioni tuæ per apostolica scripta mandamus, firmiter præcipientes, quatenus secundum formam quam tibi in tuo recessu præfiximus, sine omni dubitatione procedens, quicquid etiam postmodum in contemptum apostolicæ sedis et nostrum enormiter attentatum inveneris, ad debitum statum appellatione remota reducens, dictam controversiam cum quanta poteris celeritate, sine appellatione obstante, studeas terminare, ad nos statim, sine omni excusationis et dilationis dispendio, quam poteris festinantia reversurus. De denario autem beati Petri, cum venerabili fratre nostro Cantuariensi archiepiscopo colloquaris, et quicquid inde habere poteris apud Sanctum Victorem Parisius nobis studeas fideliter adportare.

The pope, in consequence of the death of the king of Sicily and others, requires the presence of the legate, fo. 84 v°. and charges him to return as soon as he has finished his work at Canterbury.

CCCXXXIV. Conventus Cantuariensis Gaufrido suppriori et sociis suis. Nov. 24.

Dovoriam perveniens dominus legatus honorifice receptus est. Verumtamen mane sequenti proximo, nuncii reginæ Cantuariæ existentis ad eum venientes interdixerunt, tum ex parte ipsius, tum ex parte filii sui, ne progrederetur a loco illo ulterius, neque locum mutaret, nisi via qua venerat reverti vellet, donec ei domini regis voluntas innotesceret. Itaque quasi in carcere tenemur, nescientes quid de nobis futurum sit. Multi enim nobis comminantur, dicentes quod etiam ante pedes domini legati capiemur. Sed hujusmodi minus attendimus, quia multi multa loquuntur. Legatus vero constanter asserit, se Cantuariam iturum etiam si dominus rex prohibuerit. Cæterum ipso die quo venit ad ipsum reginæ prohibitio, venerunt nuncii archiepiscopi, quærentes a legato, ex parte domini sui, quisnam esset, et qualiter veniret, an videlicet ut peregrinus, an ut cardinalis, an ut legatus. Quibus respondit, " Dicite domino vestro, quia non alius sumus quam " fuimus in Normannia, sed idem, satis admirantes quod hic

The convent inform the subprior that the legate has arrived at Dover (Nov. 21, *Diceto*, 649), and the next day the queen forbade him to proceed to Canterbury.

The archbishop also sent to ask in what character he came.

A.D. 1189. Nov. 24. Messengers of the prior, who were not sober when they delivered the messages, appealed on his behalf.

"de adventu nostro interrogat, qui ibi et in qua venimus po-
"testate, et causam adveniendi cognovit." His dictis, statim cum festinatione reversi sunt nuncii, magister, scilicet, R. de Sancto Martino, et magister G. de Sildon. Venerunt autem cum eis Azelinus apostata et quidam clericus prioris intrusi, qui pro priore et prioratu ipsius ad *Quasi modo geniti* appellantes, pueriliter ingressi et locuti, et ab omnibus qui audierunt pro pueris habiti ac stulti reputati, statim exierunt. Erat enim hora minus sobria, nec plene digesserunt vinum quod hauserant, ut vix aut verbum proferre possent, aut interrogati dare responsum. Misit autem nuncios legatus ad archiepiscopum, magistrum Hemericum et Johannem monachum Dolensem, demandans ei ac præcipiens ut ei per se aut suos occurrat, et Cantuariam præperare, ne tardet hospitium. Prope vesperam ejusdem diei venientes nuncii reginæ, inhibuerunt ex parte regis ne Cantuariam iret ante sextam feriam. Erat enim illuc quinta feria profecturus. Et obtemperavit legatus jussioni. Feria sexta rex litteris missis interdixit ne a loco recederet, nisi prius cognita ejus voluntate: et obedivit. Itaque nescimus quid de eo futurum sit. Nos autem capi jubemur, qui legatum in terram regis, eo nolente, adduximus. Valete. Alia scietis cum evenerint.

The legate summoned the archbishop to meet him: and the same day the queen forbade the legate to come to Canterbury before Friday (Nov. 24).

Dec. 1.

CCCXXXV. Ricardus rex Angliæ omnibus fidelibus.

The king, declares that himself, the archbishop of Rouen, and others, having been chosen arbitrators by both parties, find that the archbishop has a right both to build his chapel, and to appoint the prior.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, et dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, universis fidelibus ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod cum quæstio verteretur inter venerabilem patrem nostrum Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et monachos suos Cantuarienses, super ecclesia canonicorum quam idem archiepiscopus in fundo suo construxit extra muros civitatis Cantuariæ, et super institutione Rogeri prioris Cantuariensis, et super quibusdam aliis querelis, placuit partibus de prædictis omnibus in nos et dominum Walterum, Rothomagensem archiepiscopum, et quosdam episcopos et abbates regni nostri compromittere. Nos autem accessimus Cantuariam, et auditis partium rationibus, dominus Rothomagensis, episcopi quoque et abbates quorum inferius sigilla dependent, habita diligenti deliberatione, judicaverunt quod dominus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus juste et rationabiliter prædictam ecclesiam ædificaverat, et priorem suum fecerat. Totus autem conventus monachorum, nobis præsentibus, de omnibus aliis querelis quæ inter eos vertebantur, commisit se voluntati et dispositioni domini archiepiscopi. Ipse vero archiepiscopus petitione et

instantia nostra, necnon et episcoporum et abbatum qui aderant, concessit quod collegium canonicorum suorum ad alium locum, quem competentem eligeret, transferret. Ut ergo quæ in præsentia nostra statuta sunt, et a partibus sine contradictione recepta, firmiter observentur, ea nostro duximus testimonio roboranda. Testibus Johanne fratre nostro, comite Mortonii, Willelmo Marescallo, Willelmo de Sancto Johanne. Datum Cantuariæ per manum Willelmi Eliensis electi, cancellarii nostri, die primo Decembris, regni nostri anno primo. A.D. 1189. Dec. 1. The archbishop at the king's request has consented to choose another site for the college. fo. 85 r°.

In eundem modum Dunelmensis episcopus. Unde ne ea quæ coram nobis statuta sunt, per oblivionis incommodum a præsentium vel præteritorum memoria divellantur, hæc ipsa publicæ omnium notitiæ præsentis scripti attestatione duximus approbare, et sigilli nostri appositione communire. The bishop of Durham gives a like certificate.

Horum sigilla in hæc scripta dependent. Primum Huberti Salisberiensis episcopi, secundum G. Roffensis, tertium Walterii Rothomagensis, quartum domini regis, quintum Willelmi Eliensis electi, sextum Hugonis Conventrensis episcopi. The award is under seal of six bishops.

CCCXXXVI. Johannes legatus omnibus Christi fidelibus. About Dec. 11.

Johannes Anagninus, Dei gratia, tituli Sancti Marci presbyter cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis legatus, omnibus ad quos præsentes litteræ pervenerint, æternam in Domino salutem. Universitati vestræ notum facimus, quod sicut prope positi audivimus, et postea præsentes apud Cantuariam vidimus, monachi ecclesiæ Christi in pace, quam cum archiepiscopo suo fecerunt, vim passi sunt, et metu regio, qui eodem tempore Cantuariam venerat cum episcopis suis, omnia compulsi sunt sustinere. Hoc autem ideo scripto mandare curavimus, ut rei veritas omnibus innotescat, nec possit quod sic factum est eorum justitiæ præjudicium generare. Quod si jam dictus archiepiscopus, vel alius ejus successor, scripturam super forma pacis hujus quandoque protulerit, noveritis ipsam fratribus jam dictæ ecclesiæ nec consentientibus nec scientibus confectam fuisse, nobisque petentibus non exhibitam, qui ad causam ipsam a summo pontifice destinati, rem gestam vel consummare debuimus, si justitiæ concordaret, vel, si secus acta esset, infirmare. Cognoscentes itaque violentiam manifestam facto huic intercessisse, auctoritate qua fungimur statuimus apostolica, quod neque concordia sic facta, neque compromissio violenter extorta, neque scriptum sic conceptum valere debeat, aut aliquod sæpedictis monachis in posterum præjudicium afferre, quia omnia præsentibus nobis et contradicentibus facta sunt. Valete. The legate declares that the peace between the archbishop and the monks was forced upon the latter by the king and cannot prejudice their rights. It was drawn up unknown to them, and was not shown to the legate.

A.D. 1190. March 20.

CCCXXXVII. Ricardus rex Angliæ omnibus Christi fidelibus.

The king confirms an exchange between the archbishop and the monks of Rochester, of land in the Isle of Grain for a site in Lambeth for a new church:

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ, comes Aquitanniæ et Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, justitiis, vicecomitibus, baillivis, et omnibus fidelibus suis, Francis et Anglis, salutem. Notum sit vobis, nos ratum habere escambium quod venerabilis pater noster Baldewinus, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, fecit, de consensu Gilberti Roffensis episcopi, cum priore et monachis Roffensibus, de quadam terra apud Lamhee, pro quadam terra et quadam Bercharia de Grien,[1] sicut authentica scripta ex utraque parte super hoc facta testantur. Concedimus et volumus, ut memoratus archiepiscopus ædificet ibi ecclesiam in honore beatorum martyrum Stephani et Thomæ, et canonicos ibidem instituat, et de ecclesiis ad donationem suam pertinentibus præbendas et communam instituat. Nos autem pro incolumitate status regni nostri, et pro salute animæ nostræ, et Henrici regis patris nostri, et Alianoræ reginæ matris nostræ, omnes libertates et jura et dispositionem quam ipse archiepiscopus fecerit de prædicta ecclesia, et de præbendis et de communa, sicut carta sua confirmaverit, acceptam habemus et ratam, eamque sigilli nostri testimonio confirmamus, et locum ipsum et canonicos et homines et possessiones eorum sub nostra protectione, sicut res dominicas nostras, suscepimus. Testibus Walterio Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, Hugone Dunhelmensi, Godefrido Wintoniensi, Reginaldo Bathoniensi, Seffredo Cicestrensi, Hugone Cestrensi, Henrico Bajocensi, Willelmo Constantiensi, Lisiardo Sagiensi, episcopis: Samsone Sancti Eadmundi, Waltero Westmonasteriensi, Benedicto de Burgo, abbatibus: Johanne comite Mortonii, fratre nostro; Ricardo comite de Clara, Ricardo comite Mellenti; Willelmo Marescallo, et aliis multis. Datum per manum Willelmi Eliensis episcopi, cancellarii nostri, vicesimo die Martii, apud Rothomagum, anno primo regni nostri.

ratifying the foundation of the new college and taking it, its property and persons, into the royal protection.

Dated at Rouen, Mar. 20.

CCCXXXVIII. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Gilberto Roffensi episcopo.[2]

Baldewinus, Dei gratia, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et totius Angliæ primas, venerabili fratri suo, eadem gratia, Gil-

[1] *Grien*] Griete, MS. The deed of exchange is printed in Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense*, p. 434, and will be found in the Appendix.

[2] Written between the death of William, bishop of Worcester, May 3rd, and the election of his successor Robert, July 15. Baldwin left England on the 6th of March. *Gervase*, 1564.

berto Roffensi episcopo, salutem et benedictionem. Discretioni vestræ satis notum esse credimus, ecclesiam Cantuariensem antiquo jure obtinuisse, ne ordinationes ecclesiarum vacantium sine metropolitani consilio et consensu celebrentur, et contra hoc celebratas irritas esse censendas. Quia ergo ad nostram spectat sollicitudinem, ut pastor idoneus in ecclesia Wigorniensi nuper præsule destituta ordinetur, vestram circumspectionem monemus, vestræque mandamus dilectioni, ut in canonica constructione facienda, et in præscripta ecclesia ordinanda, vices nostras, cum venerabili fratre nostro R. Londoniensi episcopo, diligenter supplere studeatis. Electione autem rite celebrata, et auctoritate nostra confirmata, diem consecrationis Cantuariæ constituatis, et suffraganeis nostris per litteras domini Londoniensis, ut moris est, convocatis, electi consecratio in ecclesia Cantuariensi, juxta antiquam ipsius consuetudinem celebretur, ne si in absentia nostra alibi, quod nullo modo permittimus, fiat, turbatio aliqua aut impedimentum oriatur, præjudiciumque ecclesiæ Cantuariensi in hac parte, quod Deus avertat, generetur.

A.D. 1190. May or June.

The archbishop orders the bishop of Rochester, in conjunction with the bithop of London, to supply his place in the election and consecration of a new bishop of Worcester: the consecration to take place at Canterbury.

fo. 35 v°.

CCCXXXIX. Conventui Cantuariensi Gilbertus Roffensis episcopus.

A.D. 1191. March.

Venerabilibus, et in Christo plurimum dilectis, Osberto priori[1] et conventui ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, Gilbertus, divina miseratione Roffensis ecclesiæ minister, salutem et sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Audivimus electum Wigorniensem apud Sorham applicuisse et Wintoniam properasse. Eapropter, ad conservationem juris vestri et nostri, transmisimus nuncios nostros obviam illi, per eosdem intimantes quod in ecclesia Cantuariensi, et per manus nostras, utpote ejusdem ecclesiæ capellani, munus consecrationis percipere debeat. Et ne aliter fiat, appellabunt et appellationem factam coram domino legato[2] innovabunt. Quod et vobis duximus intimandum, ut et vos pariter facere maturetis. Valete.

The bishop of Rochester, hearing that the elect of Worcester has landed in England, has ordered him to seek consecration only at Canterbury.

Gervase, 1567.

[1] Osbert, or, as Gervase calls him, Osbern, de Bristo, was made prior by archbishop Baldwin between Jan. 13 and Feb. 19, 1190, in the place of Roger Norreys, who was made abbot of Evesham. Gervase, 1564.

[2] *Legato*] William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, whose legatine commission is dated 1190, June 5.

A.D. 1191. March.

CCCXL. Conventus Cantuariensis Gilberto Roffensi episcopo.

Osbert the prior informs the bishop of Rochester that he has appealed against the consecration of the elect of Worcester elsewhere than at Canterbury.

Reverendo patri et domino Gilberto, Dei gratia, Roffensi episcopo, Osbertus prior, et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem in Salutari Domini. Auditis paternitatis vestræ litteris exhilaratus est spiritus noster, et erectus in Domino, Illum collaudantes Qui vestrum illustravit, et ad jura Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, matris vestræ et nostræ, protestanda laudabiliter provexit. Consilio itaque vestro et mandato, prout debuimus, obtemperantes, scripsimus fratribus nostris quos ob aliis negotiis Wintoniam transmisimus, ut ipsi vice nostra appellationem prius factam coram legato innovent, ne Wigorniensis electus alias quam in ecclesia Cantuariensi, vel ab alio quam a vobis, ejusdem ecclesiæ capellano, munus consecrationis percipiat. Valeat paternitas vestra, et Spiritus Sancti gratia promoveat pia vota vestra. Amen.

March.

CCCXLI. Conventus Cantuariensis Willelmo Eliensi episcopo et legato.

The convent appeal against the consecration of the elect of Worcester elsewhere than at Canterbury.

Reverendis in Christo dominis et fratribus, Willelmo, Dei gratia, Eliensi episcopo, apostolicæ sedis legato, et domini regis cancellario, cæterisque episcopis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ suffraganeis, Osbertus prior, et conventus ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, salutem ab Auctore salutis. Noverit fraternitas vestra nos ad sedem appellasse apostolicam, ne Wigorniensis electus alias quam in ecclesia Cantuariensi, sicut moris est, consecretur, et ne quis vestrum, qui indemnitati ecclesiæ Cantuariensis vinculo professionis providere tenemini, alias quam in eadem ecclesia ejus consecrationi interesse præsumat. Gervase, 1567.

March 28.

CCCXLII. Willelmus, Eliensis episcopus et legatus, Conventui Cantuariensi.

The bishop of Ely has received the appeal of the monks, but pleads the papal authority for consecrating elsewhere.

Willelmus, Dei gratia, Eliensis episcopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, et domini regis cancellarius, suis in Christo carissimis, Osberto priori, et conventui Cantuariensi, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Appellationi quam super consecratione Wigorniensis electi interposuistis, reverenti animo detulissemus, nisi superioris potestatis auctoritas vehementius nos arctaret. Recepimus enim in mandatis a domino papa, quod si venerabiles fratres nostri Londoniensis et Roffensis episcopi super consecratione illa convenire noluerint, nos, ad vitandum

ecclesiæ periculum, quod ex mora posset accidere, omni appellatione et dilatione postpositis, eidem electo munus consecrationis illico impendamus. Nos autem mandatum apostolicum in gremio matris nostræ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, propter honorem et reverentiam ipsius, quam modis omnibus volumus illibatam conservare, libentius exsequeremur, si fratres et coepiscopos nostros ad hoc inducere, et illuc adducere possemus, per multam sollicitudinem et instantiam quam diligenter studuimus adhibere. Quoniam ergo apud Westmonasterium executuri sumus quod de præfata consecratione nobis injunctum est, salvo jure Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, significamus dilectioni vestræ, quod nuncios idoneos illuc mittere procuretis, qui professionem debitam ecclesiæ vestræ, et electi capam, sicut moris esse dicitur, recipere sint parati. Teste Ranulfo camerario nostro, apud Wintoniam, vicesima octava die Martii.

A.D. 1191. March 23. He would gladly consecrate at Canterbury if he could get the bishops together.

He begs them to send to Westminster for the profession and cope of the new bishop.

CCCXLIII. Omnibus prælatis Conventus Cantuariensis.

Before May 10.

Reverendis dominis et patribus archiepiscopis, episcopis, universis et singulis, ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, Osbertus prior, et conventus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, æternam in Domino salutem. Quoniam Eboracensis ecclesiæ electi consecratio ad jus antiquum ecclesiæ Cantuariensis dinoscitur pertinere, et venerabilis pater noster Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, antequam iter Jerosolimitanum arriperet, ne alias quam in Cantuariensi ecclesia, vel ab alio quam ab ipso consecraretur, solemniter appellavit, nos quoque ipsius membra una cum ipso sedem apostolicam appellamus, ne quis vestrum interim ei munus consecrationis præsumat impendere, neque hanc ecclesiæ Cantuariensi injuriam irrogare. Valete.

Prior Osbert and the convent forbid the consecration of Geoffrey, elect of York, out of the church of Canterbury.

fo. 86 r°.

CCCXLIV. Willelmus, Eliensis episcopus et legatus, omnibus Sanctæ ecclesiæ prælatis.

Before May 10.

In Gervase, c. 1571.

Willelmus, Dei gratia, Eliensis episcopus, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, et cæteri Cantuariensis ecclesiæ episcopi, venerabilibus et in Christo dilectis archiepiscopis et episcopis ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, salutem in Vero Salutari. Quantis hucusque gavisa sit immunitatibus mater nostra Cantuariensis ecclesia, vestrum credimus non latere prudentiam. Inter quas retro habitas dignitates et privilegia, eo hactenus functa est, ne Eboracensem alias quam Cantuariæ, et ab ejusdem ecclesiæ archiepiscopo, necnon totius Angliæ primate, consecrari liceret archiepiscopum. Unde venerabilis pater noster Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, ex prædictorum privilegiorum

The bishop of Ely, the legate, declares the privilege of the church of Canterbury in the consecration of the elect of York,

A.D. 1191. Before May 10. and renews the appeal which archbishop Baldwin made thereon before his departure.

varia et multiplici inspectione et antiqua consuetudine prudenter edoctus, et antequam iter Jerosolimitanum arriperet, adversus Gaufridum Eboracensem electum jus suum protestatus est et dignitatem, ne idem ab alio quam a se, et in ecclesia Cantuariensi, facta etiam eidem professione et obedientia, consecraretur, appellavit. Nos quoque ejusdem patris nostri jus et dignitatem filiali prosequentes devotione, volentes nihilominus prænominatæ nostræ matris ecclesiæ dignitati providere, memorati patris nostri appellationem innovantes, ne prædictus Gaufridus Eboracensis electus ab aliquo vestrum munus consecrationis accipiat, sedem apostolicam appellamus. Valete.

A.D. 1190. October 12.

CCCXLV. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi.

The archbishop arrived at Tyre, Sept. 16, stayed there nearly a month, and reached Acre, Oct. 12: where he was daily expecting the kings.

Baldewinus, Dei gratia, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas, dilectis filiis in Christo, Osberto priori, et conventui ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, æternam in Domino salutem et benedictionem. Dominica proxima post Exaltationem Sanctæ Crucis, cum sociis nostris sani et incolumes per Dei gratiam apud Tyrum applicuimus, ubi fere per mensem moram fecimus, quia singuli pene sociorum nostrorum ibi infirmati fuerunt. Post quorum convalescentiam, sexta feria ante festum beati Lucæ evangelistæ ad expeditionem Christianorum Aconem venimus, et tunc dicebatur quod dominus noster rex Angliæ et rex Franciæ in proximo erant illuc venturi. In recessu nuncii hujus prospere nos habuimus, et hæc dilectioni vestræ duximus significanda, rogantes quatenus pro dilectione Dei in orationibus vestris nostri memores esse velitis. Valete.

A.D. 1190. October 21.

CCCXLVI. Conventui Cantuariensi capellanus archiepiscopi.

The archbishop arrived at Tyre, Sept. 16, and went on to Acre, where he found the army in a terrible state.

Scio sollicitudinem vestram affectare, ut super statu domini Cantuariensis, et statu exercitus nostri, veris et certioribus indiciis instruatur. Dominus Cantuariensis Dominica proxima post Exaltationem Sanctæ Crucis cum universo comitatu suo apud Tyrum sanus applicuit et incolumis. Ubi cum aliquamdiu reges, qui nondum venerant, expectasset, ad exercitum nostrum Achonem migravit. Exercitus noster turpi exercitio deditus, quod lugens et gemebundus dico, otio potius et libidini quam virtuti indulget. Non est Dominus in castris; non est qui faciat bonum. Principes sibi mutuo invident; et de paritate contendunt. Minores indigent, nec inveniunt sublevantem. In castris non est castitas, sobrietas, fides, dilectio, caritas, quod, Deo teste, minime crederem, nisi vidissem. Ps. xiv. 2.

Turci nos obsident, quotidie provocant, instanter impugnant. Milites nostri infra tentoria sua delitescunt, et qui sibi festinam promittebant victoriam, ignavi et torpidi, et quasi convicti, contumelias sibi ab hostibus infra impune patiuntur. Robur Saladini diebus augescit singulis; exercitus noster quotidie minuitur et deficit. Festo Sancti Jacobi plus quam quatuor millia peditum electorum a Turcis cæsa fuerunt. Præterea multi principes morte sua diem clauserunt extremum. Regina Jerosolimæ, comes Stephanus frater archiepiscopi Remensis, comes Barensis, nepos ejusdem, comes de Ferreres, frater comitis de Clara, Bernardus junior de Sanwaleri, Randulfus de Glanvilla, et innumerabiles alii. Cum lator præsentium a nobis recederet, Dominica scilicet post festum Sancti Lucæ Evangelistæ, nondum reges venerant, nec civitas Achonensis capta fuit. Valete iterum.

A.D. 1190. October 21. Vice prevails everywhere: the Turks constantly attack us; on S. James's day we lost 4,000 men.

The queen Sibylla, Ranulf Glanvill, and the counts of Bar, Sancerre, and Ferrers are dead.

CCCXLVII. Ricardus rex Angliæ, Johanni fratri suo.

A.D. 1191. Cir. Jan. 25.

Cf. No. cccxlviii.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, dilecto fratri suo Johanni, comiti Gloecestriæ, salutem. Dilectionem tuam scire volumus nos gratia Dei, apud Messanam morantes, plena corporis et animæ prosperitate vigere; quod de te audire plene et continue desideramus affectu. Ibi de morte venerabilis Cantuariensis archiepiscopi certificati, ipsius ecclesiæ regimini statim decrevimus providere. Venerabilis itaque Montis Regalis archiepiscopi Willelmi[1] fidem, prudentiam, discretionem, quam re pluries didiceramus, attendentes, ipsius ad ecclesiam Cantuariensem accessum non solum Cantuariensi ecclesiæ sed toti regno nostro profuturum cognoscentes, ad hoc sponte laboravimus, quod ad prædictam Cantuariensem sedem sese nobis concederet transferendum. Tibi itaque diligenter mandamus et precamur, quatenus amore nostro ipsum tibi commendatum habeas, et honori ipsius et utilitati, tanquam nostro, diligenter invigiles, quatenus etiam Cantuariensis ecclesiæ conventum ad hoc modis omnibus inducere coneris, ut prædictum venerabilem Montis Regalis archiepiscopum in pontificem suum eligant, ut inde tibi ad gratiarum actiones teneamur, et tuam sollicitudinem, tuamque commendare debeamus dilectionem. Scias quidem nos nullum alium ad prædictæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ regimen esse recepturos. Valete.

The king informs earl John that he is safe at Messina, but the archbishop of Canterbury is dead.

fo. 86 v°.

He wishes William, archbishop of Montreal to succeed him, and begs John to try to make the monks elect him.

[1] William, the first archbishop of Montreal, which archiepiscopal see was erected by William, king of Sicily, and pope Lucius III., Feb. 5, 1183. Jaffé, *Reg. Pontif.* 841. He died at the siege of Acre. *Hoveden*, 390. Archbishop Baldwin died at Acre on the 19th or 20th of November.

A.D. 1191. January 25.

CCCXLVIII. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.[1]

The king informs the convent that he is safe and sound at Messina, but the archbishop is dead.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, dilectis suis priori Cantuariensi ecclesiæ totique ipsius capitulo, salutem. Devotionem vestram scire volumus nos gratia Dei apud Messanam plena corporis et animæ prosperitate vigere; de vobis idem audire continuo desiderantes affectu. Ibi de morte venerabilis Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, patris nostri, plenius quam desideraremus certificati, in ipsius mortis importunitatem vehementius moti, ecclesiæ vestræ de necessitate condoluimus desolationi. Quia tamen vir bonæ memoriæ venerabilis Cantuariensis archiepiscopus a nobis irrevocabiliter recesserat, quia tantæ ecclesiæ regimini ipsiusque consolationi potius quam lacrymis erat insistendum, diligenter et attente penes nos deliberavimus, quomodo citius et melius tanto lapsui foret subveniendum. Tandem viri illustris Willelmi venerabilis Montis Regalis archiepiscopi discretionem, fidem, providentiam, quam re pluries didicimus, attendentes, recolentes quod licet nobis ipsum fama vehementius commendasset, audito tamen et expectato longe commendabiliorem fides, providentia, reddidissent, tantæ ecclesiæ tanti viri regimen, sed et toti regno nostro cognovimus profuturum. Magnatum itaque nostrorum, archiepiscoporum, episcoporum freti consilio, prædicto venerabili Montis Regalis archiepiscopo dignum duximus supplicare, quatenus ad Cantuariensis ecclesiæ sedem et regimen sese nobis concederet transferendum. Qui post multam secum et magnatibus nostris deliberationem, nostris tandem adquiescere dignum duxit petitionibus. Vestræ igitur universitati diligenter mandamus, quatenus, vestræ bonitatis intuitu precumque nostrarum diligenti instantia, ipsum prædictum archiepiscopum in pontificem vestrum benignius recipiatis, in adventum suum unanimiter gaudeatis, ut inde vobis ad gratiarum actiones teneamur, et vestræ ecclesiæ honori et utilitati benignius et diligentius teneamur providere. Testibus nobis ipsis, apud Messanam, vicesimo quinto die Januarii.

In Gervase, c. 1568.

He recommends them to accept as their new archbishop William, archbishop of Montreal, whom he has prevailed on to accept the see.

May.

CCCXLIX. Johannes, frater regis Ricardi, Conventui Cantuariensi.

Earl John forwards the king's letter to Canterbury,

Johannes, comes Moretonii, dilectis in Christo fratribus et amicis, priori et conventui Cantuariensi, salutem in Domino. Litteras domini regis, fratris mei, sub hac quam vobis transmitto forma recepi. Unde, quoniam ipsius volo, sicut et teneor, in omnibus voluntati ejus parere, eo quod in propria persona

No. cccxlviii.

[1] Received at Canterbury May 6; *Gervase*, 1568, and No. cccliv. below.

alias occupatus venire non possum, misi dominum abbatem de Theokesberi, et magistrum Benedictum, dilectos et familiares meos, ad vos, quos vice mea statui destinandos, rogans instantius et exhortatus, quatenus si quid regiis precibus addere mea potest deprecatio, ipsos in iis quæ vobis ex parte mea, secundum tenorem prædicti rescripti, super electione videlicet archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, proposuerint, meo intuitu benignius admittatis, et ad efficiendum quod tantorum virorum interventione rogamini, promptos vos reddatis omnimodis et favorabiles, ut et a domino rege, cujus super hoc litteras et preces intentas dicimini recepisse, et a me deinceps gratias mereamini copiosas. Teste me ipso apud Theokesberiam.

A.D. 1191. May. and sends the abbot of Tewkesbury and Master Benedict to manage the election.

No. ccclvii.

CCCL. Clementi papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

Between February and April.

Sanctissimo patri et domino Clementi, Dei gratia, summo pontifici, Osbertus prior, et conventus Cantuariensis, salutem et devotum semper debitæ subjectionis famulatum. Quanta pro fide et reverentia sedis apostolicæ passi fuerimus, et quid tandem remedii miseria nostra per eam sit consecuta, tanto utique notissimum esse credimus, quanto ecclesia cujus servi sumus inter multas dignior, famosa et celebris, non dubitatur. Quia igitur ad statum pristinum nondum resurgere potuimus, prostrati, et quamplures parvitatem nostram impugnant, præsentium latores fratres nostros ad gratiam vestram destinamus, rogantes, et pedibus vestris provoluti humiliter supplicantes, quatenus iis quæ ad audientiam vestram perferunt, aurem clementer et animum inclinare velitis, et quam omnibus debetis justitiam, nobis exhibere non differatis. Vivat et valeat sanctitas vestra in tempora longiora.

Prior Osbert and the convent send messengers to the pope to ask for justice.

fo. 87 r°.

CCCLI. Ricardo regi Angliæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

March.

Gervase, 1567.

Excellentissimo domino suo Ricardo, Dei gratia, illustrissimo Anglorum regi, duci Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comiti Andegaviæ, Osbertus prior, et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem, virtutem et victoriam. Licet a miseria quam passi sumus nondum aliquatenus respirare potuerimus, crebrescente tamen rumore de transitu venerabilis patris nostri archiepiscopi, ad excellentiam vestram fratres nostros harum portitores destinare curavimus, rogantes quatenus ecclesiæ desolatæ misereamini, et libertatem quam habere debet in electione pontificis, ei pro amore Dei et salute vestra concedatis, et de ipsius consilio salutari citius cogitare velitis. Præterea, aliis quæ ad vos habemus negotiis, omnes et singuli obnixe supplicamus, quatenus gratia vestra benigne intendat. Vitam vestram conservet Deus et vota promoveat.

The prior and convent having heard of the death of Baldwin, ask the king to grant them a free election.

A.D. 1191. March.

CCCLII. Alianoræ Anglorum reginæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

Prior Osbert and the convent entreat the good offices of the queen towards procuring a free election of archbishop.

Serenissimæ dominæ Alianoræ, Dei gratia, illustrissimæ Anglorum reginæ, Osbertus prior ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem, et post regnum transitorium gaudium consequi sempiternum. De generositate sanguinis vestri ubique divulgata, de devotione ad Cantuariensem ecclesiam hactenus specialiter habita, fiducialiter moniti et inducti, vobis preces porrigere non formidamus. Accedit ad hæc gratia quam in oculis vestris invenisse gratulati sumus, obtinentes fiduciam, ut quod zelo justitiæ et Dei sincero inchoastis intuitu, perseverantiæ prosequamini effectu. Obsecramus itaque gratiam vestram, ut Dei Omnipotentis gratiam et gloriam invenire possitis, quatenus fratres nostros, qui ad dominum regem filium vestrum et excellentiam vestram diriguntur, benigne audire, efficacius promovere in negotiis nostris, sed et ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, velitis, et partes vestras apud prædictum dominum nostrum regem interponere, ut eadem ecclesia privilegiis et dignitatibus gaudeat indultis, et maxime cum sanctæ recordationis Baldewinus, quondam archiepiscopus et pater noster, nobis subito, prout audivimus, subtractus sit, in substituendi pastoris electione, et prima, prout exigit juris ratio, et ecclesiæ nostræ privilegiata consuetudo, publice denominatione; quatenus pro hoc facto et aliis memoria dignis, recipere mereamini gaudium non temporale, sed illud immarcescibile sine fine. Valete.

After May 10.

CCCLIII. Cœlestino papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

Prior Geoffrey and the convent congratulate pope Celestine on his accession.

Sanctissimo patri et domino Cœlestino,[1] Dei gratia, summo pontifici, Gaufridus prior,[2] et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem, et tam debitam quam devotam in Domino obedientiam. Auditis de sanctitatis vestræ promotione certis rumoribus, gavisi sumus præ cæteris, quia de innata vobis benignitate nostris misericorditer subvenistis miseriis. A Domino enim factum illud esse cognovimus, Qui talem ad summum vocavit sacerdotium, qui, postposita personarum ac- Ps. cxviii. 2

[1] Celestine III. (Hyacinth Bobo) was elected pope March 30, 1191, and died 1198, Jan. 8, aged 92. He had been cardinal deacon of S. Mary in Cosmedin.

[2] Geoffrey became prior by the election of the monks, 1191, May 10, as related in the following letter.

ceptione, veritatem intuetur et innocentiam, et ecclesiam Dei toto conamine hucusque confovit et dilexit, sicut certis experti sumus indiciis. Ad vos igitur, tanquam ad primum post Deum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ patronum, fiducialiter petimus, sperantes vel nunc saltem de tribulatione lætitiam, et de pressura intolerabili reportare misericordiam et pacem. Sanctitatis itaque vestræ pedibus obvoluti omnes et singuli, quanta possumus devotione supplicamus, quatenus intuitu pietatis et zelo justitiæ quo inardescitis, necnon et gloriosi martyris Thomæ, quem in terris amastis et adhuc ardentius amatis, reverentia, fratres nostros, qui in præsentia majestatis vestræ assistunt, benigne audire dignemini, et negotia nostra, immo Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, eis commissa efficaciter promovere. Tangere debet, pater sancte, paternitatem vestram, qualiter hucusque afflicta sit et oppressa, et quibus subjacuerit amaritudinibus, immisericorditer, sine tutore, omni dolori exposita. Protendat Dominus vitam vestram in tempora longiora, pater sanctissime.

A.D. 1191. After May 10. They put their trust in him as an old friend of the martyr and the church.

CCCLIV. Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus J. et R. missis ad curiam.

After May 20.

Galfridus prior, et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, J. et R. fratribus, salutem, et in suscepto itinere continuam prosperitatem. Præter ea quæ alia vice vobis significavimus, alia iterum significanda penes nos supervenerunt negotia. Priora mandata propter insidiantium formidinem et diversos eventus vobis duplicamus, et vos hoc idem facere nobis, si fieri potest, exoptamus. Excommunicatos domini papæ, servientes quondam nostros et traditores, a curia nostra expulimus. Deinde post paucos dies evolutos, manus nostras ad fortia applicantes, Felicem cellerarium abusive institutum, ab officio suo suspendimus et administratione; fratrem vero Herveum extraordinarie amotum loco suo et gradui subrogantes. Tertio itaque nonas Maii, sacra Wigorniensis electi Cantuariæ de more celebrata, venit dominus cancellarius et legatus, et Wigorniensis de novo sacratus, feria secunda, in capitulum, et duo clerici a domino rege transmissi, deferentes nobis litteras domini regis extra pendentes, quarum transcriptum vobis
No. cccxlviii. transmittimus. Quibus auditis, inducias expetivimus, ut super tanto negotio, nobis incognito et hactenus inusitato mandato, nobiscum deliberaremus. Sed vix et cum difficultate impetrare potuimus quindecim dierum respectum, temporis malitiam protendere volentes. Responsum vero de consilio amicorum nostrorum, Deum timentium, tale erat, "Quia de morte "domini archiepiscopi nondum nobis constat, nec de mandato

The convent inform brothers J. and R. sent to Rome that they have expelled fo. 87 v°. the excommunicated, and deposed the cellarer.

The bishop of Worcester was consecrated May 5, and the next day he and the legate produced the king's letter: the convent got a fortnight to consider and answered,

A.D. 1191. After May 20. that they must be certified of the death of the archbishop before they could proceed.

" hujusmodi in præjudicium patris nostri aliquatenus præsu-
" memus." Hoc responso eis, prout credimus, satisfacientes, saltem indignationem eorum ad tempus declinabimus. Sed vos, quia angustiæ nos premunt undique, negotia injuncta accelerate; non vos, sed Deus in vobis ecclesiæ suæ moderetur habenas. Cæterum licet frequentius ab amicis ecclesiæ præmuniti fuerimus, latera nobis adhærere pessima, sed tunc maxime præsentialiter in concione illa Cantuariensi nobis suggestum est, quoniam secreta capituli nostri per plateas Angliæ ventilata sunt, et quia quidam nostrum non fratres sed traditores erant, proh dolor! Quibus verbis verissimis et experimentis angustiati et confusi, latera perversa et de præcedentibus suspecta a nobis amputavimus, quæ magis sitiebant inanem mundi gloriam, quam Jesu Christi honorem et ecclesiæ honestatem. Sequestratis autem a capituli communione R. physico, Felice jam non cellerario, et Zacharia a via veritatis adverso, ait Osbertus tunc prior, sed, prout nostis, intrusus, " Sunt ne plures?" Cui responsum est, "Personam tuam " notamus, quæ præ cæteris notabilis est, et hinc matri nostræ " confusio, et nobis. Volumus autem et consulimus et præci-" pimus, ut loco cui præsides cedas et administrationi." At ille videns et intelligens se vel invitum oportere cedere, surrexit, et venia petita, confessus est se peccasse in Deum et in suum conventum, obsecrans sibi non imputari quod ad vocationem archiepiscopi contra voluntatem eorum recesserat. Sed ex verbis quæ ei undique inculcabantur, satis intellexit nos de cætero eum nullatenus recipere, vel nobis præesse velle sustinere, vel secretis capituli interesse. Amoto itaque illo et jam deposito, unanimi assensu et acclamatione loco ejus substitutus est prior, Gaufridus supprior. Sed illo quoad licuit contradicente, et totis viribus renitente, capitur, trahitur, et inter manus accurrentium sublevatus, prior est effectus et vocatus. Si forte desideratis quod verbum super his sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ emundationibus fiat in populo Dei, dolor de nobis præcedens eis parit gaudium in Domino et exultationem, et pro meritis suis damnatis, et extra communionem aliorum ejectis, ruborem et confusionem. Servientes quondam nostri, sed et domini, qui spolia nostra dilapidaverunt, in brevi, cogente necessitate, cogentur mendicare; monachi, sed falsi, sunt arctiori sed claustrali custodiæ mancipati, sed in brevi in aliis cœnobiis excessus et falsos distrusus expiaturi. Ipse Osbertus in domo infirmantium arctiori deputatur tutelæ, jam enim secundo et tertio prioratum resignavit, primo in manus seniorum nostrorum, postea ipsi domino Gaufrido priori nostro. Hæc ideo vobis significamus, quia si quis pacem nostram turbare voluerit, et domino papæ suggerere eum minis inten-

They have (May 10, *Gervase*, 1570.) removed Robert the physician, Felix, and Zacharias, and made prior Osbert resign.

Geoffrey the subprior is elected prior, against his own wishes.

Osbert is kept in the sick house.

tatis expulsum, veraciter pro nobis allegare poteritis, quia sponte de sede sua recessit et capitulo, absque coactione aliqua vel manuum injectione. Valete; et Spiritus Sanctus instruat vos voluntatem Suam facere. A.D. 1191. After May 20.

CCCLV. Conventui Cantuariensi Petrus Blesensis.[1]

Carissimo domino et amico Gaufrido, priori ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, suus Petrus Blesensis, Bathoniensis archidiaconus, salutem, et se promptissimum ad verum obsequium et honorem. Rex Henricus, qui semper voluit Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum graves et inexorabiles discordias et continuas habere sollicitudines, ut sic semper eum haberet humiliatum et obnoxium sibi, compulit et coegit me pro ipso contra vos, immo Deum, et contra me, octo mensibus, in expensis meis et in continuo vitæ periculo, in Romana curia laborare. Perdidi autem operam et impensas; meisque peccatis exigentibus, permisit me Dominus occasione illius archiepiscopi damnose deludi, Qui pro peccatis populi permittit regnare hypocritam. Benedictus autem Deus, quia fructum non retuli de labore illicito. Hoc autem faciat et addat mihi Dominus, ut quod commisi redimam, et contumelias quas alieno instinctu dominis meis irrogavi, exhibitione honoris et obsequii recompensem. Promitto autem et testificor ante Deum, et in Eo Qui spes et vita mea est, quod vobis aut ecclesiæ vestræ aut honori vestro adversarium non videbit me homo et vivet. Intelligo flagellum Domini. Nam sicut octo mensibus contra vos steti, ita Dominus octo mensibus me supplicio gravissimæ infirmitatis afflixit. Mihi ergo indulgete, et orate pro filio vestro pœnitenti, promittenti satisfactionem, seque ad defensionem dignitatum ac libertatum vestrarum, ad omne obsequium impendendum, humiliter et ex totis animi visceribus offerenti. Bene valeatis, et bene valeant domini nostri universi et singuli.

Peter of Blois informs the convent that he was compelled by king Henry to oppose them:

fo. 88r°.

Job xxxiv. 30.

he was cruelly cheated and bitterly repents: and promises for the future to serve them faithfully.

CCCLVI. Cœlestinus papa Conventui Cantuariensi.[2]

May 23.

Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis priori et conventui ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Sicut ad apostolatus nostri debitum

[1] This letter is printed by Dr. Giles in his edition of Peter of Blois. *Ep.* 238.

[2] This letter is given by Gervase, 1324 and 1573.

A.D. 1191. May 28. The pope annuls any privileges which archbishop Baldwin procured prejudicial to the convent; especially the agreement made between them and him in defiance of John of Anagni.

pertinere dinoscitur, iis quæ rite et recte ordinata consistunt vigorem afferre perpetuum, ita nimirum eis quæ secus fiunt quam deccat vires detrahere, enervare et infirmare tenemur. Eapropter, dilecti in Domino filii, cum Baldewinus quondam archiepiscopus, sive motu proprio, sive instinctu alieno, vos et ecclesiam vestram molestiis multis et injuriis quandoque afflixerit, et scripta aliqua a sede apostolica in præjudicium juris vestri, falsa suggestione, ut dicitur, impetraverit, quem magis tranquillitati vestræ dare operam decuisset; paci vestræ paterna volentes in posterum sollicitudine providere, omnia quæ per memoratum archiepiscopum circa vos vi vel metu acta sunt, auctoritate apostolica revocamus in irritum, et nominatim ea quæ, legato Romanæ ecclesiæ præsente et contradicente, contra mandatum sedis apostolicæ facta dicuntur, sicut in authentico ejusdem legati, Johannis videlicet Anagnini quondam presbyteri cardinalis, ob causam vestram in Angliam directi, continctur. Et quæcunque contra jus vestrum vel privilegiorum vestrorum tenorem idem archiepiscopus impetravit, viribus carere decernimus, statuentes ut nullus unquam hominum ea quæ male gessit trahere audeat in consequentiam, neque possint ea quæ, tacita veritate, a sede apostolica impetravit, juri vestro aut privilegiis ullo unquam tempore in aliquo præjudicium generare. Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ confirmationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum Ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, quinto kal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

No. cccxxxvi.

May 28.

CCCLVII. Cœlestinus papa suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ.

The pope injoins on the suffragans of Canterbury not to attempt anything against the rights of the convent in electing an archbishop.

Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus, universis suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum ex officio nobis injuncto Cantuariensis ecclesiæ matri promptam teneamini sollicitudinem et reverentiam exhibere, ac de ipsius profectu sollicite cogitare, plurimum posset vobis non immerito detrahi, si tepidos vos super eo contingeret inveniri, vel aliqua in derogatione suæ dignitatis et approbatæ consuetudinis attentare. Inde est quod fraternitati vestræ mandamus atque præcipimus, quatenus in electione vel nominatione archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, nihil unquam attentare vel facere præsumatis, in quo videatur indultis eidem ecclesiæ ab apostolica sede privilegiis derogari, quia id proculdubio in detractionem

ordinis vestri ac nominis redundaret, nec nos qui antecessorum nostrorum statuta servari volumus illibata, tantum excessum possemus sine animadversione debita præterire. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, quinto kal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno primo. A.D. 1191. May 28.

CCCLVIII. Cœlestinus papa Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo.[1] A.D. 1191. May 28.

Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri R. Bathoniensi episcopo, et dilectis filiis de Radinges[2] et de Waltham abbatibus, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Molestias et injurias quas per bonæ memoriæ Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum conventus ejusdem loci passus est, discretionem vestram non credimus ignorare. Quoniam igitur jam dictus archiepiscopus, quamvis de reformando statu fratrum ipsorum in integrum, mandatum felicis recordationis Urbani et Clementis prædecessorum nostrorum suscepisset, nondum cum iter peregrinationis arripuit, reformavit ad plenum; per apostolica vobis scripta mandamus atque præcipimus, quatenus omni dilatione contradictione et appellatione cessante, ecclesias cum fructibus inde perceptis, et alia quæ sæpedictus archiepiscopus ipsis absque juris ordine abstulit, nostra freti auctoritate cum integritate restitui faciatis; et eorum detentores, si opus fuerit, censura non differatis ecclesiastica coercere; modis omnibus observantes, ne in loco quem apostolica condemnavit auctoritas, divina de cætero celebrentur, sed potius capella, ut dicitur, ibidem erecta, funditus destruatur, et sicut a patribus nostris decretum esse dinoscitur, canonicorum institutionem revocantes in irritum, eos denuncietis et teneatis suspensos, qui in loco ipso post prohibitionem apostolicam divina scienter præsumpserunt officia celebrare, donec ad sedem apostolicam veniant absolvendi. Illos quoque qui sententiam piæ recordationis papæ Clementis incurrisse noscuntur, cautius faciatis ab omnibus evitari, donec ecclesiæ satisfactione competenti exhibita, per nos mereantur absolvi. Qui vero hujusmodi communicaverint scienter, congrue ad arbitrium vestrum satisfaciant. Hæc autem omnia tanto districtius vestræ discretioni duximus injungenda, quanto in injuriam sedis apostolicæ redundare videtur, eadem toties iterare mandatis; et religionem vestram minus deceret, si

The pope commands the bishop of Bath and the abbots of Reading and Waltham to restore to fo. 88 v°. the convent the disputed churches, to destroy the chapel, annul the foundation, suspend the offenders, and enforce the avoidance of the excommunicated

[1] This letter is given by Gervase, cc. 1325, 1571, and 1592; and in part by Ralph de Diceto, c. 660.

[2] Hugh, abbot of Reading, who became abbot of Cluny in 1199.

A.D. 1191. May 28.

mandatum apostolicum segnius exsequeremini, nec possemus sine molestia tantum in vobis neglectum aliquatenus sustinere. Nullis litteris juri eorum præjudicium facientibus, si quæ apparuerint a sede apostolica impetratæ. Quod si omnes his exequendis nequiveritis interesse, duo vestrum ea nihilominus exequantur. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, quinto kal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

June or July.

CCCLIX. Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

The prior and convent entreat the bishop of Bath to execute the papal command.

Venerabili patri et domino Reginaldo, Dei gratia, Bathoniensi episcopo, Gaufridus prior et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem in Deo Salutari nostro. De religionis vestræ honestate et prudentia inter diversos passionum nostrarum aculeos evidenter edocti, inter cæteras ecclesiæ Dei columnas vos ferventius amplexamur et diligimus in Domino; et quamvis miseriis nostris nondum supervenit dies veræ consolationis, per vos tamen eam apprehendere in proximo omnimodis confidimus. Obsecramus quidem omnes et singuli, quatenus vos virum ad præsens exhibeatis constantissimum, et verum sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ filium, sicut semper vos exhibuistis, et mandatum apostolicum quod vobis dirigitur exequendum, pro Dei et beati martyris Thomæ et sanctorum, qui in Cantuariensi requiescunt ecclesia, honore et reverentia, viriliter compleatis. Scimus autem quoniam hæc obedientiæ virtus vobis pariet coronam, et constantiæ vestræ exhibitio promerebitur memoriam sempiternam. Valeat nobis cara semper paternitas vestra.

June or July.

CCCLX. Conventus Cantuariensis abbati de Waltham.[1]

The prior and convent trust in the good will of the abbot of Waltham,

Gualtero abbati de Waltham, Gaufridus prior et conventus. Quanto de virtute vestra et constantia major excrevit opinionis vestræ fragrantia, tanto in iis quæ Dei sunt et ecclesiæ libertatem expetunt, paratiores tenemini existere. Satis enim novit mundus, novistis et vos specialius, qui Cantuariensis ecclesiæ anxietates in ulnis vestris confovistis, et inter amaras passiones misericorditer lactastis, quam crudeliter et sine miseratione eadem mater nostra lacerata fuerit et conculcata. Unde quanta possumus devotione obsecramus in Domino, qua-

[1] Walter de Gaunt, the first abbot of Waltham. He is called by mistake Willelmus in the MS. in some of the following letters.

tenus intuitu Dei et zelo veræ religionis quo inardescitis, mandatum, quod vobis dirigitur apostolicum exequendum, taliter exequamini, ut religionis vestræ pateat constantia, et de obedientiæ virtute æternam mereamini coronam, et in catalogo sanctorum memoriam sempiternam. A.D. 1191. June or July. and entreat him to execute the mandate.

In eundem modum abbati de Radinges.

CCCLXI. Herberto[1] Cantuariensi archidiacono. July.

Reginaldus, Dei gratia Bathoniensis episcopus, et de Radinges et de Waltham abbates, Herberto archidiacono Cantuariensi et ejusdem officialibus, salutem. Mandamus vobis, et auctoritate apostolica qua fungimur districte præcipimus, quatenus omni dilatione, contradictione, appellatione cessante, capellam quæ dicitur de Hakentune per parochias archiepiscopatus denuncietis, sicut et nos auctoritate apostolica denunciavimus, maledictam et profanam et destruendam. Omnes etiam illos qui post prohibitionem Urbani, Clementis, summorum pontificum, in prædicta capella scienter divina celebraverunt, suspensos ab officio et beneficio nihilominus pronuncietis. Sciatis enim quia omnia quæ vobis facienda mandamus, jam sicut mandati apostolici executores fecimus, et ideo vobis ea facienda auctoritate supradicta mandamus, in ea obedientia quam apostolicæ sedi debetis. Præterea omnes quos monachi ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis vobis nominaverunt pro excommunicatione apostolica, suspensione, communitione, puniendos, citari faciatis, ut coram nobis in ecclesia Sancti Johannis de Windleshores appareant, in crastino Sancti Laurentii, supradictis articulis responsuri et juri parituri, ne si venire contempserint quos in genere excommunicatos vel suspensos denunciavimus, speciaaliter propter contumaciam denunciare teneamur. Mandata autem apostolica et præcepta quibus hæc fecimus et vobis exequenda mandamus, fratres nostri in Domino et monachi Cantuarienses vobis ostendere poterunt. The bishop of Bath and abbots of Reading and Waltham command the archdeacon of Canterbury to denounce the chapel of Hakington as accursed and the priests as suspended. fo. 89 r°. He is to summon all against whom the monks make complaint to appear at Windsor on August 11.

CCCLXII. Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus, et de Radinges et de Waltham abbates, Canonicis de Hakentune.[2] July.

Reginaldus, Dei gratia Bathoniensis episcopus, et H. Dei gratia, de Radinges, et Walterus[3] de Waltham abbates, recto- The bishop of Bath and abbots of

[1] Herbert le Poor, made archdeacon of Canterbury about 1175: he became bishop of Salisbury in 1194.

[2] This letter is given by Gervase, c. 1572.

[3] *Walterus*] Willelmus, MS.

A.D. 1191. July. Reading and Waltham command the canons of Hakington to stop divine service: as they will execute the papal mandate on July 20.

ribus capellæ de Hakentune, salutem. Mandatum domini papæ suscepimus, quo nobis injunctum est, ut modis omnibus observemus, ne in loco vestro, quem apostolica condemnavit auctoritas, divina de cætero celebrentur, sed potius capella ibidem, ut dicitur, erecta, funditus, dilatione et appellatione cessante, destruatur. Si quis ergo vestrum pro loco illo stare voluerit, et rationem proponere quare hoc fieri non debeat, nunciamus vobis quod nos, Deo donante, in die Sanctæ Margaritæ Virginis ad locum illum venire, et mandatum apostolicum prout decet proposuimus adimplere. Valete.

July. CCCLXIII. Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo, et W. abbati de Waltham, abbas de Radinges.

The abbot of Reading excuses himself from attendance, and sends his seal to ratify the proceedings of the other judges.

Venerabilibus et in Christo dilectis dominis et amicis, Reginaldo, Dei gratia, Bathoniensi episcopo, et Waltero[1] eadem gratia de Waltham [abbati], frater H. humilis Radingensis monasterii minister, salutem æternam in Domino. Urgentissimis præpediti necessitatibus, et inopinatis emergentibus casibus detenti, qui secundum temporis immutati malitiam innovantur in dies circa nos, ad præsens vobis occurrere in propria persona non potuimus. Inde est quod latores præsentium ad vos dirigimus cum sigillo nostro, ut vos secundum vobis a Deo datam sapientiam, in delegato vobis et nobis negotio procedatis, et sigillo nostro utamini prout videritis expedire, ad honorem Dei et ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, et obedientiam apostolicæ sedi debitam, et communis honestatis observantiam. Sigillum autem nostrum, quem vobis signatum mittimus, signatum remittite. Valete.

July 20. CCCLXIV. Omnibus sanctæ ecclesiæ filiis.[2]

The judges proclaim that they have stopped divine service at Hakington

Omnibus sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis ad quos præsentes litteræ pervenerint, Reginaldus, Dei gratia, Bathoniensis episcopus, et H. de Radinges et Walterus[3] de Waltham eadem gratia abbates, salutem. Noverit fraternitas vestra, et vobiscum universalis ecclesia, nos exequentes mandatum et præceptum summi pontificis, scilicet Cœlestini tertii, publice judicasse et pronunciasse, ne de cætero in loco quem Baldewinus, Dei gratia, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, apud Hakentune consti-

[1] *Waltero*] Willelmo, MS.
[2] This letter is given by Gervase, c. 1573.
[3] *Walterus*] Willelmus, MS.

tuere incepit, divina celebrentur. Sed et ejusdem auctoritate, canonicorum institutionem in eodem loco a prædicto archiepiscopo factam, in irritum revocantes, capellam ibidem constructam funditus destruendam judicavimus.[1] Quia, sicut vobis innotuit inspectione litterarum Urbani papæ tertii, secundum quarum decretum prædictus papa Cœlestinus nos in executione sui mandati procedere præcepit, prædictum locum maledictum et profanum apostolica condemnaverat auctoritas, et suspensos ab officio et beneficio illos, qui post apostolicam prohibitionem in capella illa divina celebrare præsumpserunt, decreverat. Quapropter et nos eos suspensos denunciamus et tenemus, donec a sede apostolica fuerint absoluti. Valete.

A.D. 1191. July 20. and adjudged the chapel to be destroyed.

CCCLXV. Priori de Faversham et Magistro F.

July 20.

Reginaldus, Dei gratia, Bathoniensis episcopus, et de Radinges et de Waltham abbates, viris venerabilibus priori de Faveresham et magistro Ferramino, salutem in Domino. De mandato summi pontificis ad Sanctum Paulum convenientes, auctoritate ejusdem capellam de Hakentune, unde controversia fuit inter bonæ memoriæ Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et monachos Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, judicavimus funditus destruendam; nihilominus locum in quo ipsa ecclesia sita est maledictum et profanum censuimus, sicut in litteris domini papæ, quas prædicti monachi vobis poterunt ostendere, continetur. Illos etiam qui post inhibitionem papæ Urbani et Clementis, ibidem divina celebrare præsumpserunt, ab officio et beneficio suspensos prædicta auctoritate apostolica denunciavimus. Collegium etiam canonicorum obtentu præfatæ capellæ congregatum, dissolvendum decrevimus. Auctoritate igitur domini papæ qua fungimur, et in virtute obedientiæ quam debetis domino papæ et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, vobis injungimus et districte præcipimus, quatenus ad prædictum accedentes locum, capellam de Hakentune penitus demoliri faciatis, et eos qui post prohibitionem ibi celebrare præsumpserunt, ab officio et beneficio auctoritate domini papæ suspensos denuncietis. Similiter canonicorum congregationem ibidem prædictæ capellæ collectam obtentu, in irritum revocatam denuncietis. Valete.

The bishop of Bath and abbots of Reading and Waltham order the prior of Faversham and Master Farreman to demolish the church of Hakington, and denounce the clergy fo. 89 v°. suspended and the college suppressed.

[1] The chapel was demolished July 21st, Gervase, 1572.

A.D. 1191. July.

CCCLXVI. Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus de Radinges et de Waltham abbatibus.

The bishop of Bath informs the abbots of Waltham and Reading, that he cannot be present at Windsor on August 11, to try the cause of the monks against H. de Northampton and R. de S. Martin.

Venerabilibus viris et amicis in Christo carissimis, Hugoni de Radinges, et [W.] de Waltham, divina permissione abbatibus, Reginaldus, divina miseratione Bathoniensis episcopus, salutem in Vero Salutari. Variis præpediti negotiis, cognitioni causæ vobis et nobis a domino Cœlestino papa delegatæ, quæ vertitur inter monachos sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ et clericos Baldewini bonæ memoriæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, magistrum H. de Norhamtune,[1] et magistrum R. de Sancto Martino et cæteros, in crastino beati Laurentii apud Windleshoram, interesse non possumus. Unde vobis significamus, quod ratione absentiæ nostræ, secundum quod juris ratio dictaverit, ea die in causa nihilominus procedatis. Gratum enim et ratum habebimus, quicquid super memorata causa facere decreveritis, reservata pariter vobis et nobis diffinitiva sententia. Valete.

August 2.

CCCLXVII. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi.

The chancellor forbids the prior and convent to molest H. de Northampton and R. de S. Martin in the possession of their churches.

Willelmus, Dei gratia, Eliensis episcopus et domini regis cancellarius, priori et conventui Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariensis, salutem. Audivimus quod in causam trahitis magistrum H. de Norhamtune et magistrum R. de Sancto Martino et clericos alios, super ecclesiis et beneficiis suis ecclesiasticis, quæ habent de donatione Baldewini bonæ memoriæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopi. Hinc est quod vobis mandamus, consulentes et prohibentes, ne præfatos clericos super prædictis molestetis vel gravetis, donec archiepiscopatui Cantuariensi provideatur. Non enim possumus, nec debemus, sustinere quod archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis in alium statum incidat quam fuit die qua deveniret in manus domini regis, quamdiu fuerit in custodia ejus et nostra. Teste Radulfo archidiacono Herefordiæ apud Turrim Londoniæ, secundo die Augusti.

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[1] Henry of Northampton, canon of S. Paul's and prebendary of Kentish Town, 1181–1192, founded the Hospital of S. Paul. *Mon. Angl.*, vi. 767; Newcourt, i. 169, 212, 705. See also Pipe Roll of Richard I., 69, 194. He was the archbishop's nominee to Monkton. Ralph de S. Martin, a minister of Henry II., accounts for the see of Sarum, 31 Hen. II.: and was tallager of Surrey, 10 Rich. I. He was archbishop Baldwin's nominee to the church of Eastry.

CCCLXVIII. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo.

A.D. 1191. August 2.

The chancellor forbids the bishop of Bath and the abbots of Reading and Waltham to proceed against H. de Northampton and R. de Martin.

Willelmus, Dei gratia, Eliensis episcopus, et domini regis cancellarius, R. eadem gratia Bathoniensi episcopo, et de Radinges et de Waltham abbatibus, salutem. Mandamus vobis, quod sicut diligitis baronias quas de domino rege tenetis, quod non teneatis placitum inter conventum Cantuariensem et magistrum H. de Norhamtune et magistrum Radulfum de Sancto Martino, super ecclesiis de Muneketune et de Estreia, quas vocant et habent de donatione bonæ memoriæ B. Cantuariensis archiepiscopi. Non enim possumus vel debemus sustinere, quod aliquid circa statum archiepiscopatus mutetur, quamdiu est in custodia domini regis. Hoc autem idem vobis præcipimus de aliis personis omnibus, qui aliquid tenent de archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi, qui coram vobis in causam trahuntur. Teste Radulfo archidiacono Herefordiæ, apud Turrim Londoniæ secundo die Augusti.

CCCLXIX. [Idem eisdem.]

(August 2.)

The chancellor forbids the above to molest William of S. Mere l'Eglise in possession of the church of Eynesford and chapel of Farningham.

Cancellarius eisdem. Mandamus vobis, quod non procedatis in causam quæ coram vobis vertitur inter monachos Cantuarienses et Willelmum de Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesia,[1] super ecclesia ejus de Einesford, et capella ejus de Freningham. Satis enim novistis quod idem Willelmus iter arripuit eundi Jerusalem, et quando tunc illud arripuit, ecclesiam illam cum capella prædicta bene et in pace possedit. Hinc est quod prohibemus districte, ne contra assisam crucesignatis indultam, inde vexetur aut gravetur, maxime etiam cum præfatam ecclesiam cum capella habeat de donatione bonæ memoriæ B. Cantuariensis archiepiscopi. Non enim sustinebimus quod status ipsius archiepiscopatus, quamdiu est in custodia domini regis et nostra, in aliquo mutetur. Teste Radulfo Herefordiæ archidiacono.

[1] William of S. Mere l'Eglise, canon of York and S. Paul's, and dean of S. Martin's in London, became bishop of London in 1199. The archbishop of Lyons was Baldwin's nominee to Eynesford, and continued to claim it at the time of the final award. See *Epp. Alan. Tewkesb.*, xi. and xii., ed. Migne or Giles. It does not appear here whether William of S. Mere l'Eglise derived a claim from the archbishop of Lyons, or whether there is not some mistake in the writ.

A.D. 1191. After Sept. 18.

CCCLXX. Willelmo Eliensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.[1]

The prior and convent inform the chancellor that the archbishop of York has been dragged by armed men from the altar of the church of Dover, and is confined in the castle: wherefore the convent have suspended

fo. 90 r°.

divine service there, and beg the chancellor to advise them.

Reverendo patri et domino Willelmo, Dei gratia, Eliensi episcopo et domini regis cancellario, Gaufridus prior et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et se semper devotissimos. Poterat gloriosi martyris Thomæ sanguis, in ecclesia Cantuariensi effusus, immunitatem, et si aliunde non haberet, perpetuam contulisse, et gloria ejus qua omnis terra repleta est terruisse sacrilegos, sed, ut patet, quod fidelibus est ad castigationem et virtutem, hoc impii et nequam malignitatis assumunt in exemplum. Ecce enim Eboracensis archiepiscopus innocens, ut creditur, ab ecclesia nostra Dovorensi, ab ipso altari, manu militum armata violenter extractus, crucem bajulans, per lutum et lacus et per abrupta locorum in castellum Dovorense in carcerem protrahitur, ejulante Deo et populo, et sacrilegis ipsis qui eum adducunt lacrymantibus. Clamat, petit et repetit ecclesia, ut ei restituatur ablatus, sed non recipit. Cessat a divinis, nec mirum, violata Dovorensis ecclesia: et conclusa sunt ora canentium Dominum. Miratur mundus in facto tam enormi, Cantuariensem ecclesiam segnius agere et matrem tam importabilem filiæ dissimulare mœrorem. Genibus itaque vestris obvoluta, Cantuariensis ecclesia vos rogat ut dominum, adjurat ut filium, quatenus ei in tam arcto et arduo negotio non denegetis consilium salutare, quo et ecclesiæ honor suus conservetur illæsus, et vestra circa eam devotio laudabilis approbetur.

In eundem modum omnibus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ suffraganeis.

Sept. 29.

CCCLXXI. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi.[2]

The chancellor denies that he is answerable for the sacrilege committed on archbishop Geoffrey,

Willelmus, Dei gratia, Eliensis episcopus et domini regis cancellarius, carissimis amicis suis priori et conventui Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariensis, salutem et dilectionis plenitudinem. Dilectionem vestram nullatenus volumus perturbari super eo quod Eboracensis archiepiscopus apud Dovoriam est detentus. Vobis autem indubitanter suggerimus, quod nec per nos nec de mandato nostro captus fuit in ecclesia nec detentus, sed

[1] This letter is given by Gervase, c. 1576. Archbishop Geoffrey landed at Dover Sept. 14, and was captured Sept. 18.

[2] This letter is given by Gervase, c. 1577.

præceperamus quod si forte ibidem applicaret, si fidelitatem domino regi, quam nunquam fecit, facere nollet, cum plena restitutione omnium rerum suarum et suorum, Withsand transmitteretur: et quia domino regi juramento interposito promiserat, unde litteras ejusdem archiepiscopi patentes habemus, quod nullatenus dum idem rex in sua peregrinatione existeret, in Angliam veniret. Teste me ipso apud Bromd'. vicesimo nono die Septembris. A.D. 1191. Sept. 29. and explains the reasons of his arrest.

CCCLXXII. Godefridus Wintoniensis[1] episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi. September.

Godefridus, Dei gratia, Wintoniensis episcopus, dilectissimis in Christo fratribus et amicis, Gaufrido priori et conventui ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem quam repromisit Deus diligentibus Se. Loquar in amaritudine animæ meæ, tristis et dolens super injuriis et molestiis venerabili fratri nostro Eboracensi archiepiscopo nimis atrociter, ut dicitur, illatis. Doleo quidem et dolenti condoleo, patior et compatienti compatior, sed et in ipsius passionibus et ignominiis totus homo meus interior gladio compassionis est transfossus. Cum autem hujusmodi factum redundet in injuriam totius ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, de communi fratrum et coepiscoporum nostrorum deliberatione procedere debet consilium, quod super tam arduo negotio vobis dari postulatis. Porro si fratribus inconsultis verbum aliquod consilii super hoc præcipitarem, non immerito possem ab eis argui temere præsumptionis. Verum largiente Domino, quod sòlus aggredi non præsumo, præcunte et communicato consilio domini Londoniensis et aliorum confratrum nostrorum, responsum salutare ad honorem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ et vestrum in brevi recipietis. Valete. The bishop of Winchester is grieved at the sufferings of the archbishop of York, but cannot advise the convent without the counsel of his brethren.

CCLXXIII. Seffredus Cicestrensis episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi. September.

Seffredus Cicestrensis episcopus, carissimis suis in Christo fratribus et amicis, G. priori ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis et conventui, æternæ salutis gaudium. Audita, sicut ex tenore litterarum vestrarum concepimus, tam horrendi sceleris immanitate, super tanto tamque enormi flagitio obstupuimus, totoque spiritu conturbati sumus. Tam atrox quippe injuria loco The bishop of Chichester is shocked at the news of the outrage on archbishop Geoffrey,

[1] Godfrey de Lucy, bishop of Winchester, 1189–1204. The letter is given by Gervase, c. 1577, with a slightly different ending.

[2] *audita*] audivi, MS.

A.D. 1191. September. and will not be wanting when the time of punishment comes.

sacro christo Domini illata, non solum in Cantuariensem, verum etiam in universam Anglicanam non immerito redundare videtur ecclesiam, immo in Ipsum Caput ecclesiæ, Christum Dominum. Cumque igitur tantum tamque arduum sit negotium, et communis injuria toti clero illata, communi indiget consilio et discussione, ut contumelia Christi et ecclesiæ debita possit, ut dignum est, ultione vindicari. Cum vero ad id perventum fuerit, proculdubio noveritis nos operi omnem quam poterimus operam adhibituros et sollicitudinem, ut honor Dei et ecclesiæ in omnibus observetur, et ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, quam sincera amplectimur caritatis affectione, tam promptam quam debitam exhibeamus devotionem. Valete.

CCCLXXIV. Johannes comes, frater regis, Conventui Cantuariensi.

Earl John informs the convent that he has heard that they intend to elect the bishop of Ely to the archbishopric: and warns them not to proceed in the matter until they have seen the archbishop of Rouen.

Johannes comes Moretonii, venerabilibus amicis priori et sacro conventui sacrosanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, salutem et sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Satis notum universitati vestræ credo, quanto dilectionis affectu domum vestram et religionem vestram a primis cunabulis meis amplexus sum. Et semper pro posse meo amplectenda est, nisi quid contra dignitatem domini nostri fratris et regis, sicut proposuistis, feceritis, quominus antiqua dilectio debitum sortiri debeat effectum. Audivi enim quod Willelmum Eliensem episcopum et domini regis cancellarium in archiepiscopum Cantuariensem eligere disposuistis. Quod quia contra dignitatem et voluntatem domini regis satis scio contrarium, mando vobis quod in electione ipsius non procedatis, donec plenius voluntatem domini regis inde noveritis, et rumores quos Walterius archiepiscopus Rothomagensis vobis inde intimabit, qui præsertim pro ecclesia Cantuariensi consulenda a domino rege in Angliam missus est, audieritis. Et sicut alia vice per clericos meos appellavi, ne in electione archiepiscopi Cantuariensi procederetis, ita et nunc per præsentium latorem appello, et in propria persona coram archiepiscopo Rothomagensi et Bathoniensi et Coventrensi episcopis et aliis quam pluribus, appellavi. Et sciatis pro certo quod si ulterius sine consilio et voluntate domini regis processeritis,[1] de cætero in me nullo modo confidere poteritis. Teste Willelmo de Warennia apud Merleberge.

He has appealed against this election.

fo. 90 v°.

[1] *processeritis*] procederitis, MS.

CCCLXXV. Ricardus rex Angliæ justitiario Angliæ. A.D. 1191. August 6.

Ricardus rex Angliæ, etc., justitiario suo Angliæ, salutem. The king informs the justiciar of his conquest of Cyprus, Scias nos multis laborasse infirmitatibus postquam iter peregrinationis nostræ arripuimus, sed Dei miseratione ad plenum convaluimus. Satis enim notum est tibi, quantum honoris nobis contulit divina miseratio apud Messanam. Deinde cum iter peregrinationis nostræ prosequeremur, in Cyprum divertimus, ubi naufragii nostri subterfugium sperabamus ; sed tyrannus, qui sibi nomen imperiale usurpaverat, nec Deum nec homines reveritus, armata et forti manu nobis portum prohibiturus occurrit, et quam plurimos hominum nostrorum qui naufragium passi fuerant, afflictos afflixit, spoliavit naufragos et in carcerem fame perituros inclusit. Hinc ergo in tantæ vindictam injuriæ nec indigne accensi, divino adjuti suffragio, cum hoste jam dicto congressum accepimus, festinam adepti victoriam, et ipsum victum ac vinctum tenemus, et filiam suam unicam, totamque insulam Cypri cum universis munitionibus nobis subjugavimus. Deinde hilares ac læti portum Aconæ intravimus, qui non his arrival at Acre, and the capture of that city. multo temporis tractu elapso, post adventum regis Franciæ et nostrum civitatem Aconæ cum Sancta Cruce, cum MDCC. captivis recuperavimus. Sed rex Franciæ infra XV. dies a nobis recessit versus patriam suam. Nos vero magis Dei amorem et honorem diligimus quam temere nostram vel etiam multarum regionum adquisitionem: sed quam citius terram Suriæ in pristinum statum revocaverimus, tunc in terram nostram revertemur. Itaque pro certo scias quod ad proximam Quadragesimam mare intrabimus. Mandamus etiam tibi quod He will certainly return the following Lent. fideliter intendas in negotiis nostris promovendis. Teste me ipso apud Aconam, VI. die Augusti.

CCCLXXVI. G. Rothomagensis archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi. After August 25.

Walterius, Dei gratia, Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, dilectis The archbishop of Rouen informs the convent that the king has sent him to conduct the election of an archbishop. in Christo priori et conventui sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, salutem in Vero Salutari. Audito a domino R. illustri rege Anglorum, quod ecclesia vestra pastorali solatio fuisset destituta, impetrata licentia a summo pontifice, ad partes Anglicanas nos decrevit destinandos, committens nobis vices suas, ut nos, communicato consilio vestro, ad honorem Dei et ecclesiæ vestræ et vestrum, pastorem ecclesiæ vestræ et vobis et toti regno utilem et idoneum provideamus. Hac siquidem occasione in Angliam missi, disposuimus ad vos accedere, ut super provisione

A.D. 1191. He has not yet been able to visit them, and forbids them to proceed in the matter in his absence.

ecclesiæ vestræ vobiscum tractatum haberemus; teste Deo, id habentes in proposito ut ad honorem Dei et ecclesiæ vestræ et vestrum et profectum pariter fuisset ordinatum. Verum iter nostrum exequi et propositum nostrum complere non potuimus, aliter quam deceret præpediti.[1] Unde universitati vestræ mandamus, et ex parte domini nostri illustris Anglorum regis præcipimus, quatenus neque in secreto neque in publico ad electionem faciendam citra præsentiam nostram procedatis, nec aliquem mortalium vobis in archiepiscopum nominetis, quia vice domini regis et nostra appellationem super eo ad dominum papam interposuimus, et eam præsenti scripto et sigilli nostri testimonio coram vobis innovamus. Valete.

October 10.

CCCLXXVII. Ricardus rex Conventui Cantuariensi.

The king orders the convent to send the prior and twelve monks to London on Oct. 22, to elect a new archbishop.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, G. priori et conventui Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, salutem. Quia diu fuimus solliciti ut ad honorem Dei et ecclesiæ vestræ et totius regni, vobis pastor idoneus providcatur, præcipimus vobis quatenus proxima die Martis post festum Sancti Lucæ tu prior, cum duodecim de discretioribus monachis ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, venias Londonias pro toto conventu, litteras afferens ratihabitionis. Teste Walterio Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, apud Westmonasterium, decimo die Octobris.

Oct. 10.

CCCLXXVIII. Johannes[2] frater regis et Walterius[3] Rothomagensis Conventui Cantuariensi.

Earl John assures the convent that the letters bearing the king's name and seal are to be obeyed.

Johannes comes Moretonii et Walterius,[3] Dei gratia, Rothomagensis [archiepiscopus], dilectis in Christo amicis priori et conventui ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, salutem. Propter præteritas quas audistis contentiones, communi deliberatione fidelium domini regis statutum est, ut sub sigillo domini regis de negotio regni mandata regia fiant communiter et discurrant. Unde vobis mandamus, quatenus ad vos sub eodem sigillo directis fidem indubitatam habeatis, et quod in eis continebitur, dilatione recisa, efficaciter impleatis. Valete.

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[1] He was forbidden to go to Canterbury, by a letter from the Chancellor, dated Aug. 25. Girald. Cambr. *de V. Galfr.*, Anglia Sacra, ii. 395.

[2] This letter is given by Gervase, c. 1578.

[3] *Walterius*] Willelmus, MS.

CCCLXXIX. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.[1]

A.D. 1191. November 5.

The king informs the convent that earl John and the archbishop of Rouen will come to Canterbury on Dec. 2, to deliberate on the election of a new archbishop.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, dilectis suis et fidelibus G. priori Cantuariensi, et ejusdem loci capitulo, salutem et sinceram in Domino dilectionem. Noverit discretio vestra quod dilectus et venerabilis pater noster W. Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et Johannes comes Moretonii frater noster dilectus et familiaris, et alii justitiarii nostri cum illis, ad vos Cantuariam venient tertio die post festum Sancti Andreæ, tractaturi ibidem per Dei gratiam cum consilio vestro de archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi, ad honorem Dei et ecclesiæ et regni et vestrum. Hinc est quod vobis duximus intimandum, quatenus super negotiis ecclesiæ vestræ interim conferentes, communi familiarium et fidelium nostrorum [consilio], ad honorem et securitatem vestram et totius regni, et ecclesiæ vestræ utilitatem, pariter et concorditer adquiescatis, in nullo, quod absit, dissentientes, unde dedecus et enorme damnum ecclesiæ vestræ eveniat. Ita igitur vos habeatis et geratis ut honor Dei et noster et ecclesiæ vestræ in omnibus observetur. Quicquid enim facimus, pro honore Dei et indemnitate vestra et ecclesiæ vestræ et securitate regni nostri facimus. Teste archiepiscopo Rothomagensi, apud Westmonasterium, quinto die[2] Novembris.

fo. 91 r°.

CCCLXXX. Ricardus[3] Londoniensis episcopus Seffredo Cicestrensi episcopo.[4]

November.

The bishop of London summons the bishop of Chichester to Canterbury to the election.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, Londoniensis ecclesiæ minister, venerabili fratri et in Christo carissimo, Seffredo, Dei gratia, Cicestrensi episcopo, salutem et sinceræ dilectionis instantiam. Ne mater nostra Cantuariensis ecclesia viduitatis suæ tempore, si diutius protrahatur, in spiritualibus sive temporalibus detrimentum patiatur, Johannis comitis Moretonii et W. archiepiscopi Rothomagensis et aliorum, quibus constat de voluntate domini regis, assensu communi provisum est, ut eidem ecclesiæ in idoneo pastore maturius provideatur, et ipsius electio loco competentiori, in ecclesia videlicet metropolitana, a filiis

[1] This letter is given by Gervase, c. 1578.

[2] *die*] idus, Gervase.

[3] Richard Fitz-Neal, bishop of London, 1189–1198.

[4] This letter is given by Gervase, 1579.

A.D. 1191. November. on the 2nd of December.

suis rite celebretur. Eapropter fraternitati vestræ mandamus, quatenus die Lunæ proximo post festum Sancti Andreæ apostoli præsentiam vestram apud Cantuariam occasione et excusatione cessantibus, nobis exhibeatis, ibidem per Dei gratiam cum fratribus et coepiscopis nostris de electione Cantuariensis archiepiscopi tractaturi. Valeat in Domino vestra fraternitas.

In eundem modum aliis suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ.

CCCLXXXI. Henricus Romanorum imperator Conventui Cantuariensi.

The emperor Henry VI. assures the convent of the affection he bears them on the report of his cousin Savaric.

Henricus, Dei gratia, Romanorum imperator et semper Augustus, viris religiosis et venerabilibus G. priori et conventui Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, salutem et sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quia de conversatione vestra et religione placidum Deo et nobis recepimus odorem suavitatis, caritatem vestram animo et affectu sinceriore volumus amplecti, et orationibus vestris pio desiderio petimus commendari. Ad quod specialiter dilectus consanguineus noster, et ecclesiæ vestræ devotissimus, Savaricus[1] archidiaconus, ita nos invitare studuit, ut de bono quod de vobis speramus, et etiam ipsius intuitu quem sincere diligimus, vestris de cætero profectibus velimus intendere, et necessitatibus ecclesiæ vestræ, si quando emerserint, consilium et subsidium favorabiliter impertiri. Proinde, quia per eundem dilectum et fidelem nostrum et vestrum innotuit nobis et vestra quæ præcessit cui compatimur tribulatio, et nunc instans ex pastoris carentia desolatio, honestatem vestram confidenter et affectu pio rogare decrevimus, ut ad salutem ecclesiæ vestræ et quietem, qua diu caruistis, vobis divino reformandam consilio, ducti et edocti Spiritu sapientiæ et intellectus, Spiritu consilii et fortitudinis, Spiritu scientiæ et pietatis, et Spiritu timoris Dei, non hominis, in electione pastoris pensatis præcedentibus angustiis vestris, nunc saltem vobis salubriter prospicere studeatis. Si autem ob Dei timorem, et reverentiam precum nostrarum, secundum salubre prænominati consanguinei nostri consilium, et virum sectatorem bonorum operum et ecclesiæ vestræ præcipuum dilectorem velitis assumere, ita vos imperiali celsitudini grates magis et commendabiles efficietis, ut in facto vestro quod Deo principaliter et nobis placere debeat, nos efficaciter coadjutores et magis semper vobis propitios habere

He begs them to be careful in the election of a new archbishop, and to be guided by the advice of Savaric.

Is. xi. 2, 3.

[1] Savaric, archdeacon of Northampton, succeeded Reginald Fitz-Jocelin as bishop of Bath and Wells in 1192.

mereamini. Et sicut indubitanter audivimus et credimus, non magis in partibus vestris idoneum, nec de quo nobis gratius esse debeat, potestis eligere, quam virum illum vita et moribus venerabilem, de quo sæpedictus archidiaconus amicissimus noster nostram vobis super hoc mandato vel litteris exprimet voluntatem, et quem novistis ecclesiæ vestræ ferventissimum dilectorem.

A.D. 1191. The emperor is sure that Savaric will name the right man.

CCCLXXXII. Philippus rex Franciæ Conventui Cantuariensi.

Phylippus, Dei gratia, rex Francorum, carissimis amicis suis priori et conventui Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, salutem et intimæ dilectionis plenitudinem. Certum est, et scimus quod sedes vestra archiepiscopalis vacat, et ad vos electio ejusdem ecclesiæ pertinere dinoscitur. Scire autem vos volumus, quod Reginaldus venerabilis Bathoniensis episcopus, vir sapiens et discretus, genitori nostro piæ recordationis regi quondam Lodowico carus admodum extitit et acceptus, propter nimiam et veram dilectionem quam erga ipsum et regnum nostrum habuit. Propter nimiam autem dilectionem quæ inter genitorem nostrum et ipsum Reginaldum fuit, et propter commendationem personæ ejusdem a Savari archidiacono et amico et fideli nostro diligentius factam, promotionem et exaltationem ipsius toto cordis affectu exoptamus. Et quoniam ex relatione ipsius Savari comperimus, quod ecclesiæ vestræ favorem et gratiam obtineat abundanter, super amoris exhibitione quam erga prædictum episcopum et archidiaconum obtentu gratiæ et bonitatis ipsorum habetis, grates vobis uberrimas referre decrevimus, preces vobis affectuosas pro ipsis porrigentes, quatenus obtentu precum nostrarum et gratiæ et intuitu et fidelitatis et devotionis, quam idem Savari erga vos et ecclesiam vestram habere dinoscitur, affectum bonæ voluntatis quem præsertim et specialiter non immerito erga prædictum episcopum habetis, evidentius in opere demonstretis, ut vobis et ecclesiæ vestræ devotiores deinceps et magis obnoxii teneamur; quia pro grato et accepto nobis munere reputabimus, si in ejusdem episcopi promotione per vos, quam affectuose desideramus, preces nostras noverimus exauditas, et factum vestrum in hac parte, si pro voto nostro processerit, quantum de jure poterimus studiose juvare curabimus, ut per Dei gratiam et vestram felicius sortietur complementum. Valete.

The king of France recommends the convent to elect Reginald, bishop of Bath, to the vacant see of Canterbury; having been induced to do this by the bishop's friendship with his father king Lewis and by the praises of Savaric.

fo. 91 v°.

A.D. 1191. Dec. 2. (Gervase, 1580.)

CCCLXXXIII. Cœlestino papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

The prior and convent inform the pope that they have elected Reginald bishop of Bath to the see (Nov. 27.) of Canterbury; and ask him to confirm the election and transmit the pall.

Sanctissimo patri et domino Cœlestino, Dei gratia, summo pontifici, G. dictus prior ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, et totus ejusdem loci conventus, salutem et devotum semper debitæ subjectionis famulatum. Quia magno jam tempore contra sanctorum patrum constitutiones pastore destituta fuerit Cantuariensis ecclesia, tanto utique ad notitiam vestram plenius pervenisse credimus, et altius insedisse memoriæ, quanto ipsam, inter occidentales omnes dignissimam, famosam fecerunt et sanctorum merita qui in ea requiescunt, et ad eam a finibus terræ confluentium laudabilis devotio populorum. Hoc itaque ex casu et causa, quot dispendia passa fuerit in temporalibus et spiritualibus non solum Cantuariensis, sed et tota Anglicana ecclesia, regni turbatio fere continua et rerum evidentia apertius edoceret, quam narratio nostra, si hujusmodi prosequeremur, nimis tædiosa. Ad electionem itaque faciendam quandoque a sedibus nostris evocati auctoritate regia, quandoque in fratrum congregatione tractantes, tandem invocata Spiritus Sancti gratia, omnium et singulorum votis miraculose concurrentibus, elegimus, applaudente clero et populo, virum venerabilem dominum Reginaldum Bathoniensem episcopum, virum religiosum, ut creditur, virum a Deo approbatum et electum, virum litteratum, discretum, et providum, et ecclesiæ Romanæ devotissimum. Supplicamus igitur, sanctitatis vestræ pedibus provoluti omnes et singuli, quatenus ad honorem Dei et ecclesiæ et regni statum conservandum, electionem ejus confirmare et ei pallium destinare velitis, considerantes quia mora in hac parte rerum dispendium et periculum trahit animarum, et desiderantibus animis omnem velocitatem tardam esse nemo qui dubitet. Valeat sanctitas vestra, pater sancte, in tempora longiora.

Dec. 2.

CCCLXXXIV. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis.

The prior and convent announce to the cardinals the election of Reginald.

Venerabilibus patribus et dominis, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalibus, Gaufridus prior et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et paratum semper intimæ dilectionis famulatum. Cantuariensis ecclesia jam diutius pastore destituta, enormia in temporalibus et spiritualibus damna perpessa, tandem de principis assensu serenissimi, aspirante gratia Dei, electione celebrata, virum religiosum et litteratum, discretum et providum, sibi pastorem elegit, dominum Reginaldum Batho-

niensem episcopum, clero et populo applaudente, confidens sibi salubriter in eo provisum esse, et successorem gloriosi martyris Thomæ bonum invenisse. Supplicamus itaque, sanctitatis vestræ pedibus provoluti omnes et singuli, quatenus nuncios nostros pro pallio petendo directos tanto efficacius exaudire velitis, quanto personam electi et oneri tanto et honori mundus credit et clamat idoneam, et ecclesiæ Romanæ novit esse devotissimam. Valete, domini et patres sanctissimi. A.D. 1191. Dec. 2. They desire the pall for the new archbishop.

In eundem modum Remensi et Lugdunensi archiepiscopis, usque "Supplicamus itaque."

CCCLXXXV. Reginaldo Cantuariensi electo Conventus Cantuariensis. After Dec. 2.

Reverendo patri et domino Reginaldo, Dei gratia, Bathoniensi, et Cantuariensi electo, Gaufridus prior et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et devotissimum in omnibus obedientiæ famulatum. Relato nobis per priorem et fratres a vobis revertentes bono certaminis vestri principio, gratias egimus Deo, Qui docet manus vestras ad prælium et digitos vestros ad bellum. Itaque, pater sancte, confortamini in Domino et in potentia virtutis Ejus. Confortamini et estote robusti, nihil de nobis solliciti, quia, ut Petri verbum assumamus, qui casum trahere non decrevimus in exemplum, vobiscum parati sumus "et in carcerem et in mortem ire;" nec poterit nos per Dei gratiam aliquis a caritate vestra quæ in Christo est, aliquatenus separare. Quoniam autem jam minis afficimur, injuriis citius, ut asserunt, et damnis rerum afficiendi, consilium nobis impertiri petimus; si res nostras nobis tulerint, quomodo nos habebimus, et si cibum de manu hominum recipiemus, an non, quia si opus fuerit et liceat, panem nostrum ostianum mendicare non erubescimus. Placeat ergo paternitati vestræ nobis beneplacitum vestrum circa hæc significare. Valete, et Deus patrum vestrorum propter nomen Suum, et iter et actus vestros bene prosperare dignetur.

The convent extol the newly elected archbishop for his courageous behaviour (in London, Dec. 2).

See Gervase, c. 1580.

Ps. cxliv. 1.

Eph. vi. 10.

They hear that they are likely to suffer for his sake.

S. Luke xxii. 33.

CCCLXXXVI. Willelmo Eliensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis. About Nov. 27.

Reverendo patri et domino Willelmo, Dei gratia, Eliensi episcopo, domini regis cancellario, Gaufridus prior et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et sinceræ semper dilectionis obsequium. Ex quo desiit parvitas nostra præsentiæ vestræ habere copiam, protectionis quoque gratiam abesse persensit. Cœperunt enim in nos homines insurgere, fo. 92 r°

The convent regret the absence of the chancellor.

A.D. 1191. About Nov. 27. After an ineffectual attempt at London to elect an archbishop (Oct. 22), they elected at Canterbury the bishop of Bath, with the connivance of the archbishop of Rouen. (Nov. 27.)

eo forte durius et fortius, quo paternitatem vestram magis diligere nos intellexerunt. Quod quæsumus patienter audire velitis, pauca dicturi de multis. Vocati sumus Londonias ad electionem auctoritate Rothomagensis, et Johannis comitis Moretonii, et aliorum justitiarum. Ubi die statuta positi et de eligendo conventi, multis hinc inde consiliis et sermonibus habitis, tandem circa vesperas ab invicem discessimus, et electionem eo die vix initiare potuimus. Consequenter autem per litteras domini regis comminatorias jussi sumus in adventu Rothomagensis inveniri concordes, quarum litterarum transcriptum vobis mittimus. Venientes itaque ante diem statutum cum episcopis Cantuariam, nos multipliciter convenerunt. Videntes ergo quod non fuit nobis evasio, inquisivimus attentius per fratres nostros internuncios a Rothomagensi domini regis voluntatem. Qui, quamvis personam archiepiscopi de Monte Regali palam præsentaret, secretius tamen dominum Bathoniensem, non directe quidem proposuit, sed oblique domino regi non displicere significavit. Invocata igitur Spiritus Sancti gratia, concordes facti omnes et singuli, et dominum Bathoniensem in capitulo nostro cum debita solemnitate elegimus. Cæterum quod factum est, tanto vobis magis placere debet, quanto ipso die multa pro vobis eleganter proposuit et audacter electus. Valete.

No. cccLxxix.

Dec. 25.

CCCLXXXVII. Gaufrido priori Cantuariensi Rogerus clericus Cantuariensis electi.

Roger de Bonneville informs the prior that the archbishop elect was taken ill on Christmas Eve,

Domino Gaufrido priori, Rogerus de Bona Villa se ipsum ad pedes in perpetuum. Noverit animi vestri sinceritas, communem dominum nostrum electum in vigilia Natalis Domini circa gallicinium, et in aurora post missarum celebrationem et Corporis et Sanguinis Domini perceptionem, prout Altissimo placuit, tanta infirmitate fuisse depressum, quod de ipsius vita et sanitate, quod non sine crebris suspiriis dicere valeo, omnes circumstantes plurimum desperati sumus; ubi in Veritate, Quæ Deus est, multoties dixit ore proprio, ne conceptæ dilectionis inter vos immemor videretur existere, "Mittite, "mittite propter priorem Cantuariensem," et litteras quas vobis transmittit per latorem præsentium proprio ore composuit. Unde liquido potestis perpendere, qualem ad vos habuit dilectionem, et constantem ordinis vestri devotionem. Necesse est ergo ut, ea qua poteritis festinatione, ad dominum meum veniatis cum habitu monachili, quem ob favorem sinceræ dilectionis ad vos habitæ, a vobis, Divina permittente clementia, suscipere præelegit. Valete.

No. cccLxxxviii.

and has sent for him and for the monastic habit from Canterbury.

CCCLXXXVIII. Reginaldus Cantuariensis electus Conventui Cantuariensi.

A.D. 1191. Dec. 25.

Reginaldus, Dei gratia, Bathoniensis episcopus et sacrosanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ electus indignus, dilectis suis in Christo, Gaufrido priori et conventui ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Mihi non videtur quod velit Deus quod vester sim archiepiscopus. Vester autem volo et desidero esse monachus. Vos ergo cum habitu veniatis ad me quantocius apud Dokemeresfeld, domine prior et supprior, cum aliis quos volueritis. Valete, et gratia vestri incessanter, incessanter, oretis pro me.

The elect of Canterbury begs the prior to bring him the monastic habit before he dies.

CCCLXXXIX. Conventui Cantuariensi Gaufridus prior.

About Dec. 27.

Venerabilibus dominis et fratribus, conventui ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, Gaufridus prior et fratres qui cum illo sunt, salutem et Spiritus Sancti consolationem. Discedentes a vobis in laboribus et angustiis, venimus ad Horsleiam, ubi occurrerunt nobis rumores pleni doloribus, quod, scilicet, dominus electus diem clausit ultimum, nocte postquam dies festivitatis beati Stephani illuxit.[1] Quibus auditis, sub multa celeritate reverti decrevimus; fratrem tamen A. pro negotiis ecclesiæ Bathoniam, et ad comitem destinavimus. Consolamini in Domino et estote robusti. Confidite de Domino et invocate bonitatem Ejus, et visitabit vos in multitudine misericordiæ Suæ, quia pius est. Valete.

The prior reaching Horsley, heard that the archbishop elect had died on Sept. 26.

CCCXC. Omnibus Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ amicis, Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1192. January.

Universis sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ amicis et filiis, episcopis et abbatibus, Gaufridus prior et conventus ejusdem loci, æternam in Domino salutem. Quoniam ad ea quæ ad honorem et pacem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ spectant pronos semper

The prior and convent inform their friends that they have received

[1] Reginald Fitz-Jocelin died on the feast of S. Stephen the first martyr, and was buried on the feast of S. Thomas the last martyr; a curious coincidence, as he had been chiefly instrumental in the demolition of the church of S. Stephen and S. Thomas at Hakington. Peter of Blois, *Ep.* 216, ed. Giles, refers to Reginald as "magni nomi-"nis umbra," and adds that the dates of his death and burial look as if S. Stephen had slain him, and S. Thomas buried him.

A.D. 1192. January. from the justiciars an order to give account of the removal of prior Osbert.

et devotos vos invenimus, secure vobis ea quæ in præjudicium libertatis ejus debitæ veniunt, et laudabilibus et approbatis ejus consuetudinibus derogant, manifestamus. Hinc est quod sanctitati vestræ non significare indignum duximus, nos a justitiariis domini regis hujusmodi suscepisse mandatum; "Præcipimus vobis, sicut diligitis honorem vestrum et commo- "dum ecclesiæ vestræ et omnes possessiones vestras, quod tali "die sitis coram nobis responsuri, quare deposueritis Osber- "tum priorem vestrum." Et quoniam in universalis ecclesiæ redundat injuriam, ut coram laicis ordo tractetur monasticus, aut quicunque ecclesiasticæ professionis ordo, sanctitatis vestræ pedibus obvoluti omnes et singuli, supplicamus omnes attentius, ut partes vestras interponere velitis, ne quia hoc facturi non sumus, ecclesia Cantuariensis rerum suarum damnum aut gravamen aliquod incurrat, fidem ei in eo observantes debitam, et pastori ipsius, cum ei Deus in pastore providerit. Et sciatis quod nos et res et possessiones nostræ sub protectione domini papæ et regis sumus, ad quos appellamus.

fo. 92 v°.

January.

CCCXCI. Alano abbati de Teokesberi Conventus Cantuariensis.

The prior and convent have especial claims on the abbot of Tewkesbury.

Venerabili patri et domino Alano, Dei gratia, abbati de Theokesberi, Gaufridus prior et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et sinceræ semper dilectionis devotionem. Frequens est admodum, immo fere continua, ecclesiæ Cantuariensis oppressio, et nimis austera quam sustinet, instans ejus afflictio. Unde a vobis sicut filio devotissimo, immo sicut a patre suo et domino, competens et necesse esset vestræ consolationis ope relevari. Licet enim eam omnes tanquam matrem suam teneantur diligere, et ejus tuitioni et protectioni vigilanter intendere, vos tamen specialius, quos ampliori hactenus amplexata est caritate, et majori fovebat et fovet honoris devotione. Noscat igitur paternitas vestra, quod a domino Rothomagensi et aliis justitiariis regis, propter electionem quam fecimus de domino Bathoniensi, multis afficimur minis, et variis nos affligere nituntur modis. Ecce enim nos vocant per litteras domini regis de scaccario, quarum transcriptum vobis mittimus, ut veniamus coram eis, et Osbertum nobiscum habeamus, ut ostendat ibi quare eum deposuerimus. Cum igitur prioris institutio vel depositio, sive aliarum obedientiarum ordinatio, non spectet ad regem, nec ab aliquo rege hactenus super hujusmodi habita est exactio, periculosum nobis videtur eis qui in loco regis sunt super his respondere, in quibus, secundum regulam Sancti Benedicti et antiquam eccle-

The justiciars are attacking them on account of their election of the bishop of Bath, and the deposition of Osbert.

siæ consuetudinem, non alias quam in capitulo nec ab alio quam archiepiscopo, consuevimus conveniri, aut in causam trahi. Placeat igitur vestræ discretioni, vestrum nobis super hoc per præsentium latorem significare consilium. Supplicamus etiam vobis attentius, quatenus ad dominum comitem pro nobis velitis accedere, et utrum de conscientia et voluntate ejus vel non, mandatum hujusmodi emanaverit, diligenter inquirere. Et quoniam gratiam ejus habetis pleniorem, apud eum placeat vobis elaborare, ut per ipsum comitem, qui superior, immo caput est justitiariorum, cum mandato eorum præsenti nullo modo possimus aut debeamus obedire, in rerum et possessionum nostrarum spoliatione nobis parcatur, quia non sine gravi scandalo poterit fieri. Multorum enim est consilium, ut a divinis cesset ecclesia, si ei talis illata fuerit injuria. Valete.

A.D. 1192. January. Contrary to the Benedictine rule they are summoned before the king's representatives: they entreat his intercession with Earl John.

In eundem modum abbatibus de Bello et de Burgo, usque "Supplicamus."

CCCXCII. Willelmo Eliensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis. January.

Reverendo patri et domino Willelmo, Dei gratia, Eliensi episcopo, domini regis cancellario, Gaufridus prior et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem, et si quid potest sincere diligentium affectus. Quoniam ejusdem doloris jaculo, quo et vos, confodimur, et de calice mœroris vestri, sed sine mensura, quotidie patimur, passionibus vestris non solum compatimur, sed etiam vulnera vestra nostra esse persensimus, et ab eisdem utrisque inflicta dolemus. Ex quo enim vestro destituti sumus patrocinio, insurrexerunt in nos qui nobis sedebant in insidiis, nunc animos fidelissimos simulantes, nunc inimicitias inexorabiles exercentes; sed et tanto acrius et atrocius in nos animadversi sunt, quanto gratiam vestram plus videbamur adepti, ad hoc plurimum elaborantes, ut ea quæ per vos aut tempore vestro statuta sunt, destituantur, firmata infirmentur. Nos autem hæc et adhuc his majora sustinere parati, a caritate vestra non poterimus avelli. Hocque de nobis vestra pro certo habeat dilectio, quod inter personas quotquot in mundo sunt, vos quadam speciali affectione, amplexamur, memores beneficiorum quæ nobis contulistis, pro quibus omnibus condigne vobis respondere speramus, et expectamus in tempore opportuno. Cæterum quia, sicut audivimus, unde et vehementer anxiamur, scilicet, quod adversus nos estis commoti, ad pedes pietatis vestræ prostrati omnes et singuli deprecamur, quatenus si quid ad instantiam et coactionem aliquorum fecimus, unde

The convent and prior, expressing sympathy with the chancellor, complain of the conduct of their common enemies.

They hear that he is angry with them;

A.D. 1192. January. and beg his pardon for what they have been compelled to do.

vos offenderimus, memores illius "cum iratus fueris misericor- Habak. iii.
"diæ recordaberis," misericorditer nobis dimittatis, nostrum ex vestro statum metientes, et malitiam temporis considerantes. Nec pigeat vos matri vestræ languenti et laboranti manum consolationis porrigere, quæ vobiscum et pro vobis in afflictione posita, ut vos eruat a malis, Omnipotentis clementiam non cessat invocare. Valete.

January.

CCCXCIII. Alienoræ reginæ Angliæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

The prior and convent trust in queen Eleanor to maintain their rights,

Dilectæ Deo et hominibus Alienoræ, Dei gratia, nobili Anglorum reginæ, ducissæ Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comitissæ Andegaviæ, Gaufridus prior et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, ad Ejus stare dexteram ad Cujus astitit regina in vestitu deaurato. Super dilectione quam semper Ps. xlv. 10.
habuistis erga Cantuariensem ecclesiam, et pro beneficiis multipliciter ei a largitatis vestræ munificentia collatis, gratiarum ex animo referimus actiones; rogantes et obsecrantes in
fo. 93 r°. Christo, quatenus gratiam et amorem quem hactenus in oculis vestris invenimus, intuitu Dei et beati martyris Thomæ aliorumque in ecclesia Cantuariensi quiescentium, conservare velitis, nec ad alicujus suggestionem aliquid de nobis credatis, si placet, sicut nec decet excellentiam vestram, antequam de veritate constiterit. Unde, quia multi multum nos persequuntur, nec habemus defensionem, ad vos tanquam unicum
and beg her to protect them. refugium nostrum confugimus, rogantes attentius, ut nos sub umbra alarum vestrarum protegatis, nec patiamini quod ecclesia Cantuariensis, quæ vobis semper devota exstitit, aliqua occasione contra justitiam deprimatur; sed, sicut sperat et exspectat, per vos post Deum relevetur. Valete.

January.

CCCXCIV. Ricardo regi Conventus Cantuariensis.

The prior and convent thank God for the king's successes;

Excellentissimo domino suo Ricardo, Dei gratia, illustri regi Angliæ, duci Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comiti Andegaviæ, Gaufridus prior et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, cordis et corporis salutem, ab Eo in Cujus manu salus est omnium, et corda sunt regum. Multiplices et Prov. xxi. 1.
immensas laudum et gratiarum Regi regum referimus actiones, Qui in diebus nostris tantum vobis supra omnes reges terræ contulit honoris et gloriæ, quod in universo orbe terrarum nomen vestrum factum est laudabile et gloriosum. Cumque vobis applaudere et congaudere debeant omnes

nationes, et maxime regnum Anglorum, quod per vos tanto et tam famoso dignitatis privilegio nuper est insiguitum, nos tamen præ aliis specialius tenemur gloriæ vestræ congratulari, qui sub protectione vestra in regni vestri sede capitali, pro salute vestra Deum assidue deprecaturi, ad officia divina sumus mancipati. Hinc est quod vobis et pro vobis in Domino devoti operam damus et dabimus, ut honorem et fidelitatem, quam vobis sicut domino nostro debemus, fideliter in omnibus observemus. Ideoque de nobis certissime vestra noverit excellentia, quod nihil unquam contra honorem et dignitatem vestram volumus aut voluimus attentare. Unde ad pedes excellentiæ vestræ prostrati deprecamur, quatenus si quis de nobis aliud aliquid pietati vestræ vellet suggerere, quia non est credendum omni spiritui, ne nimis cito, neque antequam de veritate constiterit, velitis credere vel aures adhibere. Cæterum rogamus et obsecramus in Christo Jesu, quatenus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, quæ jam diutius pastorali destituta est solatio, dignemini misereri, et ita honori Dei et sanctorum in ea quiescentium prospicere, ut per eorum merita debeat Deus honorem vestrum semper augere. Vitam et incolumitatem vestram conservet Rex regum, et dilatet imperium.

A.D. 1192. January. and assure him that they have attempted and will attempt nothing against his will.

1 S. John iv. 1.

They beseech him to provide for the exigencies of their church.

CCCXCV. G. PRIORI HOSPITALIS JERUSALEM CONVENTUS CANTUARIENSIS.[1]

January.

Venerabili domino et amico G. priori Hospitalis, Gaufridus prior et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et se semper devotissimos. Devotionem et dilectionem quam erga Cantuariensem ecclesiam habuistis, non credimus terrarum ex tractu tepuisse, sed firmam et perseverantem permanere. Hinc est quod vestrum ex nostro metientes affectum, dignationi et dilectioni vestræ, de qua multum, immo maxime, confidimus, omnes et singuli devotissime supplicamus, quatenus intuitu Dei et beati Thomæ martyris sanctorumque in Cantuariensi ecclesia quiescentium, partes vestras pro fratribus vestris apud dominum regem interponere dignemini, murumque pro domo Domini opponere. Multi enim sunt, qui sinceritatem nostram apud dominum nostrum regem nituntur

The convent trust in the good will of the prior of the hospital.

[1] Probably Garnier of Naplous, then Master of the Hospital, who had been prior of England, and may still have been considered as such by the convent. He was now with Richard in Palestine.

A.D. 1192. January. They are attacked on account of the election of the bishop of Bath, in consequence of the deceitful behaviour of the archbishop of Rouen.

denigrare, et maxime pro electione quam fecimus de domino Bathoniensi, qui jam in fata concessit, utpote per litteras domini regis, et eorum qui in loco ejus sunt instantia, inducti et quodammodo coacti. Dominus enim Rothomagensis, qui tunc capitalis justitia erat, per se et suos satis nobis dabat intelligere, animum regium in dominum Bathoniensem consentire: sed eo a nobis electo, statim contradixit dominus Rothomagensis et justitiæ, dominoque regi multa sinistre de nobis scripserunt. Unde cum ad præsens non possimus ad eum pertingere, nec amicum habeamus nisi vos, cui possemus vices nostras committere, ad pedes prostrati supplicamus, quatenus gratiam domini regis nobis, pro Deo et martyre Suo, conciliare velitis; eisque qui nobis adversantur resistere, onusque fratrum vestrorum absentium ita subportare, ut a Patre omnium digne debeatis remunerari. Valete.

They entreat his intercession with the king.

CCCXCVI. Cœlestinus papa de Lamhee canonicis.

A.D. 1193. January 30.

The pope takes the canons of Lambeth and their possessions under his protection.

Cœlestinus episcopus, *etc.*, canonicis de Lamhehe, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Sacrosancta Romana ecclesia devotos et humiles filios ex assuetæ pietatis officio propensius diligere consuevit, et ne pravorum hominum molestiis agitentur, eos tanquam pia mater suæ protectionis munimine confovere. Eapropter, dilecti in Domino filii, devotionem quam erga beatum Petrum et nos ipsos habere noscimini, attendentes, personas et domos vestras, cum omnibus bonis tam ecclesiasticis quam mundanis, quæ inpræsentiarum rationabiliter possidetis vel in futurum justis modis, præstante Domino, poteritis adipisci, sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscepimus. Specialiter autem possessiones quas habetis in villa de Lamhehe, sicut eas juste ac sine controversia possidetis, vobis et per vos ecclesiæ vestræ auctoritate apostolica confirmamus, et præsentis scripti patrocinio communimus; statuentes ut si vos in aliquo gravari senseritis, libere vobis liceat sedem apostolicam appellare. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat personas sive bona vestra temere perturbare, seu hanc paginam nostræ confirmationis et protectionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Siquis autem, *etc.* Datum Laterani, tertio kal. Februarii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

fo. 93 v°.

CCCXCVII. Cœlestinus papa Cicestrensi episcopo et abbatibus de Radinges et de Waltham.[1] A.D. 1192. May 16.

Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Cicestrensi episcopo, et dilectis filiis de Radinges et de Waltham abbatibus, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Summi pontificis moderamini noscitur plurimum convenire, ut sicut a successoribus suis quæ rationabiliter statuit desiderat observari, ita prædecessorum suorum bene constituta, et ratione prævia deliberationis providæ judicio stabilita, debeat inviolabiliter custodire. Cum itaque felicis memoriæ Urbanus et Clemens prædecessores nostri ædificationem novæ capellæ et institutionem canonicorum in præjudicium conventus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ factam, quæ gravem videbatur[2] parere materiam scandalorum, de consilio fratrum suorum cardinalium irritaverint, et expressius inhibuerint, ne de cætero illam capellam observarent, nec in ea divina officia celebrarent: nos volentes quod ab ipsis in hac parte noscitur stabilitum perpetua firmitate gaudere, ratum id et firmum habemus, et sine refragatione cujusquam præcipimus observari. Et quia quicquid ex eo sequitur, vel ob id quod prohibitionis perpetuæ causam haberet, interdicente canone a summis pontificibus constituto, factum est, cassum et inutile canonicæ judicant sanctiones, et idem jura etiam civilia protestantur; discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus clericos de Lamhee a juramento de observatione novæ capellæ, Baldewino quondam Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, præstito, auctoritate sedis apostolicæ denuncietis publice absolutos ex parte nostra; cessante appellatione, eis districtius injungentes, ne de cætero novam capellam vel ecclesiam de Lamhee debeant observare, nec per se nec per suos in ea ulterius ministrare; eos ecclesiastica censura, dilatione et appellatione cessante, coercentes, qui mandato nostro duxerint contraire; nullis litteris obstantibus a sede apostolica impetratis. Quod si omnes his exsequendis nequiveritis interesse, duo vestrum ea nihilominus exsequantur. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, xvii. kal. Junii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

The pope charges the bishop of Chichester, and the abbots of Reading and Waltham to declare clerks of Lambeth absolved from the oath they took to archbishop Baldwin; and to command them to close their church.

CCCXCVIII. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi. A.D. 1193. March 26.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, carissimis amicis suis priori

The king informs the prior and

[1] This letter is in Gervase, 1593. | [2] *videbatur*] videatur, MS.

A.D. 1193. March 26. convent that he is detained by the emperor, and must pay 100,000 marks ransom, towards which he entreats their aid.

et conventui ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, salutem et sinceram dilectionem. Noverit dilectio vestra, quod in captione detinemur in manu imperatoris, qui nos recepit in osculo pacis et dilectionis, promittens firmiter nobis et regno nostro consilium et auxilium impendere. Et quia nullo modo possumus liberari, nisi prius centum millia marcarum persolverimus, caritatem vestram affectuose rogamus, de qua plenius et diffusius confidimus, quatenus vos qui caput totius regni nostri estis, aliis in regno nostro constitutis exemplum dilectionis et fidelitatis præbere curetis; nec aliquid in absentia nostra agere velitis, unde damnum vel detrimentum honoris et dignitatis nostræ sustineamus. Nos autem cum liberati fuerimus, et Dominus nos ad propria reduxerit, ad voluntatem et beneplacitum vestrum et nos habebitis, tum in consilio ecclesiæ vestræ, tum etiam in omnibus aliis ad honorem et utilitatem ecclesiæ Cantuariensis spectantibus. Insuper ad præsens cogit nos necessitas auxilium et consilium vestri et aliorum fidelium nostrorum postulare, ut liberationi nostræ curam adhibeatis et operam efficacem, et in pecunia, non dicimus danda, sed potius mutuanda, de thesauris ecclesiæ vestræ, quod indubitanter vobis ad duplum restituemus, nobis succurrere velitis, ut ad condignam remunerationem vobis de cætero teneamur, et laus et caritas vestra coram Deo et hominibus digne debeant commendari. Quod autem pro nobis facere poteritis, nobis renunciare curetis, et statum regni nostri, et ecclesiæ vestræ. Teste me ipso apud Spiram, xxvi. die Martii.

He begs them to lend him money from the treasures of their church.

March 30. CCCXCIX. RICARDUS REX ANGLIÆ ALIENORÆ REGINÆ, MATRI SUÆ.

The king thanks his mother for her devotion to him and his kingdom.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, *etc.*; reverendæ dominæ suæ et matri carissimæ Alienoræ, eadem gratia reginæ Angliæ, salutem, et omnem quam devotus filius potest matri desiderare felicitatem. In primis Deo et postmodum vestræ serenitati, mater dulcissima, gratias quascunque possumus exsolvimus, licet ad tam dignas gratiarum actiones sufficere non possumus, pro fidelitate quam nobis servatis, et fideli cura et diligentia quam terrarum nostrarum paci ac defensioni tam devote et efficaciter impenditis. Satis quidem cognovimus et ex parte scimus, quod per Dei miserationem et vestrum consilium et auxilium, terrarum nostrarum defensioni est et erit in maxima parte provisum. Maxima namque causa vestra est prudentia et discretio, quare usque in adventum nostrum terra nostra in statu debeat permanere pacifico. Nunc autem, mater

fo. 94 r°.

carissima, vestræ transmittimus benignitati carissimum nostrum, virum venerabilem Hubertum Saresberiensem episcopum. Qui, sicut mundus novit universus, in ultramarinis partibus toti Christianitati et nobis tam grata impendit obsequia, quod nullatenus possunt enarrari. Qui etiam in curia Romana pro nostra liberatione tot labores sustinuit et expensas, et tam laboriosum iter et periculosum ad nos usque in Alimanniam arripuit. Fidelitatem tunc ejus et constantis animi dilectionem qua nos amplectitur plenius cognovimus, sed nunc quidem plenissime per fidelem operam et ferventem diligentiam quam liberationi nostræ tam affectuose et efficaciter impendit, penes imperatorem et proceres imperii. Et quoniam certi sumus quod in illius promotione nostra maturior erit liberatio, et fortior terrarum nostrarum defensio, ipsum in ecclesiam Cantuariensem volumus promovere. Voluntas enim nostra est de ipso, et de alio contraire. Mater carissima, cum omni qua possumus devotionis instantia vobis supplicamus, quatenus sicut nos diligitis, ipsius promotionem in Cantuariensem ecclesiam sub omni celeritate festinare curetis. Hoc enim solum est negotium, post negotium liberationis nostræ, quod vobis magis committimus festinandum. Teste me ipso apud Spiram, xxx. die Martii. Verbis autem quæ Willelmus de Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesia vobis super his exponet, fidem habeatis. Teste eodem.

A.D. 1193. March 30. The merits of Hubert bishop of Salisbury determine the king to raise him to the see of Canterbury.

He charges her to manage the promotion with the advice of William of S. Mere l'Eglise.

CCCC. Ricardus rex justitiariis suis in Anglia.

March 30.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, *etc.*, caris et fidelibus suis Walterio eadem gratia Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et Willelmo Marescallo et Gaufrido filio Petri et Hugoni Bardulf et Willelmo Briwere, salutem. Quantis laboribus et periculis venerabilis Hubertus Saresberiensis episcopus, in ultramarinis partibus propter nomen Domini et succursum terræ Orientalis, se et suos exposuerit, quot et quam grata Deo et universæ Christianitati et nobis ibidem impenderit obsequia, satis novit mundus universus. Et quoniam ipsius episcopi discretionem, fidelitatem, et integræ mentis constantiam, et dilectionis sinceritatem qua nos amplectitur, satis experti sumus, ipsum in Cantuariensem ecclesiam promovere volumus. Unde vobis mandamus et firmiter præcipimus, quatenus sub omni celeritate ipsius promotionem festinare curetis. Certissimum enim habemus, quod ipsius promotio Deo et hominibus grata erit et accepta, et liberationi nostræ maturandæ, et defensioni terræ nostræ et pacis tranquillitati conservandæ valde necessaria, et vobis omnibus, Deo auxiliante, valde fructuosa. Teste me ipso apud Spiram, xxx. die Martii.

The king informs the justiciars that he intends to raise Hubert to the see of Canterbury, and charges them to expedite the matter.

A.D. 1193. March 30.

CCCCI. Ricardus rex Angliæ priori et Conventui Cantuariensi.

The king enjoins on the prior and convent to proceed in the election of a new archbishop under the advice of William of S. Mere l'Eglise.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, *etc.*, caris et fidelibus suis, priori et conventui Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, salutem. Quoniam ecclesiam vestram et vos veræ dilectionis affectu, sicut justum est, amplectimur, honori et tranquillitati pacis ecclesiæ vestræ et vestrum omnium propensius desideramus providere. Nolentes igitur quod ecclesia vestra ulterius pastore careat, vobis mandamus et firmiter præcipimus, quatenus sine mora idoneam personam, Deo et hominibus acceptam, et ecclesiæ vestræ et regni defensioni et pacis conservationi necessariam, secundum quod carissima mater nostra regina Angliæ, et carus et fidelis noster Willelmus de Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesia, vobis ex parte nostra proponent, provideatis, et in illius electione facienda, juxta consilium eorundem sub omni celeritate procedatis; districtius autem vobis inhibentes, ne aliquid in electione illa facienda, extra consilium dominæ reginæ matris nostræ et supramemorati Willelmi, ullo modo faciatis. Teste me ipso apud Spiram, xxx. die Martii.

May 28.

CCCCII. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.

The king informs the convent that the letters he has directed to them on behalf of Savaric are genuine; and that he will be pleased if they will procure him any honour or dignity.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, *etc.*, priori et conventui Cantuariensi, salutem et sinceram dilectionem. Noveritis litteras de mandato et pura conscientia et bona voluntate nostra prodiisse, quas vobis pro fideli et dilecto nostro Savarico Bathoniensi episcopo direximus, gratias ibidem referentes de amore et bona voluntate quam erga eum habere noscimini. Ad cujus interventum, erga vos et ecclesiam vestram benigniorem gerimus affectum et voluntatem. Et si quid honoris aut dignitatis eidem per vos aut per alios accresceret, gratum nobis plurimum fieret et acceptum; et super hoc vos certos et indubitatos existere iterato scripto mandamus. Valete. Teste magistro Phylippo clerico nostro, apud Wermeseiam, xxviii. die Maii.

fo. 94 v°.

June 8.

CCCCIII. Ricardus rex Alienoræ reginæ matri.[1]

The king charges his mother to go in person

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, *etc.*, carissimæ matri suæ, Alienoræ eadem gratia, reginæ Angliæ, salutem et filialis dilectionis inviolabilem sinceritatem. Mandamus vobis quod

[1] This letter is given by Gervase, 1583.

convocatis justitiariis nostris, et Londoniensi, et Wintoniensi, Lincolniensi, Rofensi, et aliis episcopis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ suffraganeis quos videritis evocandos, sub qua poteritis celeritate, in propria persona Cantuariam ad priorem et monachos accedatis, et cum omni studio et diligentia efficiatis, quod carus et fidelis noster venerabilis H. Saresberiensis episcopus in Cantuariensem archiepiscopum eligatur, sicut vobis prius per dilectum et fidelem nostrum Willelmum de Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesia significavimus, nisi jam idem episcopus electus sit. Certissimum enim habemus, quod ipsius promotio Deo erit grata et regni nostri defensioni, et pacis conservationi, et liberationi nostræ accelerandæ, valde necessaria. Unde vobis, mater carissima, supplicamus, cum qua possumus devotione, quatenus, sicut nos diligitis, hoc negotium cum qua poteritis festinantia ad effectum perducatis. Et si forte aliquod mandatum a nobis accepistis in contrarium, pro cancellario vel pro Bathoniensi episcopo, vel pro aliquo alio, proculdubio vos scire volumus quod illud cassamus, et omne mandatum quod de cætero de cancellaria nostra emanabit, in contrarium. Satis enim vestra novit dilectio, quod dum in custodia tenemur, oportet nos precibus magnorum virorum cedere, et pro quibusdam supplicare, quos nullatenus promovere vellemus. Quicquid autem scripserimus, aut in futurum scripturi fuerimus, super prædicto negotio, voluntas nostra est firma et immutabilis, quod episcopus Saresberiensis in Cantuariensem ecclesiam promoveatur, quia de illo hoc volumus et non alio; et si forte nondum electus est, vel aliquo casu interveniente, quod absit, non possit eligi, volumus et firmiter præcipimus, quod Cantuariensis ecclesia de pastore nullo modo ordinetur ante reditum nostrum in Angliam. Cætera quæ ad præfati Saresberiensis episcopi spectant promotionem, supplebit carus et fidelis noster magister Johannes de Brideport, cui fidem super hoc negotio promovendo indubitatam habeatis. Teste me ipso apud Wermesiam, viii. die Junii.

A.D. 1193. June 8. to Canterbury to secure the election of Hubert, if it has not already taken place, and to credit no letters in favour of the chancellor or bishop Savaric or any other.

During his captivity he is obliged to write in favour of other people, but he will accept no other than Hubert as archbishop.

CCCCIV. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi. June 8.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, *etc.*, priori et conventui Cantuariensi, salutem. Mandamus vobis, quod sub omni celeritate ad dominam reginam matrem nostram accedatis, et per consilium ejus et domini Willelmi de Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesia, omni contradictione et dilatione postposita, sicut coronam nostram et securitatem regni nostri et tranquillitatem ecclesiæ vestræ

The king commands the prior and convent to proceed in the election with the advice of John of Bridport.

A.D. 1193. June 8. diligitis, in electione Cantuariensis archiepiscopi procedatis, et iis quæ magister Johannes de Brideport fidelis noster super promotione illius negotii vobis dicet, fidem indubitatam habeatis. Teste me ipso apud Wermeseiam, viii. die Junii, per magistrum Philippum[1] clericum nostrum de camera nostra.

July 10. CCCCV. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.

The king orders the convent not to proceed in the election of Hubert to the archbishopric.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, *etc.*, dilectis, et utinam dilectoribus suis, monachis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, salutem. Sicut amorem nostrum et liberationem diligitis, rogamus vos attentissime, et confidenter mandando consulimus, quatenus in progressu electionis vestræ, quam de dilecto nostro Saresberiensi episcopo fecistis, penitus ad præsens abstinere velitis, et si quos Romam propter hoc misistis, cum omni celeritate ante obtentum confirmationis apostolicæ revocare curetis, scientes indubitanter, quod sine maximo malo nostro et vestro hoc omittetis. Teste me ipso apud[2] x. die Julii.

May 30. CCCCVI. Cœlestino papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.[3]

Announcing Hubert's election.

Quia multo jam tempore contra sanctorum patrum constitutionem, *etc.*, *ut supra pro Bathoniensi episcopo electo.* No. cccLxxxiii.

About September. CCCCVII. Cœlestinus papa Huberto Cantuariensi electo.

The pope charges the archbishop elect to destroy the college founded by his predecessor to the damage of the church of Canterbury.

Cœlestinus episcopus, *etc.*, Huberto Cantuariensi electo. Interest tua, ut qui [ad] archiepiscopalem cathedram ecclesiæ Cantuariensis vocatus es in pastorem, in omnibus illis te provisorem sedulum et attentum exhibeas, per quæ Cantuariensis eccclesia pacis recipiat incrementum, et ablata de medio materia jurgiorum, secura consistere valeat, et in divinis obsequiis magis ac magis devota persistat. Sane tua prudentia non ignorat, quibus novitatibus Baldewinus, quondam ejusdem

[1] Philip of Poictiers, the king's clerk and companion in the crusade. He became bishop of Durham in 1197, and died in 1208.

[2] *apud*] The name of the place is omitted in the MS.

[3] This letter, announcing to the pope the election of Hubert, must have been written immediately after the election, which took place 1193, May 30.

ecclesiæ archiepiscopus, operam dederit, et quanto per eum in ecclesia Cantuariensi resederit dissensio animorum. Unde fraternitatem tuam modis omnibus quibus possumus attente rogamus atque monemus, et etiam in remissionem injungimus peccatorum, quatenus in ea vocatione qua vocatus es, te ipsum sicut Dei ministrum exhibeas, et in operibus caritatis exercens ecclesiam illam diligas, ad cujus regimen electus es pariter et assumptus. Et sicut bonæ memoriæ antecessores nostri Urbanus et Clemens et nos ipsi statuimus, canoniam illam quæ fuit discordiæ seminarium et origo, aut funditus destruas, aut in meliores usus convertere non postponas. Paci etiam et tranquillitati ejusdem ecclesiæ Cantuariensis sollerter invigilans, quæ per jam dictum Baldewinum ablata fuerant, restituere satagas, et ita cures ejus profectibus et augmentis insistere, quod per omnem modum gaudeat, se talem sibi elegisse et præfecisse pastorem, per quem spiritualia et temporalia ipsi provenerint cum augmento.

A.D. 1193. About September.

fo. 95 ro.

CCCCVIII. Cœlestinus papa Huberto Cantuariensi electo.

About September.

Cœlestinus episcopus, *etc.*, Huberto Cantuariensi electo, salutem. Quantumcunque honoris beato Thomæ martyri possumus exhibere, libenter studemus impendere, et volumus ut cujus nomen celebre ubique habetur, locus in quo quiescit gloriosum corpus ipsius majorem semper consequatur honorem. Tuæ itaque fraternitati per apostolica scripta mandamus, ut corpus ejusdem martyris, quod in ecclesia tua requiescit, nacta opportunitate, a terra studeas elevare, et in eminentiori loco atque decentiori, sub capsa honesta ita collocare labores, ut qui causa orandi ad Cantuariensem ecclesiam accesserint, devotiores fiant ac ferventiores ad orandum Deum, et patrocinium Sui pretiosi martyris invocandum.

The pope orders the archbishop elect to remove the body of S. Thomas and place it in a shrine.

CCCCIX. Professio Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi quam fecit Cœlestino papæ.[1]

Nov. 7.

Ego, Hubertus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, ab hac hora in antea fidelis ero et obediens beato Petro sanctæque Romanæ ecclesiæ, et domino nostro papæ Cœlestino, ejusque succes-

The archbishop on receivingthe pall makes

[1] This is the oath taken by the archbishop on the reception of the pall, which was delivered to him 1193, Nov. 7, at Canterbury, by Gilbert Glanvill, bishop of Rochester.

A.D. 1193. Nov. 7. his declaration of fealty and obedience to the see of Rome.

soribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio neque in facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, vel capiantur mala captione. Consilium quod mihi per se, aut per litteras, aut per nuncium, credituri sunt, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nulli pandam. Papatum Romanum et beati Petri regalia, adjutor ero ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo nostro ordine, contra omnes homines. Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Legatum apostolicæ sedis, quem certe legatum ejus esse cognovero, in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Apostolorum limina singulis trienniis, aut per me aut per nuncium meum, visitabo, nisi eorum absolvat licentia. Possessiones ad mensam episcopatus mei pertinentes de novo non feudabo, neque locabo, neque alienabo, inconsulto Romano pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc sancta Dei evangelia.

A.D. 1193. March 18.

CCCCX. Cœlestinus papa Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.[1]

The pope, in compliance with the petition of the king and bishops, constitutes Hubert legate of the apostolic see for all England.

Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, apostolicæ sedis legato, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Sinceritas devotionis et fidei quam Anglicana semper ecclesia circa sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam conservavit, in tua, sicut bene confidimus, prudentia et virtute refloruit, et placiti fervoris accepit acceptabile incrementum. Talis enim ad Romanam ecclesiam tuæ fraternitatis emanavit opinio, quæ et tuæ honestatis odore nos recreet, et constantiæ quam habes vigore confirmet, ita ut confidentiam quam de tua probitate concepimus in nostro jam apertius opere condeclaremus. Supplicante itaque carissimo in Christo filio Ricardo illustri rege Angliæ, et universis suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, ut Anglicana ecclesia legatum apostolicæ sedis, pro suis et regni profectibus obtineret; tum pro devotione quam ad Cantuariensem ecclesiam pro meritis illius gloriosi martyris habemus, tum etiam tuæ probitatis et honestatis intuitu, eorum precibus assensum præstitimus et favorem, maxime quia multum credimus ecclesiæ et regni utilitatibus expedire, si talem in ministerio supradicto regio illa recipiat, qualem prædicti regis et episcoporum instantia de conversationis merito et fidei devotione commendat. Ideoque ad honorem Dei et ecclesiæ Cantuariensis salutem et pacem, per totum regnum Angliæ, non obstante exemptione

[1] This letter is given by R. de Diceto, 679, and Hoveden, 428 v°.

vel privilegio venerabili fratri nostro Eboracensi archiepiscopo vel alii facta, officium tibi legationis concedimus, per apostolica tibi scripta mandantes, quatenus illam cum fraternæ obedientiæ humilitate suscipias, et secundum datam cœlitus facultatem, ad emendandum ea quæ necesse est emendari, et statuenda quæ fuerint statuenda, debitæ diligentiæ manum auctoritate ipsius legationis apponas; ita nimirum in omnibus reverentiam matris tuæ Romanæ ecclesiæ prompta devotione custodiens, ut de profectu ministerii quod tibi læta committit tuis etiam facias operibus lætiorem. Datum Laterani, xv. kal. Aprilis, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

A.D. 1195. March 18.

He is to use his power with consideration.

CCCCXI. Cœlestinus papa Eboracensi archiepiscopo et omnibus prælatis Angliæ.[1]

March 18.

Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus, Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo et universis episcopis, et dilectis filiis abbatibus, prioribus, et aliis ecclesiarum prælatis per Angliam constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Divinæ sapientiæ inscrutabilis altitudo, quæ sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam in hujus mundi latitudine stabilivit, ita regimen et gubernationem ipsius immutabili provisione disposuit, ut ad eam salubriter gubernandam plures assumerentur in partem sollicitudinis, quamvis pro unitatis ecclesiasticæ firmamento unus acciperet plenitudinem potestatis. Voluit enim ut, secundum quod eam alloquitur in propheta, pro patribus ejus filii nascerentur, qui super omnem terram principes constituti, virtutum meritis et verbo doctrinæ, rudes ad fidem, provectos ad justitiam, erudirent. Unde sacrosancta Romana ecclesia, cui super cæteras contulit ecclesiæ magistratum, pium in his ad alias [habens] materna provisione respectum, providit ab initio, et laudabili hactenus consuetudine custodivit, ut de diversis mundi partibus ad earum ministerium adimplendum viros prudentes ascisceret, quorum auctoritas et doctrina sub Romani pontificis moderamine constituta, quod ipse per se non poterat, procul distantibus ecclesiis ministraret. Unde nos, qui licet insufficientibus meritis in sublimi sumus ejusdem specula constituti, patrum nostrorum vestigiis inhærentes, ita intendimus, cum Dei adjutorio, injunctum nobis ministerium circa proximas ecclesias gerere, ut iis etiam a quibus positione distamus, opportuna debeat providentia non deesse. Specialiter autem ad præsens Anglicanam

The pope informs the prelates of England of the division of labour in the church.

fo. 95 v°.

Ps. xlv. 17.

The church of Rome, with the supreme power, has the custom of providing for the wants of distant churches.

[1] This letter is given by R. de Diceto, 679, and Hoveden, 429 r°.

A.D. 1195. March 18. He has appointed Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, to be legate through the whole kingdom of England.

ecclesiam paternæ considerationis acie intuentes, ad salutem ipsius et speciales in Christo profectus, communi fratrum nostrorum consilio decrevimus, ut venerabilis frater noster Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, de cujus meritis et virtute, sapientia pariter et doctrina, ecclesia universalis congaudet, ministerio legationis accepto vices [1] nostras, ad honorem Dei et totius regni salutem et pacem, per totum regnum Angliæ, non obstante exemptione vel privilegio tibi vel ecclesiæ tuæ, frater archiepiscope, vel alii facta, libere exequatur. Præsentium itaque auctoritate universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus eidem tanquam apostolicæ sedis legato, reverentiam debitam impendatis et honorem, atque ejus salubria monita et mandata recipiatis humiliter et servetis, quæ auctoritate legationis qua fungitur secundum Deum duxerit statuenda firmiter observantes. Datum Laterani, xv. kal. Aprilis, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

July or August.

CCCCXII. Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus abbati et Conventui Sancti Augustini.

Archbishop Hubert informs the convent of S. Augustine's that in the exercise of his legatine power he has visited the North of England, and especially the church of York.

Hubertus, Dei gratia, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et apostolicæ sedis legatus, dilectis in Christo filiis abbati et conventui Sancti Augustini Cantuariensis, salutem et paternæ dilectionis gratiam. Ad vestræ sanctitatis notitiam credimus pervenisse, quod tota fere ipsius regni universitas non ignorat, quod tanquam manifestum et notorium non valet alicujus vel crassa ignorantia diffiteri, scilicet, quod dominus et patronus noster summus pontifex, volens hanc occidentalis ecclesiæ portionem quam in Anglia plantavit Altissimus, licet a longe positam, in extento tamen brachio visitari, commisso nobis legationis officio, plenam similiter auctoritatem contulit, illud per universalem regni ambitum exercendi; formam quidem certiorem præscribens, in qua mandatis apostolicis pareremus, et quam vobis deferendam commisimus præsentium portitori. Hoc onere nobis imposito, nos pro humilitate debita recipimus supportandum, et attendentes occasionem legationis injunctæ, incontinenti nos ad partes transtulimus aquilonis, descendentes ad Eboracensem ecclesiam,[2] in remotis positam et visitatore propensius indigentem, ut gravius infirmantem citior medela curaret, et hyemalis temporis importunitatem æstiva peregrinatio præ-

[1] *vices*] in preces, MS.

[2] Hubert's legatine visit to York began 1195, June 11, and lasted until the 15th. Hoveden, 429 v°.

veniret. In ecclesia igitur Eboracensi, et provincia, sicut de divina miseratione præsumimus, astantibus nobis viris discretis et magnis, ad honorem Dei et fructum ejusdem ecclesiæ vices sumus apostolicas ad præsens executi; benevolentia cleri et populi nihilominus reservata. Inde revertentes ministerium illud pro scientia nobis a Domino indulta, mediante consilio et eorum quos circumduximus, et illorum quos in ecclesiis visitandis invenimus, juris peritorum et prudentium, in omni devotione curavimus adimplere. Nunc autem proposuimus eos vel sero visitare, quos habemus hactenus reservatos, de quibus in tantum sustinuimus, quia de illorum conversatione uberius confisi sumus, et de infirmitate parcius timebamus. In festo itaque Nativitatis Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesiam nostram, cui licet immeriti præsidemus, exigentia officii nostri et tenore mandati apostolici, visitabimus, ad vos et ad ecclesiam vestram in eodem affectu, et ad idem, die Dominica sequenti et proxima descensuri. Unde vobis summopere congruit, et credimus expedire, si qua penes vos manum correctionis expectant, adventum nostrum remedio familiari et domestico prævenire, quia status vestri prosperitas nobis causam pariet exultandi. Quod si forte latitant aliqua, quæ robustiorem manum vel medelam violentiorem desiderent, nos ea cum nobis innotuerint, in paterna compassione et humilitatis affectu, consilio vestræ universitatis requisito, studebimus effectuose et misericorditer emendare, ut dum morem gerimus apostolicæ voluntati, non illam in superbia et in abusione, sed in omni mansuetudine, quæ requiratur et deceat, exequamur. Valete.

A.D. 1195. July or August. On his return he proposes to visit Christchurch, on Sept. 8, and St. Augustine's on the following Sunday.

fo. 96 r°.

He begs the convent to remedy abuses before his arrival.

CCCCXIII. Cœlestinus papa Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.

A.D. 1197. June 9.

Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, apostolicæ sedis legato, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quæ ad reprimendam dissensionis audaciam et jurgiorum materiam extirpandam, postulantur a nobis, libenter admittimus, et honestis petentium desideriis apostolicum gratius impertimus assensum. Sane cum olim inter bonæ memoriæ Baldewinum prædecessorem tuum et canonicos de Lamhee ex una parte, et dilectos filios conventum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ ex alia, super constructionem ipsius ecclesiæ de Lamhee controversia diutius fuerit agitata, per quam utraque partium grave incurrit tam in personis quam rebus dispendium et jacturam; ad omnem inter dictas ecclesias discordiam sopiendam, et auferendam dictis canonicis de Lamhee facultatem contra cathedralem ecclesiam insurgendi

The pope is always willing to help measures that tend to peace.

He has received the archbishop's request to have the disposition of the church at Lambeth.

A.D. 1197. June 9. He places that church at the archbishop's disposal, notwithstanding his letters to the bishop of Chichester and abbots of Waltham and Reading.

utriusque ecclesiæ utilitati more boni pastoris invigilans, auctoritatem tibi postulas a sede apostolica indulgeri. Nos igitur, pium intentionis tuæ propositum attendentes, ac volentes tam honestæ petitioni tuæ favorem apostolicum impertiri, disponendi de eadem ecclesia de Lamhee, dummodo canonice, ita quod ulterius contra cathedralem ecclesiam elationis supercilium non assumat, et eam interius exteriusque, prout ad te pertinet, [ordinandi,] non obstantibus litteris ad venerabilem fratrem nostrum Cicestrensem episcopum et dilectos filios de Waltham et de Radinges obtentis, liberam tibi concedimus, auctoritate præsentium, sublato contradictionis et appellationis obstaculo, facultatem. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ concessionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentaverit, indignationem Dei et beati Petri et Pauli apostolorum Ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Laterani, v. idus Junii, pontificatus nostri anno vij°.[1] No. cccxcvii.

A.D. 1197.

CCCCXIV. Omnibus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ amicis Conventus Cantuariensis.

The prior and convent send to ask the advice of their friends.

Episcopis, abbatibus, et cæteris Cantuariensis ecclesiæ amicis, Gaufridus prior et conventus salutem. Quoniam a sapientibus quærendum esse consilium sacræ nos docent monita Scripturæ, et fidem amicorum in necessitate probandam, mittimus ad vos latores præsentium, fratres nostros, pro arduis ecclesiæ nostræ negotiis, cum quanta possumus devotione omnes et singuli supplicantes, quatenus iis quæ vobis ex parte nostra dixerint, aurem et animum inclinare velitis, et tale nobis in instanti articulo præbere responsum et salubre consilium, ut quam ad nos et ecclesiam nostram geritis fidei et devotionis experiamur sinceritatem, et vos in extremo examine conscientiæ læsionem de matris vestræ dispendio formidare non debeatis. Tobit iv. 19.

CCCCXV. Hugoni Lincolniensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent inform the bishop of Lincoln that

Domino Hugoni Lincolniensi episcopo, Gaufridus prior et conventus, salutem, et gladio Spiritus Sancti semper accingi. Cum humanæ potestati fuerit indultum id effectui mancipare,

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[1] *vij°.*] iiij°., MS. The date is fixed by the letter of pope Innocent III., No. CCCCXCVIII., p. 463, below.

quod in affectu ex deliberatione concepit, tunc mentis ejus qualitatem opera declarant, nec locum habet amplius simulatio, cum cessat voluntatis reprimendæ formido. Unde pervenit ut amici fortuiti fortunæ arridenti arrideant, et cum eadem ab amicis vultum avertant, et ii soli permaneant, quos non casus sed constantia copulavit. Quoniam igitur nobis imminet fortunæ adversitas, [et] ejus comitantium aversio, immo adversatio, ad hos tamen in hoc casu recurrendum esse decrevimus quos fideles amicos sumus experti; et quia vos horum primum et præcipuum esse non ambigimus, ad vos confidentius accedimus, rogantes attentius, quatenus sinceritatem amicitiæ quam hactenus erga nos et ecclesiam nostram exercuistis, tempore revelandæ amicitiæ plenius exequi studeatis. Rogamus igitur paternitatem vestram humiliter, quatenus iis quæ fratres nostri ad vos directi vobis intimaverint, aurem et animum inclinetis, [et tale nobis in instanti articulo præbeatis responsum et salubre consilium] quale noveritis nobis et ecclesiæ nostræ ad præsens expedire, et in posterum titulis vestris laudis et discretionis debeat ascribi, Illius intuitu omnia agentes Qui in extremo examine juxta merita omnibus præmia persolvet.

A.D. 1197. they are threatened with troubles, and entreat his help as their chief friend.

CCCCXVI. Johanni[1] Wigorniensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

Domino Johann Wigorniensi episcopo, Gaufridus prior et conventus, salutem et dilectionis plenitudinem. Eximiæ virtutis est indicium nullo metu potestatis humanæ a divinæ justitiæ veritate deviare. Quod licet in paucis reperiatur, nostris tamen temporibus Sibi Dominus aliquos reservavit, qui potius elegerunt se murum opponere pro domo Israel, quam genu curvare ante Baal; quos quanto subtilius studuit dolus deprimere, tanto gloriosius eos Divina miseratio dignata est ad robur ecclesiæ Suæ sublimare. Quod in vobis impletum esse diceremus, nisi videretur adulationem redolere, quem, pro ecclesia tot passum adversa, sic ecclesia sublimavit, et ut credimus ad majora pro ecclesia sustinenda reservavit. Instat enim tempus quo fides in opera debeat produci, quia mundus in maligno positus subversioni studet religionis et ecclesiasticæ libertatis. Utque negotium de quo agimus certius specificemus, nostis quid nobis machinetur constructio ecclesiæ de Lambee. Eapropter, paternitati vestræ provoluti, rogamus attentius, quatenus auditis et cognitis iis quæ per fratres nostros vobis innotescent, quid

fo. 96 v°. The convent express their confidence in the bishop of Worcester.

Ezek. xiii. 5. Rom. xi. 4.

His friendship will soon be put to the proof on the question of Lambeth.

[1] John of Coutances, dean of Rouen, was made bishop of Worcester in 1196, consecrated 1196, Oct. 20, and died 1198, Sept. 24.

A.D. 1197. They ask advice.

nobis agendum sit insinuetis, et ecclesiæ nostræ, cujus ex voto professionis indemnitati providere tenemini, libertatem tueri non omittatis.

CCCCXVII. Alano abbati de Teokesberi Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent remind Alan of Tewkesbury of the mutual obligations of true friends, and express their confidence in him in their dangers.

Domino Alano abbati de Theokesberi, Gaufridus prior et conventus, salutem. Ad amicum verum et perfectum nulla est ad impetrandum efficacior postulatio quam ingruentis necessitatis insinuatio. Quicquid enim amicorum alteri adversitatis ingruerit, reliquus sibi reputat geminatum. Amicitia enim alternatim reciprocat affectum totum, suum judicans quicquid alteri sibi fuerit illatum. Cum igitur mentis vestræ constantiam et dilectionis sinceritatem, tam in adversis quam in prosperis, erga nos fuerimus experti, nulla penes nos residet ambiguitas, quin ad omnia gratanter sitis parati, quæ a nobis juste et honeste poterunt vobis agenda persuaderi. Noverit igitur discretio vestra, matrici ecclesiæ nostræ Cantuariensi, ex ædificatione capellæ de Lamhee, maximum imminere dispendium, cujus indemnitati providere et debetis ex dilectione, et tenemini ex voto et amore religionis. Qua de causa vobis supplicando rogamus attentius quatenus, *etc.*, *ut supra.*

CCCCXVIII. Cœlestino papæ Gaufridus prior Cantuariensis.

The prior reminds the pope of the former troubles of the church, and of his inhibition of the archbishop's chapel at Lambeth.

Cœlestino summo pontifici, Gaufridus prior Cantuariæ, debitam semper in omni humilitate subjectionem. Meminisse satis credimus paternitatis vestræ discretionem, quanta pro honore et libertate ecclesiæ nostræ et Romanæ etiam conservanda perpessi fuerimus discrimina, amissionem fratrum, et rerum temporalium usque ad inanitionem jacturam. Quid tandem remedii per gratiam vestram consecuti fuerimus, mundus fere novit universus, qualiter capella de Lamhee totius scandali materia a vobis et antecessoribus vestris fuerit inhibita et damnata. Quoniam vero hactenus a domino et patre nostro archiepiscopo sperabatur in meliores usus convertenda, ob reverentiam et mandatum sedis apostolicæ sub hac spe sustinuimus dissimulantes: sed ex institutione et ordinatione personarum ejusdem loci aliud jam intelligentes, quod solum post Deum habemus refugium, tanquam unicum protectorem et defensorem nostrum ad vos recurrimus; in contritione spiritus humiliter deprecantes, ut nuncios domini archiepiscopi pro confirmatione loci jam dicti ad vos venientes, in dispendium ecclesiæ nostræ nullatenus audiatis, sed peti-

The danger is returning, and he entreats the pope not to listen to the archbishop's messengers

tionem eorum, si placet, suspendere velitis, donec nuncios conventus certiores recipiatis, qui vobis sub communi sigillo ad præsens scribere distulerunt propter multorum insidias, in brevi, volente Domino, certiora vobis transmissuri. A.D. 1197. until he receives the letters of the convent.

CCCCXIX. Gratiano cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.

Domino Gratiano cardinali, prior Cantuariensis et conventus, salutem. Satis recolimus et mente retinemus, quam sincera fide et devotione ecclesiam nostram semper dilexeritis, quam fideliter glorioso martyri Thomæ in persecutione sua affueritis cooperator et adjutor; qui vos præ cæteris sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalibus creditur dilexisse, et in signum dilectionis eximiæ vos gratiæ filium nominavit. Eadem quoque affectione nobis membris ipsius in camino tribulationis multo tempore positis, astitistis, ita pie et constanter causam nostram foventes et agentes, ut quod sumus et speramus et vivimus vobis præ omnibus post Deum debeamus. Quia vero causa nostra in curia Romana ventilata, in protectione domini et patris nostri archiepiscopi finem videbatur sortita, et portum pacis et quietis attigisse sperabamus, hactenus siluimus, sperantes et exspectantes ad ipsius promissiones rem in meliorem statum convertendam. Nunc vero quorundam consilio in opere a curia Romana toties inhibito, et tandem damnato, persistere dicitur, in potestate multiplicata multipliciter confidens; cui licet nunquam daturi simus assensum, reclamare tamen palam pertimescimus, non tam ipsius potentia quam nostra indigentia et expensarum defectu retardati. Rogamus igitur sanctitatem vestram flexis genibus et obsecramus in Domino Jesu, quatenus quam præ oculis vestris hactenus invenit ecclesia nostra gratiam, sibi integra permaneat et perseverans, et quod in ea misericorditer incepistis, misericordius complere velitis. Hæc autem sub festinatione et secretius vobis scripsimus, quia nuncios domini archiepiscopi ad curiam in brevi venire cognovimus, ut provisione vestra et auxilio, negotia illorum differantur, donec nuncii conventus certiores advenerint. Ea enim de causa sub communi sigillo ad præsens non scribimus, quia id postmodum cum pace domini nostri, si fieri potest, id facere proposuimus, et sinistræ partis timemus insidias. Vobis autem, tanquam unico salutis nostræ refugio, hæc in aure et confessionis secreto duximus committenda, cum domino Johanne de Salerno,[1] et

The prior and convent trust in cardinal Gratian's loving remembrance of S. Thomas.

The controversy with the archbishop is about to break out again.

fo. 97 r°.

They entreat the cardinal's continued kindness, and beg him to take counsel with their friends.

[1] John of Salerno, made cardinal priest of the title of S. Stephen in Cœlio Monte, by Celestine III.

A.D. 1197. He is to keep this letter secret, unless he thinks well to show it to the pope.

domino Johanne de Sancto Paulo[1] cardinali monacho et fratre nostro, cum quorum communicato consilio, ecclesiæ nostræ quæ vestra propria est, et semper erit, intuitu Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ obtentu, honori et indemnitati providere curetis. Supplicamus etiam, ut si vestræ discretioni visum fuerit expedire, domino papæ hæc secretius ostendatis, excusatos nos habentes, quod vobis a multo tempore non scripsimus, nec ipsi papæ domino nostro saltem vel munus salutationis et gratiarum actionis ei offerentes, propter malignantium insidias, qui etiam bene gesta depravare consueverunt, et modica nacta occasione de parvis magna loquuntur. Valete.

CCCCXX. Gerardo cardinali Gaufridus prior Cantuariensis.

The prior reminds cardinal Gerard of the old quarrel.

Domino Gerardo cardinali diacono tituli Sancti Adriani, Gaufridus prior Cantuariensis, *etc.* A sanctitatis vestræ nondum elapsum credimus esse memoria, quæ et quanta dispendia passa sit ecclesia nostra, immo vestra, Cantuariensis, per controversiam inter Baldewinum quondam archiepiscopum et nos, de capella et canonia illa de Lamhee, in præjudicium ecclesiæ nostræ statuta, versatam. Quam quia successor ejus dominus archiepiscopus omnimodis consummare nititur, in loco quidem periculosiore, hactenus ad sustinendum spe vana promissorum ejus illecti, ulterius manifesta ecclesiæ nostræ, immo vestræ, ex illius operis processione imminente subversione, dissimulare non possumus, quin matris nostræ dispendio compatientes dolorem cordis singultibus proferamus, et pietati vestræ una nobiscum deflendam Cantuariensis ecclesiæ periclitationem communicemus; caritatis vestræ pedibus provoluti pronius supplicantes, quatenus intuitu Dei et beati martyris Thomæ, cujus cruor adhuc recens clamat pro immunitate Cantuariensis ecclesiæ; pro domo Israel murus stare velitis, ne ad perfectum consummationis procedat illa nefaria, et toties a curia Romana damnata et inhibita, machinatio: sed si forte apud vos inde amplius petitio vel mentio facta fuerit, sive de licentia procedendi, sive de consummatione ejus impetranda, super quo timemus jam nuncios domini Huberti archiepiscopi ad curiam directos, negotium et petitiones eorum impedire curetis, saltem donec nuncios conventus nostri, ad vos in brevi Dei gratia venturos, super hoc audiatis, et æqua lance gravamina nostra et verba can-

Archbishop Hubert is trying to finish the church of Lambeth.

He entreats him to prevent the archbishop from being heard before the messengers of the convent reach Rome.

[1] John de Sancto Paulo, a Colonna, made cardinal priest of S. Prisca, by Celestine III., and bishop of Sabina by Innocent III.

tionum suarum libretis; ita nobis et ecclesiæ nostræ in hac causa subvenire elaborantes, ut a gratiarum Distributore S. John i. 16. gratiam pro gratia, et ab hominibus gratiarum actiones, et beneficii retributionem sperare debeatis. Hæc vobis secreto committimus, donec certius res in publicum processerit. Valete. A.D. 1197. This letter is confidential.

In eundem modum aliis cardinalibus amicis ecclesiæ Cantuariensis.

CCCCXXI. Gaufrido priori et Conventui Cantuariensi, fratres Romam missi.

A.D. 1198. January.

Reverendis dominis suis et patribus, Gaufrido priori et conventui Cantuariensi, S. et N.[1] ejusdem loci monachi professi, salutem, et se pro ecclesia in exilium et mortem ire paratos. Res importuna est et erubescentiæ ignara necessitas, nec facile est in tempore tribulationis anxietatem animi intra fines debitos cohibere. Solet enim venialis esse præsumptio, quam inevitabilis periculi excusat occasio. Nec informis debet reputari actio, quam comes justitiæ et æquitatis pia comitatur intentio. Cum igitur viri sitis religiosi, zelum habentes ad honorem Dei et liberationem ecclesiæ, non vos perturbare debet noster recessus, nec talis audacia reputari excessus. Credimus enim magis expedire vobis et ecclesiæ, ut secretius recederemus, ut personalis sit persecutio, quam post publicam prohibitionem in universitatem refunderetur adversariorum indignatio. Si enim pro itineris nostri arreptione acriorem conceperint indignationem, vos immunes eritis a culpa, nos autem nihilominus negotium cum adjutorio Dei prosequemur, pro minimo reputantes corporis detrimentum, et laboris immensitatem, dummodo imminens periculum possit evadere mater nostra Cantuariensis ecclesia. Noverit igitur sanctitas vestra nos contra constructionem capellæ de Lamhee et canonicorum institutionem et ordinationem, sedem apostolicam appellasse, statum ecclesiæ nostræ, personas et possessiones universas, sub ejus ponentes protectione, ne aliquid in ejus gravamen attentetur. Cæterum pedibus sanctitatis vestræ provoluti, supplicamus attentius, quatenus insufficientiam nostram jugis et instans orationum vestrarum suppleat devotio. Valeat sanctitas vestra in Domino, et vigeat semper erga pauperes fratres vestros et proscriptos caritatis devotio.

The monks S. and Nicolas excuse themselves for leaving the convent without permission.

fo. 97 v°.

They have appealed to the pope against the construction of the church at Lambeth.

[1] Nicolas, and probably Symon. See below, No. cccl. According to Gervase (c. 1601), they left the convent after the death of pope Celestine, but before the news of that event had reached England; in January, therefore, 1198. The letter may have been written before they reached Rome. Both died in Italy before Sept. 5. See No. ccclxxx.

A.D. 1197 or 1198.

CCCCXXII. Allegatio monachorum coram papa Cœlestino.

The statement of the convent to be laid before pope Celestine.

Significant sanctitati vestræ prior et conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, quod cum illa inter omnes occidentales præfulgeret ecclesias, atque in sanguine gloriosi martyris Thomæ nuper fuisset exaltata, suadente diabolo, a Baldewino quondam archiepiscopo suo, a quo debebat ab aliorum injuriis defendi, atrociter cœpit vexari. In primis enim suæ promotionis initiis, surripiendo exenia quæ monachi semper quiete et inconcusse possederunt sibi usurpavit; hac scilicet de causa, ut dominium usurparet sibi terrarum et possessionum nostrarum, et sic eo defuncto, maneria nostra simul cum archiepiscopatu in manum domini regis devolverentur, quod esset contra dignitatem et antiqua jura, et omnia privilegia ecclesiæ nostræ a Romana ecclesia et a regibus Angliæ sibi indulta. Deinde quasdam ecclesias a suo prædecessore ad refectionem pauperum eleemosynariæ collatas, et a prædecessoribus vestris bonæ memoriæ Alexandro et Lucio confirmatas, appellationi ad sedem apostolicam interpositæ non deferens, violenter et citra juris ordinem abstulit, quas dominus archiepiscopus, qui modo nobis præest, clericis suis contulit, et contra cartas et privilegia Romanæ ecclesiæ appræbendavit. Demum, peccatis nostris exigentibus, invaluit acrius versutia inchoatæ malignitatis. Quod enim dictu miserabile, et in subversionem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, tacita veritate, ut posset capellam in honore beatorum martyrum Stephani et Thomæ construere, a sede apostolica impetravit. Quod autem in subversionem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ constructa sit, hæc videntur posse induci, operis illicita constructio, et juris antiquioris ecclesiæ diminutio, nimia scandali et seditionis occasio. Videntes igitur prior et conventus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, quod hæc et alia in destructionem tam nobilis et famosæ moliretur ecclesiæ, divino Spiritu repleti, et maxime beati Thomæ martyris vigilantia excitati, postposito timore, antequam opus prædictum inchoaretur, opus interdixerunt, ad sedem apostolicam appellantes. Sæpius appellationem renovaverunt. Prior ergo, cum quibusdam de fratribus, ad curiam Romanam iter arripiens, felicis memoriæ Urbano prædecessori vestro et dominis cardinalibus negotium diligenter et efficacissime exposuit. Summus itaque pontifex, periculum quod Cantuariensi ecclesiæ imminebat perpendens, et desolationi tam venerabilis ecclesiæ condolens, de consilio dominorum cardinalium jussit archiepiscopum a constructione novæ capellæ et institutione canonicorum desistere et penitus cessare. Ipse

Archbishop Baldwin appropriated the *xenia*;

deprived the convent of the churches belonging to the almonry;

and began a new church to the damage of Christ Church.

The prior went to Rome, and got a prohibition from pope Urban.

autem pertinacius propositum exequens, post inhibitionem domini papæ processit in opere in tantum, ut de lignea capella faceret lapideam. Interdictum est ei a domino papa iterato ne nos indebite vexaret. Ipse vero nihilominus per principem regni, tyrannidem in nos exercuit majorem; redditus enim nostros, villas, et omnes possessiones invasit; dignitates sæpedictæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ per novam illam fabricam de facili ablaturus, ut cui jam possessiones ipsas ex parte contulerat, oblationes videlicet et exenia in ædificationem, ecclesias vero in præbendas, et perpetuam possessionem. Animadvertat igitur sanctitas vestra quale fuerit principium, quis progressus, quæ utilitas structuræ illius. Nec dum lapis unus in ædificio positus erat, et jam Cantuariensis ecclesia in possessionibus et dignitatibus irrecuperabile damnum passa est. Quid ergo erit cum fuerit consummata? Vetus quidem proverbium est, quod inter dispares mores non potest esse certa amicitia vel firma concordia. Cum igitur illinc alterius professionis et sectæ viri intrusi fuerint, erit priori ecclesiæ et legitimæ illa fictitia et adulterina, lancea in latere et clavus in oculo; et stabit altare contra altare, quod divina lex penitus detestatur. Volentibus itaque singulis sua jura defendere et aliena mutilare, erit infinita materia jurgiorum, eruntque sectæ, dissensiones, et contentiones, et hujusmodi, quæ omnia operabuntur ad perditionem animarum. Avertat hoc Deus et sollicitudo vestra, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum, quia hujus operis fundatio ab initio scandalorum fuit materia, et perpetuæ discordiæ causa inter patrem et filios. Quomodo ergo possunt filii consentire operi, quod incentivum est discordiæ et materia invidiæ inter pastorem et gregem, inter patrem et filios? Ubi enim inter caput et membra non est dilectio vel gratia, quæ vel qualis erit utrarumque conscientia? Item propter hanc causam mortuus est Honorius prior noster, et quamplures de fratribus nostris in curia ista, et multi obiter: propter hanc causam spoliati sumus omnibus maneriis, redditibus, et omnibus possessionibus nostris annis duobus et dimidio, et damna pertulimus incomparabilia. Et ideo, donec damna nobis illata resarciantur, quomodo consentire possumus canoniæ per quam et propter quam tot dispendia passi sumus? Causa ista in curia Romana ventilata est: opus de consilio dominorum cardinalium ab Urbano et Clemente prædecessoribus vestris damnatum; clerici a juramento Baldewino præstito absoluti; locus profanatus; institutio canonicorum tam apud Lamhee quam apud Hakentune damnata, et ne procederet sæpius ab Urbano et Clemente prædecessoribus vestris inhibita; et hæc omnia in registro vestro continentur. Et nihilominus, quod dolentes dicimus, venerabilis pater noster Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in opere prædicto,

A.D. 1197-8. The archbishop persevered in spite of it.

The new church is useless and utterly ruinous to us.

Num. xxxiii. 55.

2 Cor. xi. 23.

It would be a source of constant scandals and quarrels.

fo. 98 r°.

We have suffered very much already on account of it, and hoped that we had succeeded.

A.D. 1197-8. But now archbishop Hubert is trying to complete the plan, and has made a dean, provost, and 40 canons.

quod auctoritate apostolica de consilio omnium cardinalium damnatum est, contra appellationem etiam sæpius innovatam, in tantum processit, quod locus ille jam factus est, vel in proximo fiet, totius Anglicanæ ecclesiæ caput, et contra sedis apostolicæ dignitatem, si fas est dicere, inexpugnabile castrum. Provideat igitur sanctitas vestra, intuitu Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ, Cantuariensi ecclesiæ, caveat et Romanæ, ne ejus auctoritas alicujus occasione minuatur. In tantum enim jam opus processit, quod ibi ordinatur decanus, præpositus et plusquam quadraginta canonici, de bonis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ fundati, genere nobiles, divitiis affluentes, cognati regum et pontificum. Quidam ipsi regi adhærent, quidam fisci negotia administrantes, familiares episcopis et eisdem confœderati. Adversus tantos et tales, quid poterit ecclesia Cantuariensis? Certe timendum est non solum Cantuariensi ecclesiæ, sed, quod Deus avertat, ne hujus rei occasione sedis apostolicæ auctoritati in partibus Anglicanis derogetur. Cum enim fundaretur canonia illa, vox erat omnium, sententia singulorum, ut ibi essent episcopi quasi cardinales, archiepiscopus sederet quasi papa, et ibi omnis appellatio subsisteret et querela. Hoc quidem rex Henricus machinabatur; approbant quam plures episcopi; hac de causa, ut dictum est, ut possent de sub jugo sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ colla excutere.

The bishops will be canons and cardinals, and the archbishop will be a pope.

CCCCXXIII. Domino Petro[1] Cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.

The prior and convent urge on cardinal Peter the guilt of those who are contumacious against the Roman church.

Petro cardinali tituli Sanctæ Cæciliæ trans Tyberim, Gaufridus prior et conventus Cantuariensis, salutem et debitæ devotionis affectum et obsequium. Sacrosancta Romana ecclesia, ex sua fide et justitia aliorum perpendens conscientiam, quicquid in præjudicium juris admittitur, non dolo et malitia, sed juris reputat ignorantia perpetratum, facilique suasione posse deleri, quod ex sola simplicitate creditur introduci. Verum quia, ut dicitur, impunitas delicti parit audaciam delinquendi, occidentalis ecclesia sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ sustinentia abutens, insolenter sed non insolite, voluntatem suam qualemcunque, tacita quandoque rei existentia, auctoritate sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ gavisa est ad effectum perduci. Sunt enim nonnulli in finibus Britanniæ tanta eloquentiæ facundia levigati, ut quicquid in voluntate agendum

[1] Peter of Piacenza, made cardinal deacon of the title of S. Nicolas in Carcere Tulliano, by Lucius III. in 1183; and cardinal priest of S. Cecilia by Clement III. in 1188.

conceperint, nullo justitiæ vigore, quominus optatum sortiatur effectum, timeant posse præpediri: quod tanto securius audemus asserere, quanto id frequentius experimento didicimus non fallere. Et quia quicquid usquam locorum justitiæ derogatur, in injuriam sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, ubi summa viget justitia, noscitur redundare, ad injuriæ nostræ, immo et vestræ, correctionem vos non veretur invitare. Noverit igitur sanctitas vestra, dominum nostrum et patrem Hubertum archiepiscopum in ædificationem capellæ et canoniæ de Lamhee, quondam apud Hakentune inchoatæ, sed et hic et ibi a curia Romana damnatæ, tam ardenter insistere, ut in ea, appellatione nostra ad Romanam curiam facta non impediente, personas, dignitates, et officia clericorum ordinaverit. Quod, quia totum in præjudicium Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, et contemptum sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ actum est, dissimulare non possumus. Quapropter vestræ supplicamus sanctitati, rogantes attentius, quatenus antiquæ dilectionis sinceritatem et justitiæ integritatem erga nos ad præsens velitis exercere, in tantum ut, si qua facta fuerit apud vos petitio de prædicta canonia confirmanda, quia in nostræ ecclesiæ sed et totius justitiæ dispendium statuta est, impedire ne confirmetur studeatis, donec per fratres ad vos in brevi, Deo donante, dirigendos, in hujus existentia plenius innotescat.

A.D. 1197-8.
An injury done to her is done against the highest justice.

Archbishop Hubert is proceeding with his work at Lambeth in spite of an appeal, and in contempt of the Roman court.

fo. 98 v°.

CCCCXXIV. Savarico Bathoniensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

Savarico Bathoniensi episcopo, conventus Cantuariensis, salutem. Adversitas, animorum examinatrix, ad eos in angustia suadet recurrendum, quibus virtus famam comparavit, et operum exhibitio in amicitiæ fœdere copulavit. Quorum utrumque quia in vobis cæteris planius novimus abundare, confidentius vos ad necessitatis nostræ levamen præsumimus sollicitare. Meminisse siquidem debet vestra prudentia quam sincero affectu piæ memoriæ R.[1] avunculum vestrum amplexi fuerimus, quod difficillima, ac si essent facilia, ejus nos aggredi fecerit dilectio; quod etiam inter ipsum et nos mutuæ dilectionis sinceritatem nunquam nubes aliqua fictionis obtenebraverit. Et quia ei consimilem nobis vos semper exhibuistis, noveritis eundem in nobis erga vos quem prius erga ipsum affectum vigere, etsi id effectu manifestandi non dum se tempus obtulerit. Noverit igitur sanctitas vestra dominum nostrum et patrem Hubertum archiepiscopum, *etc.; ut supra.*

The convent trust in the friendship of bishop Savaric, and beg him to remember their affection for his uncle.

[1] *R.*] Possibly Ralph Fitz-Savaric. Or allowing for a loose use of *avunculus*, it may refer to Reginald Fitz-Jocelin. See the account of Savaric in the Introduction.

A.D. 1197. November.

CCCCXXV. Conventus Cantuariensis Ricardo Londoniensi episcopo.

The convent appeal to the bishop of London as the first suffragan,

Gaufridus prior et conventus Cantuariensis, Ricardo Londoniensi episcopo, salutem. De sinceritate et affectu dilectionis vestræ erga matrem vestram Cantuariensem ecclesiam tanto amplius præsumimus, quanto vos ipsius columnam præcipuam, et inter alias pretiosiorem esse novimus, et in necessitatibus suis sæpius experti sumus. Quia igitur mater nostra in arcto est, et circumquaque vallata angustiis, in tribulatione quæ circumdedit eam, dignum duxit ad filium recurrere, de quo non dubitat, si in oculis ejus gratiam invenerit, solatia diu desiderata reportare. Sane de capella de Lamhee, sicut credimus, dominus archiepiscopus consilium vestrum statuit requirendum, si debeat, scilicet, opus illud procedere, an juxta mandatum apostolicum funditus corruere, quia periculo et subversione matris nostræ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ noscitur imminere. Unde, quia in manibus vestris est et mors et vita matris vestræ, rogamus et per Ipsum obtestamur Cui omnes in extremo examine reddituri sumus villicationis nostræ rationem, quatenus et Dei timore præhabito, et temporum futurorum multiplici, quod imminet, ponderato periculo, consilia matri vestræ adversantia consilio vestro dissolvatis, materiamque doloris et desolationis ejus tollatis de medio, ne sanguinem ejus requirat Dominus de manu vestra, sed magis propter deliberationem ejus memoria vestra perseveret in benedictione perpetua. Valete.

to advise the archbishop justly in regard of the church of Lambeth.

S. Luke xvi. 2.

CCCCXXVI. Conventus Cantuariensis Eustachio [1] Eliensi electo.

The convent regret that the elect of Ely is not to be consecrated at Canterbury.

Eustachio Eliensi electo, conventus Cantuariensis. Quanto personam vestram propensiori caritate diligimus, et Cantuariensis ecclesiæ columnam fortiorem futuram speramus et credimus, tanto de vobis magis præsumimus et de vestris gaudemus successibus. Sane consecrationem vestram in gremio matris vestræ fieri diu desideravimus, non minus quidem dilectionis intuitu ad vos habitæ, quam respectu dignitatis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ ampliandæ. Verumtamen consecrationem quam nobis

[1] Eustace, dean of Salisbury, elected bishop of Ely 1197, Aug. 10; confirmed 1198, March 1, and consecrated in S. Catherine's chapel, the infirmary of Westminster Abbey, 1198, March 8; died 1215. *Anglia Sacra*, i. 633.

subtraxit occasio temporis et necessitatis, prosequi non cessabimus precum instantia et studio dispositionis, ut saltem aliquatenus eo vota nostra possint accedere, quo præsentia corporalis ad præsens non potest pervenire. Cæterum serenitati vestræ omnes et singuli supplicamus et obsecramus in Domino Jesu, quatenus matris vestræ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ dolores et desolationes attendentes, ad demoliendam tot malorum et mœrorum materiam, ubi videritis expedire, consilium et auxilium efficaciter impendatis, et ut mater vestra, quam Dominus vexationibus concuti sustinet in præsenti ad eruditionem, in filio suo consolationem quam speravit, recipiat, et Ille Qui matrem mandavit honorari, non tantum pro honore sibi exhibito quam impediendo honoris ejus periculo, gratiam Suam adaugeat, et in discussione novissima, ubi opera illorum sequuntur eos, dignam pro labore mercedem retribuat.

A.D. 1197. November. They will be with him in prayer; and entreat him to advise the archbishop to destroy the church of Lambeth.

Rev. xiv. 13

CCCCXXVII. Conventus Cantuariensis cuidam amico.

November.

Conventus Cantuariensis, cuidam amico, salutem, et sine vicissitudine temporum immutabile caritatis fœdus perpetuum. Sicut ex medicorum absentia frequenter periclitantur infirmi, ita ex amicorum subtracto consilio deficiunt desolati. Quod utique non incongrue de nobis ipsi dixerimus, quibus etsi multi sunt verbotenus amici, pauci admodum sunt in veritate negotii, qui vel vices nostras doleant, vel in tempore tribulationis subveniant. Verumtamen quia juxta verba sapientis, qui ait, "Unus sit tibi consiliarius e mille," vos estis quem amicum unicum, et in adversitate singulare et cæteris salubrius invenimus refugium, exsurgente quæ non cessavit, licet diu duraverit, tempestatis procella, ad portum serenitatis vestræ quo sæpius applicuimus, duximus recurrendum. Sane domino archiepiscopo nuper apud nos constituto, et verbo de Lambee quæ utinam nunquam fuisset, nobiscum habito, tandem precibus et lacrymis ex dolore defluentibus eousque deductus est, quod se dixit magnatum et maxime religiosorum [consilium] velle requirere, aut de securitatibus præstandis aut de demolitione operis. Quia igitur nulla securitas posset sufficere futuris temporibus, absque operis demolitione, et illa sola sufficeret si præstante Domino et amicorum consilio proveniret, rogamus et obtestamur in Domino, quatenus languenti et laboranti subveniatis ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, ut machina quæ ad diruendam eam erecta est, priusquam eam destruat, Ipso Spiritu consilii habitantis in vobis destruatur, eique velitis, aliis vacillantibus, manum consolationis extendere, quæ quantum de vobis audeat præsumere verbis non audet explanare.

The convent express their confidence in their friend.

fo. 99 r°.

Ecclus. vi. 6

The archbishop has visited Canterbury, and promised to ask the advice of the nobles and prelates about the church at Lambeth.

A.D. 1197. November. They beg their friend to watch over them.

Liberationi igitur ejus, si placet, sollicite velitis invigilare, considerantes quot et quantis senescente tempore in vespere dierum subjacebit miseriis, quæ jam surgente aurora talibus exposita est periculis.

November. CCCCXXVIII. CONVENTUS CANTUARIENSIS ABBATI DE WALTHAM.

The convent have confidence in the abbot of Waltham.

Valterio abbati de Waltham, conventus Cantuariensis, salutem et orationum munera. Omni tempore diligit qui amicus est, et in angustiis comprobatur. Rebus enim currentibus prosperis magis ipsæ quandoque quam personæ diliguntur; adversis vero prementibus, cum non sit gloria quæ capiat, captiosa dilectio fore non potest. Inde est quod ad vestræ dilectionis examen angustiæ nostræ casum indubitanter inferimus, notum vobis facientes, quod cum coram reverendo patre nostro et domino Huberto super constructione capellæ, in capitulo nostro sermo fuisset exortus,[1] et a nobis diligenter certa pericula quæ inde ecclesiam nostram erant oppressura fuissent exposita, in eum finem quæstio devenit, ut ad viros sapientes et discretos causa referatur, et juxta eorum consilium in Domino lis et contentio finem sortiatur. Quia igitur vestra excellens prudentia et prudens excellentia super hac quæstione consulenda est, fidem et dilectionem vestram omnes et singuli ad vestræ benignitatis genua provoluti, quanta possumus affectione deposcimus, quatenus ad honorem Dei, et pietatem matris vestræ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, et gratiam beati Thomæ martyris, cui et vobis donatum est quandoque adhæsisse, consilium vestrum honorem matris vestræ, id est, ecclesiæ nostræ et vestræ, conservet illæsum. Non enim ibi caro tantum sed et spiritus significatur, ubi lex dicit, "Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, ut sis longævus "super terram." Valete in Domino.

Prov. xvii. 17.

The archbishop has visited them, and promised to take the opinions of the wise on the subject of the new church.

They pray the abbot to honour his spiritual mother.

Exod. xx. 12.

[1] The date of the archbishop's visit to Canterbury, referred to in this and the preceding letter, is not certain. He came from Normandy on the 3rd of November 1197, and the abbots who were to be sent through England to ask the opinions of the prelates, visited Canterbury before starting on their errand, on the 16th of November.—*Gervase*, 1598.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CCCCXXIX. Innocentius papa electus omnibus prælatis in Anglia et in Scocia.

A.D. 1198. January 9.

The pope elect reminds the abbots and priors of England and Scotland, that the Divine wisdom sometimes prefers the younger before the elder, in the bestowal of power.

Innocentius apostolicæ sedis electus episcopus, dilectis filiis universis, abbatibus, prioribus, et aliis religiosis per Angliam et Scotiam constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ineffabilis sapientia Deitatis sic omnia, quæ alto consilio simul ab æterno prævidit, per labentium temporum vires mirabili quadam dispositione dispensat, ut nec error in ordine nec in opere sit defectus, cum, divina scriptura testante, cuncta fecerit
Wisd. xi. 21. in numero, pondere, ac mensura. Licet ergo nihil in terra sine certa causa et propria ratione dispensat, imperfectum tamen conditionis humanæ non solum in causis operum deficit perscrutandis, verum etiam in ipsis causarum operibus vix sufficit admirari. Quod utique considerans apostolus exclamabat, "O altitudo divitiarum sapientiæ et scientiæ Dei,
" quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia Ejus, et investigabiles
Rom. xi. 33. " viæ Ejus." Quamvis enim universæ viæ Domini miseri-
Ps. xxv. 9. cordia et veritas, et omnia opera Ejus judicia sint, testante
Deut. xxxii. 4. propheta, usque adeo tamen successus hominum, humiliationem, et exaltationem eorum dextera Domini, licet justa, occulta tamen ratione, procurat, ut causa nobis non modici stuporis existat, quod in regimine potestatis juniores quandoque seni-
Ps. xlv. 17. oribus anteponit: ut juxta prophetam, filii nascantur pro patribus, qui super omnem terram principes constituti Dominici nominis recordentur, sicut de nobis ipsis a Domino
Ps. cxviii. 23. factum est, et est mirabile in oculis nostris. Sane felicis memoriæ Cœlestino, patre ac prædecessore nostro, vi. idus

[1] This letter is printed among the Epistles of Innocent III., ed. Baluz. Paris, 1682, lib. i. ep. i. Hoveden, 442, &c. &c. Innocent III. (Lothario dei Conti di Segni) was elected pope on the 8th of January 1198, and consecrated on the 22nd of February.

A.D. 1198. January 9. Pope Celestine is dead and buried and he is elected to succeedhim. fo. 99 vo.

Januarii viam universæ carnis ingresso, et in Lateranensi basilica, sicut moris est, honorifice tumulato; fratres nostri, videlicet, episcopi, presbyteri, et diaconi cardinales et nos ipsi simul cum eis in unum secessimus, ut tanto licentius et tutius de substitutione pontificis tractaremus, quanto tractatus ipse majorem deliberandi copiam et amplioris circumspectionis consilium requirebat. Cumque, missarum solemnibus in honore Sancti Spiritus celebratis, requisitæ fuissent omnium voluntates, ad insufficientiam nostram oculos extenderunt, humano forsan æstimantes arbitrio in sacculo Benjamin scyphum argenteum invenire; licet plures ex ipsis ætatis, ordinis, et meriti ratione potuissent ad tantæ dignitatis apicem dignius evocari. Cujus siquidem dignitatis onus cum insufficientia nostra penitus recusaret, utpote nostris debilibus humeris importabile, sub Illius tamen confidentia et exemplo, Qui infirmitatem beati Petri trina prius negatione comprobatam, post trinæ confessionis vocem in gubernatione suarum ovium confirmavit; quod personæ nostræ multiplex imperfectio denegabat, in Ipsius contulimus voluntatem, fratrum nostrorum adquiescentes instantiæ, ne reluctatio diuturna discidii pareret detrimentum, aut dispositioni divinæ videretur aliquatenus obviare: sperantes quod Ille Qui dat omnibus affluenter et non improperat, Qui novissimum fratrum, virum utique secundum cor Suum, in regem de post fœtantes accepit, de lapidibus suscitabit filium Abrahæ, vocans ea quæ non sunt tanquam ea quæ sunt, ut infirma eligens fortia quæque confundat. Nos[1] igitur ecclesiasticæ provisionis sollicitudinem assumentes, ac considerantes nos ex propria infirmitate deficere, nisi suffragiis vestris et piis precibus apud Dominum adjuvemur, universitatem vestram monemus et exhortamur in Domino, quatenus apud Eum a Quo speramus dirigi gressus nostros, assiduis orationibus vestris instetis, ut nos ad laudem nominis Sui et ecclesiæ incrementum, commissam nobis sollicitudinem taliter implere concedat, ut et nos exinde retributionis æternæ præmium mereamur, et populus nostræ gubernationi commissus in lege mandatorum Ejus per nos verbo proficiat et exemplo. Nos enim vos, tanquam speciales ecclesiæ filios, per quos nomen Domini dignius[2] et excellentius prædicatur, tanto amplius in vestris intendimus necessitatibus adjuvare, quanto in majorem ecclesiæ redundaret injuriam, si jura vestra quorumlibet pateretur violentia occupari. Datum Laterani, v. idus Januarii.

Gen. xliv. 2.

He accepted the election with much diffidence, trusting in help from above.

S. James i. 5. 1 Sam. xiii. 14. Ps. lxxviii. 72. S. Matt. iii. 9. Rom. iv. 17. 1 Cor. i. 27.

He asks the prayers of the abbots and priors.

[1] The copy of this letter in Hoveden, which is addressed to the archbishops and bishops, has a different ending.

[2] *dignius*] dirigimus, MS.

CCCCXXX. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1198. February.

The convent congratulate themselves on the succession of pope Innocent III.

Innocentio papæ conventus Cantuariensis. Acceptis nuper rumoribus, et postea litteris inspectis, quas de promotione vestra in Angliam direxistis, exultavimus et delectati sumus.
Ps. cxxvi. 2. Impletum est enim gaudio os nostrum, et lingua nostra exultatione, erumpens in illud prophetæ exultantis et dicentis, "Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, quia visitavit et fecit "redemptionem plebis Suæ, erigens nobis cornu salutis in
S. Luke i. 68. "domo David pueri Sui." Cum enim de promotione vestra gavisa sit, sicut credimus, universalis ecclesia, scimus utique et certi sumus quod Cantuariensis, licet adhuc lacrymæ ejus in
Lam. i. 2. maxillis ejus, tanto cæteris exultavit uberius, quanto per vos a tribulatione quæ circumdedit eam, sperat et expectat liberari maturius. Ex fama enim hilari et fragrantia odoris nominis vestri et opinionis semper suave olentis, spem et fiduciam concepit suæ consolationis, credens pro certo Eum Qui in
Ps. cxxi. 4. custodiendo Israel non dormit neque dormitat, vos usque ad hoc tempus sublimandum reservasse et reservatum sublimasse, ut in spiritu Danielis, qui malentem in manus hominum incidere quam legem Dei sui derelinquere, in arcto et angustiis positam liberavit Susannam, pro lege Dei sui decertantem Cantuariensem liberetis ecclesiam. Non enim dubitamus quod ad relevationem pauperum et innocentum Ipse præ consortibus
Ps. xlv. 8. suis elegit, unxit et erexit Innocentium, Cui innocentes et recti, dum pauper peregrinaretur in terra, adhæserunt, et cum sederit cum senatoribus terræ firmius, quia sine fine, adhærebunt.

They remind him of the decision of popes Urban, Clement, and Celestine on the Lambeth church.

Sane causam Cantuariensis ecclesiæ super novella plantatione de Lamhee, quam propter scandali et jugem jurgiorum materiam Romana ecclesia penitus eradicandam decrevit, paternitatem vestram non credimus ignorare, præsertim cum temporibus trium pontificum, piæ recordationis Urbani et Clementis et Cœlestini in curia Romana, et priore et fratribus nostris ibidem stantibus, et pro eadem etiam occumbentibus, diu et multum versata et ventilata sit, et de communi fratrum consilio demum determinata. Ad cujus etiam executionem missi sunt, primo magister Radulfus, ecclesiæ Romanæ cardinalis, et postea Johannes Anagninus, cujus rescriptum adhuc apud nos est,
No. cccxxxvi. perhibens testimonium veritati in iis quæ præsens vidit et audivit.

The mission of John of Anagni.

Quia igitur, pater venerande, nondum adimpletum est mandatum apostolicum, immo magis post prohibitionem in opere processum, ad sinum matris omnium, quæ nos specialiter in Christo genuit et regeneravit, duximus recurrendum, et item de novo nostras in ejus auribus deplorare miserias. fo. 100 r°.
Sanctitati igitur vestræ omnes et singuli supplicamus, quatenus

A.D. 1198. February. They entreat him to protect them.

intuitu Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ, qui pro causa ecclesiæ in ecclesia sua constanter occubuit, oculo misericordiæ et pietatis laborantem ecclesiam respiciatis et relevetis, fratresque nostros et monachos Cantuarienses, qui pro zelo domus Domini, ad unicum oppressorum confugiunt refugium, sinum scilicet apostolicum, pie, si placet, velitis admittere, et in negotiis ecclesiæ suæ benigne audire. Vitam vestram et incolumitatem conservet Dominus.

February or March

CCCCXXXI. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.[1]

The convent have recourse to the church of Rome, in their returning troubles.

Innocentio summo pontifici conventus Cantuariensis. Consuetudinis est ad medicum ægros, ad patrem filios, ad ecclesiam Romanam properare oppressos. Hinc est quod vulnerum nostrorum cicatrices veteres de novo recrudescere sentientes, dignum duximus ad sinum matris nostræ, quæ nos in Christo genuit et regeneravit, Romanam scilicet ecclesiam, recurrere, et calamitates nostras in ejus auribus deplorare. Sane cum pro justitia et obedientia Romanæ ecclesiæ semper exhibita, damna et desolationes innumeras Cantuariensis sustinuisset ecclesia, placuit tandem sedi apostolicæ procellam ejus in auram convertere, et de consilio fratrum fracturas ejus consolidando, causam et calamitates terminare. Unde piæ recordationis Urbanus et postea Clemens de communi fratrum consilio decreverunt, capellam illam quam Baldewinus, quondam archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, in damnum et depressionem ecclesiæ Cantuariensis erexerat, debere dirui, et canonicorum institutionem in eo factam in irritum penitus revocari. Capella siquidem, quæ Cantuariæ fundata fuerat, funditus eversa est de mandato apostolico, sed canonici in fraudem mandati, post prohibitionem etiam summi pontificis, apud Lamhee sunt congregati. Quod cum sanctæ recordationis papæ Cœlestino innotuisset, prædecessorum suorum Urbani et Clementis adhærens vestigiis, missis statim litteris Cicestrensi episcopo et de Rading et de Waltham abbatibus, ad instar priorum opus mandavit dirui, et canonicorum institutionem inibi factam in irritum revocari; adjiciens etiam ut eos a juramento de observatione illius Baldewino archiepiscopo quondam præstito denunciarent absolutos. Verumtamen potestate quorundam contraria prohibiti sunt progredi in negotio et mandato parere apostolico. Cum autem hoc ipsum parati essemus matri nostræ Romanæ renunciare ecclesiæ, dominus Hubertus pater noster ad Cantuariensem ecclesiam regendam assumptus est. Qui, quoniam

Urban and Clement decreed the destruction of archbishop Baldwin's church at Canterbury: the canons of that church were removed to Lambeth and condemned by pope Celestine.

No. cccxcvii.

[1] This letter was delivered to the pope April 17. See below, No. ccccxxxiii.

cum de opere illo quoties cum eo loqueremur, faciem hilarem prætendere, spem certam demoliendi operis videbatur tam per se quam per suos pollicere, siluimus et sustinuimus et eousque sperantes expectavimus, donec oculata fide intuentes quæ fierent, a spe penitus decideremus. Dominus siquidem et pater noster Cantuariensis, quod nos non solum sed et fere universi qui hoc audiunt plerumque admirantur, licentiam procedendi in opere quod a sede apostolica damnatum est, ab eadem se dicit impetrasse. Et quia exinde dubium non est, maxima et certa Cantuariensi ecclesiæ imminere pericula, securitates quasdam quibus ei caveatur in posterum, in præsenti se dicit provisurum. Nos vero, qui ob causam istam tot et tanta passi sumus et adhuc patimur, ex præteritis pariter et præsentibus futura metientes, non immerito imminentia formidamus pericula. Quorum omnium sicut multitudinem numerare non sufficimus, ita nec magnitudinem prævidere valemus, sed nec curia Romana, sicut credimus, de qua absit ut aliquatenus æstimet, quod ea quæ de communi fratrum consilio statuit, et cum tanta deliberatione tempore trium pontificum tam solemniter sanxivit, ita subito et sinistre immutet vel immutari permittat, cum id utique nec honori ejus congrueret nec honestati expediret. Eapropter, pater reverende, sanctitatis vestræ pedibus omnes et singuli obvoluti, rogamus et obsecramus in Domino Jesu, quatenus oculo misericordiæ Cantuariensem respiciatis ecclesiam, et intuitu Dei et martyris pro ea et in ea occumbentis, et adhuc in carne quiescentis, sententiam quam pro ea tulerunt prædecessores vestri Urbanus, Clemens et Cœlestinus, auctoritate vestra corroboretis, fratresque nostros præsentium latores, quos ad pedes sanctitatis vestræ dirigimus, benigne, si placet, velitis admittere, et iis quæ vobis ex parte nostra proposuerint fidem indubitanter habere.

A.D. 1198. February or March. Archbishop Hubert promised well at first, but is now said to have got licence from Rome to proceed in the institution.

Great evils will follow if the apostolic determination be contemned.

CCCCXXXII. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis. March.

Innocentio summo pontifici conventus Cantuariensis. Licet multa hactenus ob honorem et reverentiam domini et patris nostri sustinuerimus, et quasi nescientes dissimulaverimus, quia tamen aliquid in injuriam sedis apostolicæ absque juris ordine nuper videtur egisse, quod quidem inviti dicimus et coacti, id silere nec possumus nec debemus, sed vestris in auribus humiliter duximus suggerendum, cui subest, cooperante gratia et velle et posse, ea quæ secus aguntur ad viam rectitudinis revocare. Noverit itaque sanctitas vestra, quod audito fratrum nostrorum recessu, qui in præsentia vestra assistunt, Cantuariam accedens in capitulo nostro palam

The convent cannot be silent when an insult is offered to the apostolic see.

fo. 100 v°.

A.D. 1198. March. The archbishop has visited Canterbury and excommunicated the two brethren who had gone to Rome.

in eos sententiam dedit; nobis licet modeste reclamantibus, et id nec de jure aut consuetudine ecclesiæ nostræ vel secundum beati Benedicti regulam fieri debere protestantibus, litteris quoque prædictorum fratrum de exitu eorum rationabili et appellatione ad vos facta in præsentia ipsius nihilominus lectis No. ccccxxi. et auditis. Processu etiam temporis coram priore nostro et quibusdam de fratribus, eandem itcravit, adjiciens quod non solum illos, sed et omnes qui eam non observandam crederent pro excommunicatis haberet. Hæc igitur patris nostri pudenda non sine verecundia retegentes, pedibus vestris omnes et singuli provoluti supplicamus, quatenus et eorum indemnitati prospicere et nobis paterna sollicitudine in hoc providere curetis.

After April 17.

CCCCXXXIII. Gaufrido priori Cantuariensi S. et N. monachi ejusdem loci.

Brothers S. and N. are happy to inform the convent that their letter to the pope was delivered on the 17th of April, at the very moment he was engaged in the discussion of their case with the cardinals.

Gaufrido priori Cantuariensi, S. et N. monachi et ejusdem loci professi, maturæ spem consolationis in Domino et lætitiæ uberioris. Naufragium enatantibus vice solatii est procellas amicis intimare auribus, ut saltem compatiantur in aliquo et congratulentur fluctibus elapso. Verumtamen cum non ignoret vestræ prudentia discretionis, quod non sine magnis et tribulationibus variis, periculis multis, sollicitudinibus multimodis, sumptibus onerosis, iter quod sana conscientia, licet minus circumspecta, pro matre nostra arripuimus, et tam arduum negotium consummari non potuit; supersedendum duximus ea ad præsens vobis intimare, desiderantes potius vos fieri participes communis tranquillitatis, et congratulationis, vel alicujus molestiæ vel perturbationis. Die enim proxima Veneris ante festum beati Aelphegi martyris, illuxit nobis, immo et vobis, Sol justitiæ et aspiratæ serenitatis, amovens angustias nostri cordis et lacrymas ab oculis nostris. Nam illa die et eadem hora, cum dominus papa una cum cardinalibus tractaret diligenter, prudenter, ut vir miræ subtilitatis, ingenii perspicui, et litteraturæ plenissimæ, de negotio ecclesiæ nostræ, advenerunt nuncii vestri cum litteris quas domino No. ccccxx i. papæ misistis, quæ statim porrectæ sunt et lectæ coram cardinalibus, priusquam diffinisset de sententia demolitionis canoniæ et operis de Lamhee. Quod etiam a multis ibidem præsentibus acceptum est pro miraculo, quod oblatæ fuerunt tempore tam opportuno. Postea vero modicum subsecuta est a domino papa ratihabitio sententiæ prædecessorum suorum, juxta tenorem litterarum ipsorum, super demolitione canoniæ et operis de Lamhee, et indubitabilis de assensu omnium

He has ratified the sentence of his predecessors.

cardinalium promissa et plene concessa est a summo pontifice super omnibus confirmatio. Traditis itaque et præceptis a domino papa petitionibus nostris notariis, lætati sumus, exultavimus in Domino, gratias agentes Deo et meritis sanctorum et orationibus vestris et Dei aliorum fidelium, pro his quæ voluit Deus fieri servis Suis. Confortamini igitur in Domino et in potentia virtutis Ejus, et, si placet, non moveamini erga nos quod non misimus vobis transcriptum notarum quæ nondum erant ad plenum formatæ, nec, ut moris est, in præsentia domini papæ recitatæ. Nam satis novimus quod animo desideranti citra sufficientiam sit etiam ipsa celeritas, ut cui mora videtur omnis festinatio. Cogebat enim causa contenta in litteris vobis et sacro conventui a nobis directis, ut instantius ad vos festinus reverteretur nuncius. Speramus enim et fideliter promittimus quod miseratione Divina, sicut per dominum papam et per cardinalem accepimus, in brevi reportabitur ad vos pro majori parte quod diu et fatigabili expectatione vestrum sollicite sitivit desiderium, et quo abundantius quam speratis vester exultabit in Domino spiritus. Valete.

A.D. 1198. After April 17.

Eph. vi. 10.

This letter is sent in haste before the publication of the papal sentence.

CCCCXXXIV. Innocentius papa Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.[1]

April 24.

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quanto personam tuam sinceriori caritate diligimus, tanto majori dolore turbamur quoties ea de tuis audimus operibus, quæ pontificali derogant honestati. Cum enim Cantuariensis ecclesia, cui præesse dinosceris, inter Anglicanas ecclesias celebris habeatur, et religione inter alias consueverit florere, nos et fratres nostri grave gerimus et molestum quod, sicut dilecti filii nostri prior et conventus humili nobis conquestione monstraverunt, tu ad ipsius desolationem ecclesiæ satagis multipliciter et laboras in constructione novæ capellæ de Lamhee, contra prohibitiones felicis memoriæ Urbani et Clementis, Romanorum pontificum, bonæ memoriæ Baldewino prædecessori tuo factas, post appellationes multiplices ad sedem apostolicam interpositas, in magnum Cantuariensis

The pope is grieved to hear that the archbishop is reviving the new chapel at Lambeth, condemned by the Holy See.

fo. 101 r°.

[1] Gervase, 1602. This letter was brought to the archbishop at Lambeth on the 7th of June, but owing to his refusal to receive the bearers, was not delivered until the 9th. This letter occurs in the Epistles of Innocent III., ed. Baluz. lib. i. ep. 111.

A.D. 1198. April 24.

ecclesiæ præjudicium, propria temeritate processeris, et de bonis ejusdem ecclesiæ canonicos instituens in eadem. A cujus siquidem constructione, si eam quam debes Romanæ ecclesiæ reverentiam et obedientiam exhiberes, et commissæ tibi ecclesiæ provisionem et sollicitudinem gereres quam teneris, tibi et honori tuo utilius consulens, penitus destitisses; et nec super eo procedere studuisses, quod prædecessori tuo sic districte cognosceres fuisse a sede apostolica interdictum. Cum igitur diminutionem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, sicut [nec] debemus, nolumus aliquatenus sustinere, prædictorum prædecessorum nostrorum vestigiis inhærentes, de fratrum nostrorum consilio, fraternitati tuæ per apostolica scripta mandamus et districte præcipimus, quatenus omni mora et occasione postpositis, si etiam ab ecclesia tua absens fueris aliquatenus non obstante, quicquid post appellationes, tam tempore prædecessoris tui quam tuo, ad sedem apostolicam interpositas, vel inhibitiones antecessorum nostrorum, in opere actum capellæ noscitur memoratæ, infra triginta dies post susceptionem præsentium tuis expensis non differas demoliri, in irritum prorsus revocans et deducens quicquid de instituendis canonicis et aliis circa capellam perperam factum est vel enormiter innovatum. Clericos præterea, qui in capella ipsa post inhibitiones apostolicas divina officia celebraverunt, tamdiu ab officio et beneficio teneas pro suspensis, donec super hoc satisfecerint competenter; universis operibus demolitis quæ apud eandem capellam facere præsumpserunt: et universa quæ post appellationem in eorum sunt attentata gravamen, exeniorum videlicet, et aliorum invasione quæ ante appellationem habuerunt, in statum pristinum, appellatione remota, reducas. Sententias excommunicationis vel interdicti, quas in quosdam ipsorum fratrum temere diceris promulgasse, publice nuncies non tenere, ac de cætero circa statum ipsius monasterii prohibitionem nostram, hujus occasione mandati, non præsumas aliquid innovare; illicitos invasores villarum, possessionum, reddituum ipsorum fratrum, usque ad satisfactionem idoneam vinculo excommunicationis astringens. Si vero, quod non credimus, mandatum nostrum infra statutum terminum neglexeris vel distuleris adimplere, quia justum est ut ei obedientia subtrahatur, qui sedi apostolicæ negligit obedire, venerabilibus fratribus nostris suffraganeis tuis per scripta nostra mandavimus, ut tibi obedientiam et reverentiam non impendant. Quod si forte ab eis vel eorum aliquo contra prohibitionem nostram tibi feceris aliquam obedientiam et reverentiam exhiberi, scias te extunc ab episcopali dignitate suspensum, et tamdiu ipsi sententiæ subjacere, donec satisfacturus de contemptu nostro te conspectui repræsentes.

He ought to have been wiser and more obedient.

The pope commands him to annul all that has been done in the matter since the first appeal of the convent, demolish the buildings, suspend the clergy, and restore the property of the convent: to annul the sentences of excommunication, and to excommunicate the aggressors.

If the archbishop will not obey, he will be forthwith suspended from the exercise of episcopal power.

Non autem distinguimus utrum in loco a prædecessoribus nostris interdicto, vel alio, in prædictæ capellæ constructione et canonicorum institutione processeris, in ecclesiæ Cantuariensis præjudicium et gravamen, eadem contradictionis causa durante, nisi quod ex hoc magis credimus eidem ecclesiæ derogari, quod in remotiori loco fabrica illa est translata. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, viii. kal. Maii.

A.D. 1198. April 24.

The church at Lambeth is even more offensive than that at Hakington.

CCCCXXXV. Innocentius papa omnibus suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ. April 24.

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus universis suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum ecclesia Cantuariensis inter Anglicanas ecclesias celebris habeatur, et inter alias consueverit religione florere, nos et fratres nostri grave gerimus et molestum quod, sicut dilecti filii nostri prior et conventus ejusdem ecclesiæ humili nobis conquestione monstraverunt, venerabilis frater noster Cantuariensis archiepiscopus ad ipsius desolationem ecclesiæ, satagit multipliciter et laborat in constructione novæ capellæ de Lamhee, contra prohibitiones felicis recordationis Urbani et Clementis, Romanorum pontificum, bonæ memoriæ prædecessori suo factas, post appellationes multiplices ad sedem apostolicam interpositas, in magnum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ præjudicium propria temeritate procedens, et de bonis ejusdem ecclesiæ canonicos instituens in eadem. A cujus siquidem constructione capellæ, si eam quam deberet Romanæ ecclesiæ reverentiam et obedientiam exhiberet, et commissæ sibi ecclesiæ provisionem et sollicitudinem gereret quam tenetur, honori suo melius consulens, penitus destitisset, nec super eo procedere studuisset, quod prædecessori suo districte cognosceret fuisse a sede apostolica interdictum. Quia igitur diminutionem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, sicut nec debemus, nolumus aliquatenus sustinere, prædictorum prædecessorum nostrorum vestigiis inhærentes, de fratrum nostrorum consilio eidem archiepiscopo per scripta nostra mandamus districte et præcipimus, quatenus omni mora et occasione postpositis, si etiam ab ecclesia sua absens fuerit aliquatenus non obstante, quicquid post appellationes, tam tempore prædecessoris sui quam suo, ad sedem apostolicam interpositas, vel inhibitiones antecessorum nostrorum, in opere actum capellæ dinoscitur memoratæ, infra triginta dies post susceptionem præsentium, suis expensis non differat demoliri, in irritum prorsus revocans et deducens quicquid de instituendis canonicis et aliis circa capellam ipsam perperam factum est vel enormiter innovatum. Clericos præ-

The pope is grieved to hear that the archbishop is favouring the church at Lambeth condemned by the Holy See.

fo. 101 v°.

He ought to have been wiser.

He has commanded him to annul the foundation and to destroy the church;

A.D. 1198. April 24. to suspend the clergy restore the property of the convent;

terea, qui in capella ipsa post inhibitiones apostolicas divina officia celebraverunt, tamdiu ab officio et beneficio teneat pro suspensis, donec super hoc satisfecerint competenter, universis operibus demolitis quæ apud eandem capellam facere præsumpserunt; et universa quæ post appellationem in prædictorum fratrum sunt attentata gravamen, exeniorum videlicet, ecclesiarum et aliorum invasione, quæ ante appellationem habuerunt, in statum pristinum appellatione remota reducat. Sententias excommunicationis et interdicti, quas in quosdam ipsorum fratrum temere dicitur promulgasse, publice nuncians non tenere, ac de cætero circa statum ipsius monasterii contra prohibitionem nostram hujus occasione negotii non præsumat aliquid innovare: illicitos invasores villarum, possessionum et reddituum prædictorum fratrum, usque ad satisfactionem idoneam vinculo excommunicationis astringens. Si vero, quod non credimus, memoratus archiepiscopus mandatum nostrum infra statutum terminum neglexerit vel distulerit adimplere, quia justum est ut ei obedientia subtrahatur qui sedi apostolicæ negligit obedire, fraternitati vestræ præsentium auctoritate inhibemus, ut ei reverentiam et obedientiam nullatenus impendatis. Quod si forte a vobis vel a vestrum aliquo, contra prohibitionem nostram, sibi fecerit aliquam obedientiam et reverentiam exhiberi, sciat se extunc ab episcopali dignitate suspensum, et tamdiu ipsi sententiæ subjacere, donec satisfacturus de contemptu nostro se conspectui repræsentet. Non autem distinguimus utrum in loco a prædecessoribus nostris interdicto, vel alio, in prædictæ capellæ constructione et canonicorum institutione processerit, in ecclesiæ Cantuariensis præjudicium et gravamen, eadem contradictione causa durante, nisi quod ex hoc magis credimus eidem ecclesiæ derogari, quod in remotiori loco prior fabrica est translata. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, viii. kal. Maii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

annul the sentences; and excommunicate the aggressors.

If he refuses, the bishops are to refuse obedience to him, and if he enforces it, he is to be suspended.

It is no matter where the new church is situated.

CCCCXXXVI. Hubertus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Norwicensi episcopo.[1]

Between May 31 and June 9.

The archbishop has heard from his agents at Rome

Hubertus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Johanni Norwicensi episcopo, salutem. Significantibus nobis clericis nostris qui in curia Romana morantur, accepimus quod duo ex monachis

[1] Written after May 31, on which day the archbishop's messengers arrived at Lambeth, and before June 9, on which day the papal letters were served on the archbishop. See No. ccccl. below, and Gervase, 1601. John of Oxford was bishop of Norwich, 1175–1200.

nostris Cantuariensibus ad curiam venientes, domino papæ falsa suggesserunt, quod nos sede metropolitana contempta, in ecclesiis et capellis non consecratis chrisma conficere, episcopos consecrare, et abbates benedicere præsumebamus, et quod venerabilem fratrem nostrum Eustachium Eliensem episcopum, Cantuariam, ut ibi consecraretur, venientem, in matris ecclesiæ præjudicium nobiscum ad Lambeam duximus, eumque ibidem, eo quod monachi illi nobis in facto ecclesiæ de Lambee assentire noluerunt, in capella de Lambee olim per sententiam domini papæ Clementis damnata, post appellationem ab eis interpositam, consecravimus. Necnon et quod eosdem duos monachos, post appellationem interpositam, sententia excommunicationis innodavimus, et quod viam illorum, ne dominum papam adirent, voluimus impedire. Unde dominus papa vehementer contra nos motus, denegata clericis nostris, qui pro nobis ad singula respondere voluerunt, audientia, statim sine veritatis inquisitione eisdem monachis litteras suas concessit, quibus præcipit, quod nos ecclesiam de Lamhee propriis sumptibus demoliamur, et canonicos et clericos qui in ea post interdictum papæ Clementis ministraverunt, ab officio et beneficio suspensos, ad sedem apostolicam transmittamus. Quod nisi infra triginta dies post susceptionem litterarum illarum executi fuerimus, omnes suffraganeos nostros ab obedientia et subjectione nostra absolvit, scribens eis quod debitam nobis obedientiam subtrahant, et subjectionem. Addidit quoque quod nos, si nec sic adquiescere voluerimus, ab episcopali officio suspensi maneamus. Quia igitur de fraternitatis vestræ dilectione confidimus, et nos confidere posse speramus et credimus, quia nobis de vestra constat infirmitate, vobis mandamus, rogamus et injungimus, quatenus tum propter consecrationem venerabilis fratris nostri Gaufridi Conventrensis electi, tum propter hoc et alia ardua negotia, super quibus maturum consilium nos habere oportet, G. archidiaconum Gipswicensem[1] et magistrum W. Lenñ, omni excusatione postposita, excepta sola corporis infirmitate, ad nos in termino consecrationi præfixo, scilicet proxima Dominica ante Nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, transmittatis, attendentes quod non sola res nostra, sed et res communis in hac parte agitur, dum sic poterit quisque de prælato suo falsa suggerere, et exemptionem a jurisdictione sua impetrare. Præterea hoc nos valde movet, quod, sicut memoratis clericis nostris nobis significantibus didicimus, dominus papa duos patriarchas, Antiochenum et Aquilegiensem, et duos archiepiscopos, Remensem et Turonensem, licet et

A.D. 1198. June. that two monks from Canterbury have made false accusations at Rome against him: whom he has excommunicated. The pope, without hearing his reply, has commanded him to demolish the church at Lambeth within thirty days, under pain of suspension.

fo. 102 r°.

He orders the bishop of Norwich to send two representatives to Canterbury on the 21st of June to advise him.

The pope has suspended the patriarchs of Antioch and Aquileia and

[1] Geoffrey, archdeacon of Suffolk.

A.D. 1198. June. the archbishops of Rheims and Tours, and sent a legate to Spain to excommunicate two kings, without hearing their defence. Himself and the bishop of Rochester have appealed.

eorum clerici præsentes essent in curia, pro dominis suis respondere parati, suspendit, legatumque in Hispaniam destinavit ad duos reges excommunicandos, quorum alter est rex Castellæ, licet et eorum clerici præsentes essent in curia respondere parati. Nos autem, auditis quæ prædiximus, statim contra impetrata appellavimus. Venerabilis quoque frater noster Roffensis episcopus, qui solus ex fratribus nostris præsens fuit, pro se et pro statu suo quo ecclesiæ Cantuariensi est connexus, solemniter appellavit. Ad hoc fraternitatem vestram attentius exoramus precibus, quatenus per eosdem G. archidiaconum, et magistrum Willelmum Lenñ, ad diem illum litteras vestras patentes, in quibus super his prædictis consilium vestrum et quid nobis consultius agendum fuerit contineatur, [dirigatis]. Eisdem etiam inseratur, quid acturi fueritis, si forte mandatum domini papæ de subtrahenda nobis obedientia vestra, quod, sicut dictum est, a monachis Cantuariensibus per falsam suggestionem obtentum esse non ambigimus, susceperitis. Valete.

In eundem modum aliis suffraganeis suis.

May. CCCCXXXVII. HUBERTO CANTUARIENSI ARCHIEPISCOPO QUIDAM CARDINALIS.[1]

A cardinal begs the archbishop not to disturb the peace of the church of Canterbury,

Quanto majori affectione personam vestram diligimus, tanto ad exequendum quicquid vestrum spectat ad commodum et honorem, promptiorem gerimus devotionem. Cum igitur ad mentem reducimus personæ vestræ reverentiam, et locum regiminis quem in ecclesia Dei ad procurandam salutem fidelium suscepistis, non possumus non dolere, si quid nobis de vestræ fraternitatis actibus innotescit, quod gravitati vestræ et pontificali officio contradicat, vel nominis vestri serenitatem obnubilet. Hinc est quod dilectionem vestram rogamus attentius, monemus et consulimus, quatenus Cantuariensem ecclesiam, quæ per multa temporum volumina in dignitatis suæ statu quiete processit, et divini cultus obsequio gratiaque religionis suaviter circumquaque redoluerit, nullius novitatis insolentia perturbetis vel perturbari permittatis; sed potius mandatum apostolicum super demolitione illius

[1] Cardinal John, of the title of S. Clement, so created by Clement III. in 1188. He was also bishop of Viterbo and Tuscanella. The letter can be satisfactorily ascribed to this person, on the evidence of its similarity of expression to No. ccccxliv. below.

canoniæ de Lamhee vobis directum, sicut commotionem summi pontificis et fratrum nostrorum a vobis cupitis avertere, demolitis omnibus quæ propter eam facta sunt, maturius studeatis adimplere. In præsenti vero negotio, si aures nobis adhibueritis, non tam nobis fatebimur præstitum, quam opinioni vestræ et honori provisum. Si autem in prædictæ canoniæ constructione perseverare volueritis, totius curiæ Romanæ, de cujus consilio et deliberatione damnata est, indignationem, quod absit, incurretis. Valete. A.D. 1198. May. but to obey the papal mandate.

CCCCXXXVIII. Huberto archiepiscopo G.[1] presbyter cardinalis.[2] May.

Quanto magis ad sectandam justitiæ normam officii pastoralis debitum vos inducit, discretioni vestræ majori diligentia cavendum est, ne id agere debeat, per quod jus lædatur ecclesiæ, et vestræ honestati derogetur. Inde est quod, cum ecclesia Cantuariensis multorum prædecessorum vestrorum meritis et quorundam sanguine mirifice illustretur, fraternitatem vestram admonere curavimus, ut a constructione canoniæ de Lamhee, quæ in præjudicium ecclesiæ Cantuariensis fieri dinoscitur, juxta mandatum domini papæ, quod de communi fratrum consilio emanavit, desistere velitis, et ipsam matrem vestram ecclesiam quæ vos ad culmen tantæ dignitatis erexit, modis omnibus honoretis; bonæ memoriæ prædecessorum vestrorum vestigiis inhærentes, qui pro tuenda ecclesiæ libertate æterni nominis gloriam meruerunt. Valete. Cardinal Guido begs the archbishop to discontinue his foundation at Lambeth.

CCCCXXXIX. Johannes cardinalis et Tuscanensis[3] episcopus Conventui Cantuariensi. May.

Ob reverentiam et devotionem quam erga gloriosum martyrem Thomam gerimus, simul etiam et amore inducti quo Cantuariensem ecclesiam amplexamur, vobis qui in eadem ecclesia divino officio mancipati estis, si quid adversitatis emerserit, non solum condolere possumus, nisi et tribulationibus vestris obviare studeamus. Speramus enim a justo Judice consequi præmium, si pro justitia certantibus pro posse nostro impen- fo. 102 v°. Cardinal John would console the convent.

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[1] Guido Paparon, cardinal priest of S. Mary trans Tiberim titulo Sancti Calixti, was made cardinal by Clement III. in 1190, and bishop of Præneste by Innocent III. in 1206.

[2] Gervase, 1607.

[3] See No. ccccxxxvii.

A.D. 1198. May.

He tells them to be of good courage: for their supporters are more powerful than their enemies.

derimus auxilium. Fecimus autem et nunc quod potuimus, quia ad exequendum quicquid ad ecclesiæ vestræ honorem spectat et commodum, prout fratribus vestris credimus innotescere, omnimodam indulsimus sollicitudinem. Gratia autem Dei nobis propitiante, et amicorum vestrorum diligentia cooperante, in tantum processit negotium quod de cætero nullatenus causæ vestræ formidare oportet dispendium. Igitur ne timeatis a facie eorum qui tribulant vos. Plures enim et fortiores sunt qui agunt vobiscum quam qui contra vos. State ergo viriliter, nihil metuentes, si intumescentibus fluctibus navis Petri concuti videatur ad tempus. Concuti enim potest, sed perire nequaquam, quia Christus in ea et cum ea est, usque ad consummationem sæculi. Qui si dormire videatur pro modica fide discipulorum probanda, excitandus est precibus, et clamore vehementi suscitandus, nec desistendum aliquando donec surgens imperet ventis et mari, et fiat tranquillitas magna. Currite ergo, sicut cœpistis, perseverate in defensione domus Dei, nec vos deterreat Moabitarum potentia, nec deviare faciat Pharisæorum jactantia. State concatenati vinculo caritatis in acie, ne jaculorum impetus vos possit transfodere. Affligite vos ipsos in conspectu Divinæ Majestatis. Allegate causam vestram, immo Christi et ecclesiæ, coram Illo Qui est fons misericordiæ, Qui videt pauperem in abscondito et sublevat, et divites comprehendit in astutia sua. Cæterum universitatem vestram rogamus attentius, quatenus in orationibus vestris et cæteris quæ in ecclesia vestra fiunt beneficiis, tanquam amicum vestrum et ecclesiæ vestræ fautorem de cætero habeatis commendatum. Et quia gloriosum martyrem vestrum sincera amplectimur devotione, de relliquiis ipsius martyris cupimus et rogamus ut nobis transmittatis. Valete.

S. Matt. viii. 26.

A.D. 1198. May.

CCCCXL. Omnibus Christi fidelibus J. presbyter cardinalis.

Cardinal John declares, by authority of the pope, the excommunication of S. and N. invalid.

Universitati vestræ notum fieri volumus, nos S. et N. monachos Cantuarienses, quos ejusdem ecclesiæ archiepiscopus post appellationem ad sedem apostolicam interpositam [excommunicavit], cum tamen eos sententia taliter lata non tangeret, auctoritate summi pontificis, cui in hac parte vices suas commiserat, absolvisse. Unde vobis mandamus, quatenus pro hujusmodi sententia, quæ nullius momenti est, eos non evitetis, sed quasi viros religiosos, honorem Dei et ecclesiæ Suæ diligentes, in omnibus honoretis. Valete.

CCCCXLI. Innocentius papa de Lewes et de Favresham prioribus. A.D. 1198. May 7.

The pope commands the priors of Lewes and Faversham to suspend the archbishop of Canterbury from the power of excommunicating the chapter, if it be true that he has excommunicated the monks Salomon and Nicolas.

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, de Lewes et de Favresham prioribus, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quia ii qui majorem locum in ecclesia Dei obtinent, ecclesiæ Romanæ a qua sunt in partem sollicitudinis evocati, magis deferre tenentur, in eos qui appellationi ad apostolicam sedem factæ non deferunt, tanto amplius non possumus non moveri, quanto ampliori præminent dignitate. Sane ad audientiam nostram pervenit, quod, cum dilecti filii nostri S. et N., monachi Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, iter arripuissent ad sedem apostolicam veniendi, et mare transissent, litteras suas Cantuariam
No. cccexxi. direxerunt, in quibus personas suas sub ecclesiæ Romanæ protectione ponentes, ne quid contra capitulum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ vel in eos fieret, ad nostram audientiam appellarunt. Licet autem eorum litteræ in capitulo Cantuariensis ecclesiæ coram venerabili fratre nostro Cantuariensi archiepiscopo perlectæ fuissent, idem tamen archiepiscopus, occasione sumpta ex eo, quod dilectus filius noster prior Cantuariensis eos se inconsulto iter arripuisse dicebat, in ipsos excommunicationis sententiam promulgavit. Ne igitur tantus Romanæ ecclesiæ contemptus remaneat impunitus, cum non solum post appellationem ad nos necessario interpositam, sed post iter arreptum ad sedem apostolicam veniendi, in eos excommunicationis sententiam promulgavit, discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus atque districte præcipimus, quatenus si verum est quod asseritur, dictum archiepiscopum, usque ad satisfactionem idoneam, a potestate excommunicationis in capitulum proferendæ, vel in aliquos de capitulo, nostra freti auctoritate, sine appellationis obstaculo suspendatis, eo non obstante, quod quia prior eos sine licentia sua recessisse proposuit, se ipsos excommunicasse prætendit, cum prior hoc præ timore in ipsius præsentia dixisse dicatur. Datum Romæ, nonis Maii, apud Sanctum Petrum, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

CCCCXLII. Innocentius papa Ricardo regi Angliæ.[1] A.D. 1198. May 7.

The pope trusts that the king will be induced to de-

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, illustri regi Anglorum. Quoniam de regia celsitudine spem certam et fiduciam obtinemus, ut ecclesiam et ministros ecclesiasticos

[1] Given by Gervase, 1607, with the date *nonis Martii*. *Epist. Innoc. III.*, lib. i. ep. 580.

A.D. 1193. May 7. fo. 103 r°. fend the church of Canterbury and preserve her rights.

digne satagat honorare, ipsosque tuæ defensionis et protectionis munimine confovere, regalem magnitudinem ad hæc libenti animo apostolicis exhortationibus invitamus, et animum tuum ad ea volumus inducere, per quæ Regi regum, Cujus propitiante gratia regni obtines dignitatem, dignis operibus valeas complacere Ipsiusque tibi conciliare favorem. Nos itaque pro dilectis filiis nostris monachis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ preces apostolicas porrigimus, magnificentiam tuam rogamus et in Domino attentius exhortamur, quatenus ipsos et eorum ecclesiam propensius habeas commendatos, intuitu precum nostrarum et [ob] reverentiam gloriosi martyris Thomæ, qui in sanguine martyrii sui Cantuariensem ecclesiam illustravit, et a malignantium propulsione defendas, et ei jura illibata studeas et integra conservare. Valete. Datum Romæ, nonis Maii, apud Sanctum Petrum, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

CCCCXLIII. Ricardo regi Octavianus[1] Ostiensis episcopus.

The bishop of Ostia reminds the king of the fame of the church of Canterbury.

Quanto providentia divina magnificentiam vestram amplioribus honoris et potentiæ insigniis exaltavit, tanto amplius ecclesias et ministros earum, maxime qui in religione et fama laudabili Deo specialius astringuntur, vos decet honorando diligere, et eorum honoribus et profectibus ampliandis regium animum applicare. Sane quam celebris et famosa sit Cantuariensis ecclesia, non est opus ut longa vobis litterarum explicatione notemus, cum hoc vestra non ignoret prudentia, et fama illius sit per longa orbis terrarum spatia manifesta. Unde si pro conservanda dignitate illius regium exoremus affectum, pro bono et acceptabili habere vos credimus, et eo securius speramus audiri, quo magis in hoc vestrum honorem attendimus et salutem: quia si ad alias regni vestri ecclesias pium et favorabilem habetis respectum, illam profecto tanto plenius diligere, et in conservatione sui status recommendatam habere vos convenit, quanto majorem in regno vestræ ditioni subjecto obtinet dignitatem. Nos enim idcirco preces et exhortationes nostras a magnitudine vestra credimus exaudiri, quia in hoc nihil aliud suggerimus, nisi quod honorem vestrum continet et salutem. Cum igitur dominus papa, habita deliberatione de consilio fratrum suorum, canoniam illam velit et mandet destrui, quæ contra prohibitionem Romanorum pon-

It has greater claims on him than any other.

[1] Octavian, created cardinal deacon of the title of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, in 1182, by Lucius III.; and bishop of Ostia in 1189, by Clement III. See above, No. cccxv.

tificum in dedecus et perniciem matricis ecclesiæ Cantuariensis erecta et instituta esse dinoscitur; et velit una cum fratribus suis honorem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ inviolabilem observari, ac idem dominus noster pro ipsa apostolicæ exhortationis vobis scripta transmittat; optantes vos ea semper agere quæ Divinæ placita sunt voluntati, litteras nostras celsitudini vestræ duximus transmittendas. Ideoque magnitudinem vestram rogamus attentius et hortamur in Domino, quatenus attendentes quantum regio accedat honori, si sub culmine vestri regiminis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ dignitas non decrescat, ipsam cum fratribus in ea Domino servientibus, pro Dei amore, et vestræ salutis obtentu, recommendatam habere dignemini, nec regalem opponatis auctoritatem, nec aliquo modo secundum datam vobis a Deo potentiam permittatis opponi, quominus mandatum apostolicum de canonia illa in destructionem ecclesiæ Cantuariensis erecta, perveniat ad effectum: sed favorem vestrum Cantuariensi ecclesiæ tanto benignius impendatis, quanto amplius ex collata illi gratia honor regius procuratur; ita ut sub favore et patrocinio vestro eadem ecclesia suæ dignitatis læsionem non sen-
Rev. xix. 16. tiat, et ab Eo Qui est Rex regum et Dominus dominantium temporalem et æternam retributionem magnitudo vestra valeat promereri. Valete.

A.D. 1198. May. The pope has ordered the destruction of the college of Canons; and the cardinal writes to beg the king to allow the mandate to be executed.

CCCCXLIV. Ricardo regi J.[1] presbyter cardinalis.[2]

May.

Quanto personam et regnum vestræ sublimitatis majori amplectimur caritate, tanto propensius exequi volumus et debemus ea quæ saluti vestræ expediunt et honori. Verumtamen regiam certi sumus non latere sollertiam, quod inter cætera quibus potestis Divinam gratiam promereri, conservatio status ecclesiarum regni, et illarum præcipue quæ religionis et ordinis titulo decorantur, non modicam vobis adaugeret gloriam et salutem. Cum igitur Cantuariensis ecclesia in regno vestro fidei mater Christianæ, religionis signifera, per multa temporum volumina in dignitatis suæ statu et quiete processerit, et divini cultus obsequio gratiaque religionis circumquaque suaviter redoluerit, quietem ejus turbare nihil aliud fore credimus, quam Divinitatis sacrario manum violentam inferre. Rogamus igitur, patienter audite, et ut vos Deus in die necessitatis exaudiat, clementer exaudite, ex animo attendentes quanta in promptu sit materia scandalorum, si canonia

Cardinal John reminds the king of the merit to be gained by protecting the churches of his kingdom, especially that of Canterbury.

[1] See No. CCCCXXXVII.

[2] This letter is given by Gervase, 1607, with the proper salutation from John, cardinal priest of S. Clement, &c.

A.D. 1198. May. fo. 103 v°. This cannot be done if the college at Lambeth is suffered to be completed.

illa quam bonæ memoriæ Baldewinus quondam Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in ejusdem ecclesiæ præjudicium, immo scandalum et ruinam, primo apud Hakentune, postea apud Lamhee erexit, habeat consummationem. Intuitu igitur Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ reverentia, cujus memoria in præfata viget ecclesia, clementiæ vestræ gratia Cantuariensis ecclesiæ desolationi subveniat et ruinæ. Qua enim pace, qua libertate poterit de cætero gaudere, cum fictitiam illam et adulterinam viderit contra se erectam et spoliis suis ditatam? Et quis erit status ecclesiæ Anglicanæ cum matrem suam Cantuariensem ecclesiam tabescere viderit in angustia et mœrore? Timendum ne in se ipsam divisa ecclesia desoletur; et certe, turbata ecclesia, regni negotiis pax et honesta quies esse non poterit. Avertat hoc Deus et regia magnificentia vestra. In ea igitur qua vobis fide et amore [tenemur], consulimus, et devote supplicamus, quatenus præfatam Cantuariensem ecclesiam in eo statu et libertate qua usque ad hæc tempora sub protectione Dei et vestra duravit, pacifice conservetis, nec aliquid fieri permittatis quod insolentia novitatis scandalum ecclesiæ Dei generet, et apostolicæ sedis auctoritati deroget: pro certo habentes prædictam canoniam de Lamhee, de consensu et deliberatione omnium cardinalium, a domino papa et a prædecessoribus suis damnatam. Nec aliquo modo possumus pati opus illud procedere quod in tam nobilis ecclesiæ construitur subversionem. Nulla igitur ratione, si placet, dominum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum ab aliquo impediri permittatis, quominus mandatum apostolicum super demolitione prædicti operis de Lamhee sibi directum possit implere; sed potius eum ad hoc, si placet, inducatis, ut moram in faciendo non patiatur, sed honori suo maturius provideat et ecclesiæ suæ tranquillitati. Valete.

The church of England will be divided against itself.

The cardinal prays the king to suffer the pope's mandate to be executed.

May.

CCCCXLV. Ricardo regi Petrus Cardinalis.

Cardinal Peter begs the king to suffer the papal mandate to be executed.

Cum super negotio Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, quam Romana ecclesia semper habuit in visceribus caritatis, dominus papa de fratrum consilio scripta apostolica magnitudini vestræ transmittat, ut venerabilem in Christo patrem Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum non permittatis aliquo modo impediri, quominus mandatum summi pontificis ei pro ecclesia ipsa transmissum, consequatur effectum; nos etiam, qui ecclesiam eandem, tanquam celeberrimam nomine et operibus, pura devotione amplectimur, sublimitatem vestram attentius deprecamur quatenus, juxta quod summus pontifex litteris suis vos rogat et admonet, memoratum archiepiscopum nullatenus permittatis ab aliquo impediri, quominus mandatum apostolicum

valeat effectui mancipare. Cum enim inter cætera caritatis opera, ad regiam spectet salutem, locos religiosos diligere, et libertatem ipsorum illæsam et intemeratam conservare, de benevolentia quam præfatæ ecclesiæ impenderitis, et Deus vobis in utraque vita constituitur retributor, et dilectionem domini papæ et fratrum propter hoc attentius vendicatis. Valete. A.D. 1198. May. The king is the proper protector of religious houses.

In eundem modum alii Cardinales.

CCCCXLVI. Summo Pontifici Ricardus rex Anglle. July 15.

Sanctissimo et in Christo carissimo domino et patri, Innocentio, Dei gratia summo pontifici, Ricardus eadem gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, salutem, et cum omni dilectione devotionem et reverentiam. Sicut excellentiam vestram pro venerabili patre nostro Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo rogavi sæpius et obsecravi, adhuc etiam quanta possum devotione vestræ sanctitati duxi supplicandum, quatenus in negotio capellæ de Lamhee, quam non ipse sed bonæ memoriæ prædecessor suus Baldewinus, vir utique tantæ religionis et discretionis non incognitæ, in honore beatorum martyrum Stephani et Thomæ construxit, cum prædicto archiepiscopo mitius et benignius agere dignemini. Quod non tam pro ipso archiepiscopo fieri postulo, quam pro honore Dei et sanctæ ecclesiæ, ad quorum laudem et gloriam, sub nomine prædictorum martyrum, eadem capella construenda esse dinoscitur: sed et pro nostro jure omniumque terræ nostræ episcoporum, procerum, conservando, quibus ex antiqua et rationabili consuetudine regni licet, in suo, cum assensu diocesani episcopi, ecclesiam cum capella construere. Placeat itaque vestræ sanctitati, cum omnibus justitiam debeatis, honori Dei et beatorum martyrum Suorum deferre, et in hoc negotio jus quod mihi et meis, filiis vestris devotissimis, sicut prædixi, competit, integrum et illæsum conservare. Hoc autem advertat discretio vestra, quod ecclesiæ Cantuariensi dispendium non oportet timeri in hoc negotio. In conspectu enim sanctitatis vestræ constanter affirmo, quod si prædictus archiepiscopus aliquid in dispendium ecclesiæ suæ, quod absit, et quod ipsum præ cæteris omnibus vitare cognovi, disponeret, ego ei omnimodis in hoc resisterem; nec illius sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ præjudicium sustinerem, quæ in regno meo totius Christianitatis mater est et magistra, a cujus etiam sanctitate, tam ego, quam prædecessores mei, cum sacra unctione regia insignitus sum corona. Valeat paternitas vestra in Domino. Teste me ipso apud Rupem Andelin, xv. die. Julii. The king having often asked the pope to suffer the archbishop to complete his church at Lambeth, a right which he possesses in common with the king and nobles, renews his prayer, and undertakes that the church of Canterbury shall take no harm. fo. 104 r°.

A.D. 1198. July 15.

CCCCXLVII. Ricardus rex Angliæ J. Witerbiensi et Thuscalensi episcopo et cardinali.

The king is astonished to hear that the monks of Canterbury have obtained a papal mandate against the church of Lambeth, to which the king, the bishops, and the monks themselves had given their assent.

Venerabili viro et in Christo amico carissimo J., Dei gratia Viterbiensi et Tuscalensi episcopo, Ricardus eadem gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, salutem, et cum sincera dilectione devotam reverentiam. Miramur plurimum, movemur et turbamur, super eo quod monachi Cantuarienses, tacita veritate et per falsam suggestionem, ad demoliendam ecclesiam de Lambhee litteras a sede Romana impetrare potuerunt. Hoc enim, nisi vocatis iis quorum intererat, nulla ratione, sicut melius nostis, ad postulationem unius partis debuit obtineri. Ex antiqua enim et diu obtenta consuetudine in regno Angliæ, licet regibus, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus in solo proprio, cum assensu diocesani episcopi, nullius reclamatione obstante, ecclesiam conventualem construere et dotare. Hæc autem ecclesia de Lambhee de assensu Henrici[1] patris nostri et nostro, subsequente episcoporum et magnatum regni nostri voluntate, orta tunc contentione[2] inter Baldewinum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem et monachos suos, super eadem ecclesia prius apud Hakentune constructa; de voluntate ipsorum monachorum, immo ad eorum petitionem, nobis etiam apud Baldewinum archiepiscopum pro ipsis intervenientibus, usque Lambhee translata est, et ibidem in fundo archiepiscopi, cum assensu diocesani episcopi constituta, auctoritate Romanorum pontificum, et munimentis nostris et suffraganeorum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ et magnatum regni renovata et firmata. Credimus enim quod, si hæc et alia quæ fortius urgent, domino papæ et vobis innotuissent, papa de subvertenda ecclesia illa ita præpropere non scripsisset. Et quia Romanæ ecclesiæ devoti sumus, et mandatis vestris in quantum possumus obtemperamus, paternitati vestræ supplicamus attentius, rogantes quatenus instetis apud dominum papam, ut executionem litterarum a dictis monachis obtentarum suspendat, donec plenius rei veritatem ex assertione nostra et certissimis indiciis quamplurimis agnoscat. Prudentiam autem vestram scire volumus, nos sustinere non posse hujusmodi mandatum Romanæ sedis in regno nostro executioni demandari, quod in præjudicium et libertatis nostræ et regni nostri emanaverit. Teste me ipso apud Rupem Andelin, quinta decima die Julii.[3]

No. cccxxxv.

The pope ought to have heard both sides of the question: the king prays that execution may be stayed, for he will not suffer it.

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[1] *Henrici*] Huberti, MS.

[2] *contentione*] executione, MS.

[3] So the MS. It is probable that in this letter and the preceding one *Junii* is the true reading. See below, pp. 406, 409.

CCCCXLVIII. Conventui Cantuariensi fratres a curia Romana.

A.D. 1198. May.

Licet diversas tribulationum angustias propter varios et instabiles rerum eventus hucusque passi simus, tamen juxta animi nostri desiderium causa laboris nostri consecuta est effectum. Unde rogamus attentius, ne inerti timore tepidi, sed potius patroni nostri gloriosissimi martyris Thomæ vigilantia excitati, [negotium] matris ecclesiæ strenue exsequamini, et litteras domini papæ de consilio et deliberatione omnium cardinalium manantes, et tanto labore perquisitas, debito robore et auctoritate deponendo non privetis, sed potius eas domino archiepiscopo et suffraganeis, per tres vel quatuor de majoribus et discretioribus ecclesiæ nostræ, omni timore potestatis terrenæ postposito, quamcitius porrigatis, et responsum ipsius, et quomodo præceptum domini papæ impleverit, nobis maturius significate. Plurimum enim desiderat hoc curia Romana audire. Nos quidem cum præsenti negotio venissemus, sed negotia alia nondum peracta expectavimus, quibus peractis a curia recedemus, nisi vobis magis viderimus expedire subsistentes. De recessu tamen nostro a curia nihil solliciti sitis, quia cardinales fere omnes habetis propitios, qui nobis promiserunt quod pro ecclesia Cantuariensi firmiter contra omnes stabunt. Valete.

The brethren at Rome entreat the convent not to be afraid to use the papal mandate, but to forward it immediately.

They must report to the court the receipt of the mandate.

The whole Roman court is on their side.

CCCCXLIX. Ricardus rex omnibus suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ.

June 14.

Ricardus rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, omnibus suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ. Ad vestram notitiam volumus devenire, monachos Cantuarienses per suggestionem falsi, tacita etiam veritate, litteras a domino papa, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo directas, citra consensum nostrum dolose impetrasse, ut dominus archiepiscopus infra triginta dies post susceptionem litterarum, ecclesiam de Lamhee, tanquam a papa Clemente dudum condemnatam, propriis sumptibus, ædificia etiam canonicorum circumposita, demoliatur: vobis etiam litteras esse directas in quibus continetur, ut si forte dictus archiepiscopus hujusmodi mandato non paruerit, dominus papa ab obedientia ei debita vos absolvit. Si nec etiam hac pœna territus ejus mandato obtemperaverit, non conventum, non vocatum, ab officio episcopali suspendit. Quia igitur non credimus has litteras de conscientia domini papæ emanasse, si veritatem rei gestæ plenius agnovisset, nec etiam hujusmodi litteris obtemperandum esse, cum contra jus elicitæ videantur; cum etiam mandatum istud

fo. 104 v°.

The king informs the suffragans that he cannot believe that the pope, if properly acquainted with the cause, would have issued the mandate;

A.D. 1198. June 14. and as it is contrary to the royal dignity and the liberty of the kingdom, he forbids them to obey it; and commands them to wait for further instructions: reminding them of the agreement to transfer the church from Hakington to Lambeth.

in prædjudicium dignitatis nostræ et libertatis regni nostri elicitum sit, eo scilicet quod regibus, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, ex antiqua et diu obtenta regni Angliæ consuetudine, liceat passim in solo proprio ecclesiam conventualem construere; vobis mandamus et firmiter præcipimus quatenus, sicut vos et honorem nostrum et libertatem regni nostri diligitis, et possessiones vestras et libertates et dignitates ecclesiarum vestrarum illæsas conservari curatis, si quod hujusmodi mandatum domini papæ de subtrahenda domino archiepiscopo obedientia directum sit, ei ad præsens non obtemperetis. In rescriptis enim quæ contra jus elicita sunt, sicut vestra novit discretio, exspectanda est secunda jussio. Ex hoc autem vobis constare potest, quod hoc mandatum per falsi suggestionem obtentum est; quod si qua forte a papa Clemente, cujus facto nititur dominus papa in his litteris, de subvertenda ecclesia de Lamhee, sententia lata fuerit, executioni non fuit demandata, immo beneficio litterarum illarum monachi penitus renunciantes, in nos et archiepiscopum Rothomagensem, et Hugonem episcopum Dunhelmensem, et quamplures alios episcopos et barones nostros, orta contentione inter ipsos et Baldewinum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem super ecclesia de Hakentune, compromiserunt. Nos autem unanimiter arbitrati fuimus, prædictum Baldewinum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem de jure et absque dispendio et injuria Cantuariensis ecclesiæ apud Hakentune ecclesiam posse construere. Ad petitionem tamen monachorum, de eorum voluntate et assensu, usque Lamhee fuit translata, munimentis nostris necnon et episcoporum testimonio qui compositioni prædictæ intererant, roborata est, et auctoritate summorum pontificum Urbani et Lucii et Cœlestini confirmata et solidata. Quia igitur contra factum nostrum venire nec volumus, nec valemus, quia jura regni nostri intemerata observare tenemur, eversionem prædictæ ecclesiæ nullatenus sustinentes, vobis qui ad tuitionem juris nostri et conservationem dignitatis nostræ astricti estis, iterato præcipimus, quatenus servato quod prælibatum est, rei veritatem, quæ jam vobis innotuit, domino papæ per litteras vestras patentes significetis, portitore litterarum vestrarum per nos transitum faciente; pro statu etiam juris nostri et dignitatis nostræ, et pro statu ecclesiæ Lamhensis, quam sub protectione et custodia nostra cum omnibus pertinentiis suis suscepimus, solemniter nobiscum appelletis. Teste me ipso apud Rupem Andelin, quarta decima die Junii.

Novell. 134, cap. vi.

No. ccexxv.

He commands them to write a true account of the matter to the pope.

CCCCL. Conventus Cantuariensis fratribus in curia Romana.

A.D. 1198. After July 6.

Ad majorem causæ evidentiam et fidei habendæ firmitatem, rei gestæ continentiam sub sigillo nostro patentem vobis transmittimus. Noverit itaque fraternitas vestra, quod pridie Kalendas Junii venerunt nuncii domini Huberti archiepiscopi ad ipsum apud Lamee de curia Romana, depositisque sarcinulis et inspectis, omnia subito siluerunt, et noctem totam duxit dominus archiepiscopus insomnem. Mane facto, præsente episcopo Rofensi, et de Sancto Ædmundo, de Radinges, de Waltham, de Certeseia[1] abbatibus, habito prius cum clericis suis tædioso colloquio, appellavit, adunatis et audientibus quicunque in loco cogi poterant, viris cujuscunque ordinis, pro persona sua, pro potestate et officio, pro ecclesia et statu ecclesiæ de Lamhee, ne quid falsa cujusquam suggestione contra eum perquiratur, aut valeat perquisitum: et dupliciter pro ea appellatum est, ita videlicet, quod, si non posset ecclesia clericorum esse, fieret ecclesia redemptionis captivorum Jerusalem. Episcopus similiter Rofensis pro persona sua et officio appellavit; magister Simon de Sutwelle pro canonia et canonicis loci: et turbata sunt apud eos omnia. Et quia domino archiepiscopo pro parte innotuerat mandatum domini papæ, ne illud ei porrigeremus, nisus est multum præpedire nos. Unde et de Certeseia et de Waltham abbates, litteras domini archiepiscopi in hac forma portantes, ad nos transmisit.

fo. 105 r°. The report of the convent under seal.

The archbishop's agents arrived from Rome, May 31; and, June 1, he, the bishop of Rochester and the canons of Lambeth appealed.

He also sent the abbots of Waltham and Chertsey to Canterbury with letters complaining of S. and Nicolas,

"Hubertus, Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius
"Angliæ primas, dilectis filiis, Gaufrido priori, et conventui
"ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et benedictionem.
"Audistis per nos quod duo fratres vestri, S. videlicet et
"Nicholaus, qui, si veritatem nobis locuti estis, sine consilio
"et assensu vestro ad curiam Romanam sunt profecti, domino
"papæ de nobis suggesserunt. Audistis enim quod sugges-
"serunt domino papæ, quia nos, sede metropolitana con-
"tempta, in capellis et ecclesiis non consecratis chrisma
"conficere, episcopos consecrare, et abbates benedicere præ-
"sumebamus, et quod dominum Eliensem episcopum, Cantua-
"riam ut ibidem consecraretur venientem, in præjudicium
"matricis ecclesiæ, eo quod vos in facto Lamhensis ecclesiæ
"nobis noluistis præbere assensum, nobiscum Lamhee duxi-

[1] Martin, who was made abbot of Chertsey in 1197, and died in 1206. *Mon. Angl.*, i. 423. From this point to the end of folio 115 the MS. is written in a different hand; words are frequently omitted, and the spelling is abominable.

A.D. 1198. After July 6. and of their false statements; "mus, ibique eum, post interpositam a vobis appellationem, in "capella olim per sententiam domini papæ Clementis damnata "et destructa consecravimus; necnon quod ipsos eosdem fra- "tres vestros, post appellationem ad summum pontificem inter- "positam, vinculo excommunicationis innodavimus, et aditum "ipsorum ad curiam eis præcludere voluimus. Quod ex hoc "conjicere potestis et præsumere falsum fuisse, quod cum a "nobis peteretis licentiam alios duos ex fratribus vestris ad "sedem apostolicam transmittendi, ad primum verbum, sicut "nostis, postulatam a nobis licentiam obtinuistis. Cum igitur "majores vestrum pro tota universitate pepigerint et firmiter "promiserint, vos super his pro nobis domino papæ scripturos "veritatem, quod fratres vestri R. et R. eleemosynarius nobis also of the double dealing of the convent: "ex parte vestra tale reportavere responsum, satis non pos- "sumus admirari; maxime cum cuilibet fideli incumbat etiam "pro quovis extraneo et ignoto testimonium perhibere veri- "tati. Quapropter [per] viros venerabiles de Waltham et de "Certeseia, [man]damus, rogamus, et virtute obedientiæ ac sub "pœna excommunicationis arctius injungimus, quatenus super and com- manding the convent to write the truth to the pope, and to forward their letters to himself by the abbots. "iis quæ de nobis domino papæ per fratres vestros, sicut "prædiximus, sunt suggesta, et qualiter erga vos postquam "ecclesiæ Cantuariensi præfecti fuimus nos gesserimus, et si "in aliquo vel aliquibus, in quo et in quibus vobis grava- "mina intulerimus, pro nobis domino papæ scribatis verita- "tem, easdemque litteras nobis per abbates istos trans- "mittatis." Lectis igitur et auditis his, adjecit abbas de Walteham, "Dominus archiepiscopus appellavit contra prædictos "fratres vestros scilicet, S. et N., ne in congregationem ves- "tram, si redierint, admittatis, sed ut personam domini archi- "episcopi falsis impetentes a consortio vestro, donec ei super "his competenter satisfecerint, excludatis." Sane nos tempore deliberationis super his respondendi postulato et concesso, fo. 105 v°. litteras domini papæ per quatuor fratres ad Lamhee, ubi archi- episcopus morabatur, domino archiepiscopo destinavimus. Ipsi vero fratres ad curiam archiepiscopi venientes, non ut monachi ecclesiæ archiepiscopi sunt admissi, sed ab ingressu penitus repulsi. Vix in domum tandem ingressi, nec tamen præsentiæ domini archiepiscopi constituti, primo die et secundo infecto negotio recesserunt. Tertio vero die venientes ad curiam, cum difficultate magna domum ingressi, tandem non ut monachi Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, sed ut nuncii domini papæ, vix domino archiepiscopo comparuerunt. Qui litteris domini papæ porrectis et acceptis, pedibus ipsius domini archiepiscopi provoluti cum lacrymis et singultibus ei supplicaverunt, ut domini papæ mandatum celerius effectui manciparet. Quo respondente se consilio episcoporum et monachorum Cantuari-

Having asked for a delay, the convent sent four brethren to serve the mandate on the archbishop, which they were scarcely allowed to do.

ensium in hoc adquieturum, discesserunt ab invicem. Unus autem de fratribus litteras domini papæ, suffraganeis adiens, domini papæ mandatum eis insinuavit. Dominus vero archiepiscopus occasione mandati nuncios suos domino regi Angliæ Normanniam direxit, conquerens se non posse regni negotiis [intendere] propter monachos Cantuarienses, et petens licentiam ab eo Romanam curiam adeundi. Rex itaque hujus occasione mandati adversum nos [offensionem] sive concipiens sive concepisse simulans, baronibus suis, Gaufrido filio Petri et Hugoni Bardulf, eos ad nos dirigens, [dedit] in mandatis, ut si nollemus domini papæ mandato renunciare, omnes possessiones nostras infiscarent; et litteras suas in hac forma per eos ad nos direxit, quas potius credimus a domino rege precibus et pretio per nuncios domini archiepiscopi, videlicet per Symonem detentorem unius ecclesiarum nostrarum et alios, extortas, quam de beneplacito suo emanasse.[1]

A.D. 1198. After July 6. The archbishop having reported the mandate to the king, he ordered his ministers to sequestrate the property of the convent, and wrote to them,

"Ricardus, Dei gratia, *etc.*, priori et conventui Cantua-
" riensis ecclesiæ salutem. Non satis admirari possumus,
" immo ultra quam credi potest movemur et turbamur, de
" [his] quæ nuper audivimus, immo cognovimus, quosdam
" scilicet de monachis vestris nuper ad curiam Romanam
" accedentes, tacita veritate, per falsi etiam suggestionem, ad
" evertendam ecclesiam de Lamhee litteras a domino papa
" archiepiscopo directas fraudulenter impetrasse. Cum enim
" a multis retroactis temporibus in regno Angliæ vigorem
" legis obtinuerit hæc consuetudo, ut liceat regibus, episcopis,
" baronibus, in fundo suo ecclesiam conventualem construere,
" dotare et ditare, non sine ausu temerario et præsumptione
" infrunita ad subversionem hujus juris et dignitatis regni
" nostri, citra conniventiam nostram properastis, cum de bene-
" placito vestro ecclesia quæ apud Hakentune prius fuerat
" constructa, arbitrantibus nobis una cum episcopis, baronibus
" regni, usque Lamhe fuerat translata, munimentis nostris
" et episcoporum qui tunc ibi aderant, et plurimorum Romano-
" rum pontificum auctoritatibus, postmodum roborata et fir-
" mata. De hoc autem inter cætera plurimum dolemus, quod
" hujus præsumptionis vestræ, nostrum, ut audivimus, jactatis
" vos habere consensum. Et quoniam ea quæ in præjudicium
" coronæ nostræ et dignitatis regni nostri temere attentata
" sunt, procedere, vel impunita relinquere, nullatenus volumus
" vel valemus, mandamus vobis et firmiter præcipimus qua-
" tenus, sicut nos et honorem nostrum diligitis, possessiones et
" libertates ecclesiæ vestræ illæsas et immutilatas per nos con-
" servari curatis, in prosecutione hujus temerariæ præsump-

declaring the mandate opposed to the liberty of the kingdom;

and forbidding them to use it.

[1] Gervase, 1604.

A.D. 1198. After July 6. He also summoned the prior to appear before him.

" tionis omnino desistatis, rescripto apostolico quod minus " licite obtinuistis, donec veritatem rei gestæ et ordinem " assertione nostra curia Romana plenius agnoverit, penitus " supersedentes. Ad hæc tibi, prior, firmiter injungentes præ- " cipimus, quatenus una cum majoribus ecclesiæ cum rati- " habitione conventus super eo quod a te et monachis tecum " venientibus in satisfactione hujus injuriæ actum fuerit, cum " omni festinatione, de injuria nobis et regno nostro sufficien- " ter satisfacturus, ad nos accedas. Qualiter enim ad hono- " rem Dei et conservationem dignitatis nostræ res ista pro- " cedet, Deo volente, tunc plenius disponemus; hoc autem te, " prior, et conventum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ non lateat, quod

fo. 106 r°.

" ad tuitionem prætaxati juris nostri et dignitatis regni nostri " contra vos et rescriptum domini papæ, quod vix credimus " ita obtentum, ne archiepiscopus Cantuariensis vel quilibet

He has appealed against the execution of the mandate, and taken the church of Lambeth under his protection.

" alius in executione hujus mandati procedat, solemniter " appellavimus; et ut hoc vobis plenius innotescat, appellatio- " nem nostram litteris præsentibus innovamus. Sed ut fortius " malitiæ vestræ occurramus, ecclesiam dictam de Lamee, " cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, sub custodia et protectione " nostra suscipientes, baillivis nostris in Anglia dedimus in " mandatis, ut si archiepiscopus Cantuariensis vel quilibet " [alius] ad demoliendam prædictam ecclesiam de Lamhee " accingatur, ei viriliter auctoritate nostra resistant, et ne quid " in dispendium ejus fiat, aliquo modo sustineant, in vos et " possessiones vestras, nisi ab hujus rei prosecutione desistatis, " severius animadvertentes. Teste me ipso apud Rupem de " Andel'. xiiij. die Junii." Evolutis itaque aliquot diebus,

On the 19th of June the archbishop came to Canterbury, and on the 20th and 22nd laid a complaint against the convent; and the king's ministers delivered the above letter.

dominus archiepiscopus Cantuariam veniens, scilicet feria sexta ante Nativitatem Beati Johannis Baptistæ, ut ibi consecraret electum Cestrensem, in crastino capitulum nostrum ingrediens, priorem et conventum in multis accusavit, scilicet quod litteras a domino papa tacita veritate, et falsi suggestione, et per fugitivos suos, impetrassemus, et aliis multis in hunc modum. In crastino vero consecrato Cestrensi electo, respondere distulimus; feria secunda sequenti capitulum ingredientes de Radinges, de Certeseia, et de Waltham abbates, magna et enormia gravamina, nisi a mandato domini papæ resilire vellemus, nobis excogitata, nunciaverunt. Egressis illis, ingressi sunt Cycestrensis, Rofensis, Salesberiensis, Exoniensis, Wigorniensis episcopi, regis barones, scilicet Gaufridus filius Petri, et Hugo Bardulf, litteras domini regis in forma præscripta nobis porrexerunt, adjicientes multa contaminatoria ex parte domini regis. Post quos ingressus dominus archiepiscopus, blanda proponens et aspera annectens, litteras quoque domini regis, de prohibitione ne mandatum domini papæ exequeretur, osten-

dens, ad hoc totis viribus elaboravit, ut mandato domini papæ penitus renunciantes, compromitteremus in arbitros, vel communiter dominum papam consuleremus, utrum ei placeret id effectui mancipari, quod jam de consensu totius curiæ diffinierit. Huic itaque labori per sex dies continuos totis viribus per se et per alios insistens, nihil profecit. Unde et in ejus recessu, omnibus possessionibus nostris spoliati sumus, perversique nostræ intentionis interpretes nobis imputaverunt ad pertinaciam et superbiam, quicquid fecimus ob causæ nostræ integritatem et domini papæ reverentiam. Humano siquidem auxilio in Anglia destituti, Deo et sanctæ Romanæ curiæ sumus pauperes derelicti. Quisquis enim faciem hilarem nobis prætendere præsumit, publicus hostis censetur. Allegans itaque dominus archiepiscopus contra præceptum domini papæ domini regis nostri prohibitionem, in nullo domini papæ mandatum exsecutus est, in recessu hujus latoris præsentium, (qui post terminum a domino papa domino archiepiscopo præfixum et elapsum, a nobis recessit), nec etiam in spiritualibus, nec in iis quæ ad ipsum proprie pertinent, qui quanto minus habuit difficultatis in agendo, tanto majus contumaciæ habuit in omisso. Suscepit itaque dominus archiepiscopus mandatum domini papæ, vij°. idus Junii, sed in nullo illud exsecutus est infra triginta dies. Tricesima enim die postquam illud suscepit, videlicet ultimo octavarum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, canonici de Lambee solemniter et publice per totum diem horas canonicas celebraverunt, nec nos in aliquo de iis quæ continebantur in rescripto domini papæ fuimus restituti, aut sub spe restituendi.

A.D. 1198. After July 6. The archbishop for six days tried to persuade us to renounce the mandate, and on his departure our possessions were seized.

The archbishop received the mandate, June 7, and thirty days have elapsed since.

CCCCLI. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

After July 6.

Ps. cxviii. 23. "Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et lætemur "in ea." Dies Christus de Quo in alio psalmo idem propheta Ps. xix. 2. canit, "Dies diei eructat verbum." Dies et Christianus, unde Eph. v. 8. præclarus gentium magister eloquitur, "Fuistis aliquando "tenebræ," etc. Dies igitur Innocentius, qui nec nomen ab effectu tenens, nec sibi nec alteri nocens, lucis suæ radios vibravit in Angliam, et Cantuariensis ecclesiæ tenebras virtute suæ illustrationis abstersit. Exultamus igitur et lætamur, majestatem vestram prompta quidem sed non condigna gratiarum actione prosequentes, nam cordis nostri lætitiam lingua non explicat, et immensam gaudiorum plenitudinem carta non coæquat. Si enim putemus a nobis clementiæ vestræ condignas fo. 106 v°. gratias posse referri, non sapiemus. Reddet ergo pro nobis 1 Cor. ii. 9. Deus quod oculus non videt, nec auris audit, nec in cor hominis, secundum ergo cor hominis, ascendit, sicut canitur. Sursum corda! humilitas namque nostra de tanta celsitudine

The convent thank the pope for the mandate.

A.D. 1198. After July 6.

nunquam sperare potuit ut ei tantum in Domino largiretur affectum. Judicem quæsivimus, et in judice invenimus pariter advocatum. Causæ conflictum denuo sustinere formidavimus, et ecce prædecessorum suorum sententiis manentibus illibatis, et omni quæstionis contentione sopita, exsecutio canonica jubetur rite procedere. Exsecutorem fortassis idoneum minime reperire possemus, in quo nostrum staret arbitrium ; at solertissima gratia vestra et gratiosa solertia ipsum potissimum elegit, cui et res exsequenda erat facilis, et potestas ea non poterat esse terribilis. Cæterum beatitudinis vestræ mandatum, ipsius eluso jam termino, nullum consequitur effectum, protestantibus partis suæ consiliariis debere eum secundam expectare jussionem, quasi novum aliquid quæstionis emerserit, cum in duorum summorum pontificum lis ista sit audita et decisa præsentia, et assistentibus partibus, et pro se invicem allegantibus, omnis falsæ suggestionis sit ablata suspicio. Quippe quibus pro se objiciendi et respondendi libera fuit concessa potestas, nec veritas potuit supprimi quam licuit adversæ parti in lucem evocare judicii. De novo autem a fratribus nostris clementiæ vestræ nihil falsi suggestum, nihil veri constat esse suppressum ; cum bonæ memoriæ Urbanus, Clemens et Cœlestinus eadem sententiarum diffinierint, quæ gloria vestra, eorum vestigia reverenda consectans, dignata est imperare. Suscepto autem apostolatus vestri mandato, exquisitis egit angustiis, blanditiis elaboravit et minis, magnorum virorum nisus est allegationibus, ut auctoritatis vestræ sententiam in voluntatem verteret arbitrorum, ut quod ea censura rationis ademit, terror suæ potestatis afferret. Quis enim arbiter, majestate despecta, pro humilitate sententiam ferret? Quia igitur paternitatis vestræ per omnia mandatis adhæsimus, possessionibus nostris spoliati fuimus, terroribus et minis regis addicti. Majestati itaque vestræ, quam matrem in omnibus experimur, quanta possumus devotione filiali supplicamus, quatenus honorem et indemnitatem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, quam filiam vestram rebus ipsis recognoscitis, consummationi reddat, perfectionique suæ restituat. Valeat sanctitas vestra in tempora longiora, pater reverende.

The term of execution has elapsed, and the mandate is not executed ; the archbishop's advisers asserting that it was obtained by fraud.

The archbishop has tried to get an arbitration, and because we would not accept it, our possessions are seized.

June or July.

CCCCLII. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent are sorry to accuse the bishops,

Licet rerum merito gestarum de quibusdam suffraganeis suis Cantuariensis ecclesia illud propheticum justissime possit effari, "Filios enutrivi et exaltavi, ipsi autem spreverunt me;" Isaiah i. 2. quia tamen de ipsis episcopis agitur, et in eos odiosa est accusatio, non præsumit iniquitatis arguere, quos apex tantæ dignitatis attollit. Absit enim ut ipsos accusemus, qui, apostolico gradui succedentes, Corpus Christi sacro ore confi-

ciunt, qui claves cœlorum habentes, ante diem judicii judicant. Sed episcoporum gesta verecunde magis quam libere apostolicis auribus intimamus. Ecclesiarum siquidem principes, ecclesiæ nostræ filii, ipsique vinculo professionis astricti, in matrem suam Cantuariensem ecclesiam perniciosi vibrant tela consilii, litterarum sagittas Romam usque transmittunt, in tantum studiorum persequuntur aculeis, ut illud iterum quod Christo beato dictum est Petro videamus impleri, "Venio "Romam iterum crucifigi." Christum enim persequuntur, qui adversus Christi ecclesiam consiliis exquisitis et litteris armantur. Cæterum, siquidem forte juvat causam hujus explorare consilii, dissidii fomitem perscrutari, non novum aliquid sed quod sæculis inveteratum est celebre certumque suscipiant. Cantuariensem ecclesiam magna locorum distantia a cæteris cathedralibus disparatam esse constat ecclesiis, ut episcopis molestum sit ad novi consecrationem episcopi illuc ad regni terminos convenire; contra morem etiam omnium ecclesiarum et juris ordinem canonici, sibi jus vendicant suffraganei in electione Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, quod vel maxime odii contentionisque seminarium est: cum in omnibus terrarum ecclesiis id juris obtineat et consuetudine generali prævaleat, ut ab illius tantum ecclesiæ corpore, cui specialiter præferendus est, suus eligatur antistes. Numquid enim ad electionem summi pontificis patriarchæ, sive primates, vel cæteri ecclesiarum pastores aliquatenus evocantur? Eis tamen universis summus pontifex, jure beati Petri, præsidere dinoscitur, de cujus sede honorem sibi pallii, pontificalis scilicet plenitudinem officii, cum instantia petentes accipiunt. Præterea monasticæ professionis sæcularibus odiosa simplicitas movet eis zelo faciente discordiam, quod primæ sedis potiatur honore; respondente pro nobis evangelio, quia "de mundo non estis, "sed ego elegi vos de mundo, propterea odit vos mundus." Paternitati itaque [vestræ] summa cum humilitate supplicamus, quatenus illud evangelium recolentes, quod in hac parte clericis merito potest coaptari, "Si oculus tuus nequam est, totum "corpus tuum tenebrosum erit," quia si prava est intentio quæ præcedit, perversum est omne opus quod sequitur, pro nostra simplicitate a vobis jam datam confirmando sententiam, per eam quæ desursum est sapientiam vestram, clericorum astutiam convincatis, ut canonum super eos procedente rigore, non audeat iterum, vel fiducia potestatis vel auxilio[1] multitudinis, illudere Petro, vel apostolicum evacuare mandatum. Vitam vestram et incolumitatem protendat Altissimus in tempora longiora, pater sanctissime.

A.D. 1198. June or July.

but they have written to Rome against the cause of the convent.

S. Ambrose, *Conc. de basilicis non tradendis.*

The bishops do not like to be summoned so far as to Canterbury for consecrations; they claim a share in the election of the archbishop;

fo. 107 r°.

and they dislike monastic simplicity in the metropolitan church.

S. John xv. 19.

S. Matt. vi. 23.

The convent beg the pope to confirm his sentence in spite of the bishops.

S. James iii. 15.

[1] *auxilio*] aususone, MS. The whole letter is horribly mis-spelt.

A.D. 1198. After July 6.

CCCCLIII. Johanni Cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent extol the cardinals.

Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, Qui diffusa caritate per Spiritum Sanctum in corde vestro, nobis in mœrore positis caritatis solatia transmisit. Nam, sicut litterarum vestrarum pro nobis tenor enunciat, ipsi muti apices sollicitudinem vestræ caritatis pro Christi ecclesiis eloquuntur; in tantum ut de vobis et fratribus vestris, rerum ipsarum veritate probante, scriptum esse videatur, "Domini sunt cardinales terræ, et "posuit super eos orbem." Vere apostolorum filii vos, qui cum glorioso Paulo cum gloria potestis effari, "Quis infir- "matur et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur et ego non "uror." Deus autem, Qui secundum eundem apostolum in vobis operatus est velle, perficere quoque pro bona voluntate dignetur operari. Insinuamus etenim dignationi vestræ, reverendum Hubertum archiepiscopum, dominum et patrem nostrum, usque in præsens apostolico supersedisse mandato, nec adhuc aliquid, termino elapso, esse prosecutum: asserentibus eis quorum consiliis utitur, quasi super incerto, secundam debere eum expectare jussionem, cum in duorum summorum pontificum audientia causa sit per triennium ferme ventilata, et utraque parte præsente discussa, et cum, tergiversatione et erroris incerto sublato, tantæ sedis diffinitio, tantæque deliberationis examine, cuncta deciderit, ambigua in lucem evocaverit, pro humilitate nostra, jure mediante, sententiam dederit. Venerabilis etiam Johannes Anagninus, cardinalis et apostolicæ sedis legatus, ad hoc ipsum Cantuariam destinatus, dolos et machinas adversæ partis, vim et metum regium authentico suo luculenter ostendit, et secundum leges et canones nobis non debere nocere præscribit. Cujus etiam sententiam beatæ memoriæ Cœlestinus apostolica auctoritate confirmat. Suscepto autem de novo apostolico mandato, dominus archiepiscopus quantis potuit egit studiis, quantum voluit nisus est argumentis, ut sententiam domini papæ verteret in arbitrium, auctoritatem in voluntatem, certum in incertum, ut quia terror ipsius judicem non urget superiorem, arbitros terreret inferiores, quo magis proprii judicii commoditas, quam ecclesiæ suæ honor et indemnitas posset expediri. Nos vero, quia id nolumus admittere, nec in profundum pelagus de portu longius abscedere, possessionibus nostris spoliati sumus, minis et terroribus regiis angustiati. Pietati itaque vestræ humili mente supplicamus, quatenus gratiam vestram, quam initio gustavimus, non solum usque in hujus causæ finem, sed in perpetuum cum effectu [experiamur], ut quod bono principio cœpistis, optimo fine concludatis. In fine breviter hoc inferimus, quod,

Rom. v. 5.

1 Sam. ii. 8.

2 Cor. xi. 29.

Phil. ii. 13.

The archbishop, although the term of execution has elapsed, does not execute the mandate, and pretends to be waiting for further orders.

No. cccxxxvi.

No. cccl vi.

The archbishop tries to get an arbitration, and as the convent would not consent, their possessions are seized.

quia sermo prolixior excelsas aures solet offendere, non omnia quæ scribenda erant nos audemus conscribere, sed quod minus cartula continet, in amicas aures vestras sermo latoris infundet. A.D. 1198. After July 6.

CCCCLIV. Petro Cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis. After July 6.

Ex operum evidentia satis enitescit, quam plenæ caritatis affectu ea complectamini, quæ religionis et justitiæ congruunt honestati; fidei enim et justitiæ mater sancta Romana ecclesia temporis malitiæ salubriter occurrens, prout cuique perpendit expedire, tum patris verbera, tum matris ubera, sibi subjectis sollerter satagit distillare. Nos enim præ cæteris injuriis innumeris lacessiti, hanc piæ vestræ compassionis et consolationis præ omnibus, ut credimus, experti sumus bonitatem. Unde vobis post Deum debere pro certo fatemur non solum nos et nostra, sed et statum et ab omnimoda eversione Cantuariensis ecclesiæ futuris temporibus liberationem. Nos itaque disciplina obedientiæ eruditi, a mandatis sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ nunquam recedemus, quia litteris vestræ dignationis dominum regem tam diligenter et affectuose monentibus, in tantum sumus consolati, quod pro minimo reputamus, quicquid ob curiæ Romanæ reverentiam, et ecclesiæ nostræ liberationem, adversariorum impetus nobis poterit machinari. Supra enim quam deceret passi sumus, ut domini [papæ] præcepto sic cogeremur renunciare, quod a fratribus nostris et scripto rei gestæ eis directo plenius poteritis indagare. Nos autem Dei et tantum vestro fulti subsidio, immo vobis post Deum penitus innitentes, stamus in proposito et stabimus, non cedentes blanditiis aut minis, quibus nos tentant etiam fratres nostri uterini. Tota siquidem fere Anglia verbo in nos etsi non corde insurgens, ad petitionem patris nostri, quasi falsæ suggestionis et suppressæ veritatis reos accusat. Unde nos non solum omnium auxilio destituti, sed et omnium malorum regni fere scriptis accusati, ad vos lacrymantes confugimus, sanctitati vestræ supplicantes, quatenus quod intuitu Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ, cum et nostræ justitiæ puritate pro nobis incepistis, adimplere diligenter velitis. Elapso enim termino de mandato domini papæ adimplendo, nihil inde actum est.

fo. 107 v°.

The convent trust in cardinal Peter, and thank him for writing to the king.

No. cccxlv.

He will hear from the brethren what has happened.

No. cccl.

All England is against the convent.

CCCCLV. Conventus Cantuariensis Conventui Sancti Bertini. July.

Fœcundissima radix est caritatis, quæ nihil diminutum, nihil in se continet odiosum, sed contra omnes mundanos æstus benignæ ramos operationis expandit: et gratum ejus munus

The convent ask as a favour that the

A.D. 1198. July. convent of S. Bertin will read the letters of John of Anagni and pope Celestine, which they dare not send to Rome;

quod facile est. Fons est enim largiter profluens, abundanter exuberans, nullis finibus premitur, manat jugiter, et mirum in modum haustu suscipit incrementum. Inde est quod præcellenti dilectioni vestræ onera nova semper afferimus, scientes scriptum esse, "Aquæ multæ non poterant extinguere "caritatem," quæ a nobis portanda non tam suscipitis festinanter, quam rapitis ardenter. Extat autem causa quæ nos compellit authenticum Johannis Anagnini super vi et metu quandoque nobis illato conscriptum, et litteras Cœlestini papæ, ejusdem scilicet robur authentici, ad testimonium transmittere. Sed quoniam insidiosæ sunt viæ usque Romam, et per orbem pugnæ sparguntur, scripta super quibus maxime causæ nostræ justitia et virtus elucet, sortis ambiguæ manibus tradere formidamus. Et quia nostris in partibus virtus timore terrenæ potestatis suum in opere non potest explicare fulgorem, ut pro nobis ausa sit testari, et dici nunc desiit "Justus quasi leo "confidens absque terrore erit;" ad vos solito more confugimus, supplicantes attentius, quatenus diligenter inspectis prædictis originalibus, videlicet Johannis Anagnini et consequenter Cœlestini, summo pontifici pro nobis litteratorium perhibeatis testimonium veritatis. Valete, et caritas quam gratia superna communiter accendit in vobis, vicariis amoris facibus æternum capiat nunquam desitura profectum. Caritas enim nunquam excidit. Licet enim quantum ad opera sit ejus effectus terminabilis, affectus tamen ipsius non potest esse finalis. Iterum vale.

Cant. viii.

No. cccxxxvi.

No. cccl vi.

Prov. xxviii. 1.

and testify their genuineness to the pope.

1 Cor. xiii. 8.

July.

CCCCLVI. Decano Remensi et capitulo Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent remind the dean and chapter of Rheims of the forced reconciliation with the archbishop, and of the legation of John of Anagni.

Plenissimum caritas beneficium æstimat esse se consecutam, cum competens se dederit occasio, ut dilectionis affectum in operis educat effectum. Unde ardenti illi caritatis igne generoso pectori vestro necessitates nostras non cunctamur inferre. Orta quæstione inter bonæ memoriæ Baldewinum, archiepiscopum nostrum, et Cantuariensem ecclesiam de novæ cujusdam constructione capellæ, eousque lis tracta pervenit, ut apostolicæ sedis judicio novum opus, quod in dispendio ecclesiæ videbatur erectum, solo deberet adæquari. Cujus sententiæ cum rex obvius excepisset effectum, indicto nobis silentio, pro libitu contrariæ partis pacem nisus est componere; non volentibus nobis litigare cum principe aut cum majestate pari jure contendere, venerabili Johanni Anagnino cardinali, qui ad ipsum exequendum in Angliam legatus advenerat, de vi et metu regio conquesti sumus. At ille suum authenticum

fo. 108 r°.

No. cccxxxvi. nobis libenter indulgens, vim et metum litteris contestatur. Quorum scilicet interventio, vis et metus, causæ cui juris æquitas suffragatur, nequaquam possunt præjudicium generare, juxta quod legum et canonum scita testantur. Procedente tempore, cum venerandæ memoriæ Cœlestinus apostolicum apicem regendum suscepisset, nos futura pericula metuentes ab eodem papa litteras prædicti Johannis Anagnini impetravi- No. cccl vi. mus confirmari. Quia igitur causa supradictæ capellæ, quæ olim videbatur expirasse, nunc ex insperato in nos rediviva consurgit, et Hydra, cujus fuerat apostolico gladio caput abscisum, jam secundum caput extollit, et totius nodum quæstionis et causæ vigorem, litis quoque valentiam, pars adversa in jam dictam regis transfert compositionem, necesse est nobis sæpedicti Johannis Anagnini litteras authenticas et earundem confirmationem, videlicet authenticum Cœlestini papæ, in testimonium ad medium proferre. Sed quia madet orbis mutuo sanguine, et fremit bellorum sæva tempestas, ut omnia fere viarum itinera sint clausa latronibus, vel obsessa prædonibus, res quibus totius causæ nostræ virtus innititur, tam dubiis rerum eventibus, penes nos nihil inde remanente, committere formidamus. Unde venerationi vestræ precibus humillimis supplicamus, quatenus inspectis prædictis originalibus, domino papæ pro nobis litteris vestris veritatem rei gestæ significetis. Valete.

A.D. 1198. July.

The act of John of Anagni was confirmed by pope Celestine.

The state of the continent makes it impossible to send the originals to Rome; the convent beg the dean and chapter to certify the truth to the pope.

In eundem modum Decano et Capitulo Sancti Audomari.

CCCCLVII. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.

July.

Innocentio summo pontifici, conventus Cantuariensis salutem. Sanctitati vestræ significandum duximus, quod domini Huberti archiepiscopi patris nostri habita præ oculis potestate, et in opere de Lamhee procedendi voluntate, non est vel unus in Anglia qui nostræ humilitatis veritati perhibere audeat testimonium, aut rescriptis privilegiorum nostrorum et indulgentiarum, quæ ad vos destinare proposuimus, sigillum apponere. Sane nos nihilominus de Dei misericordia et vestræ paternitatis bonitate præsumentes, ea ad vos destinamus, protestantes in verbo veritatis omnium privilegiorum et indulgentiarum originalia, quorum ad vos rescripta destinamus, penes nos esse, et sine dolo et surreptione impetrata fuisse, confidentes vos fidem adhibere nostræ assertioni, ut vestræ paternitatis benignitas nobis exhibeat quod terror potestatis ademit.

The convent declare that the documents of which copies are sent to the pope, are in their possession.

A.D. 1198. After July 6.

CCCCLVIII. Octaviano Ostiensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent assure cardinal Octavian of their confidence in his zeal and obedience.

Quia filiarum injuria matri redundat in contumeliam, merito sancta Romana ecclesia spiritualis et devotæ filiæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ desolationem nititur amovere. Justitiæ enim zelus, qui animi vestri motus regit et moderatur, sic subjectis imperat et prælatis obtemperat, ut in una persona perfectum filium obedientiæ et plenæ maturitatis pastorem exhibeat. Dominus namque papa, sententia pro Cantuariensi ecclesia contra illam totius mali materiam lata, capellam videlicet de Lamhee, vestro consensu et consilio procurata et roborata, plenius sane intelligentibus edisserit, quanta sit vobis in consilio discretio, et in eorum quæ recte fiunt prosecutione obedientia. Cantuariensis itaque ecclesia præ cæteris vestræ sanctitati gratiarum actiones persolvit, se vobis totam debere fatetur, in hoc maxime perpendens vos omnimodis ejus studere liberationi, quod tam diligenter, tam affectuose dominum regem Angliæ ad ejus pacem et quietem inducere studuistis. Verum quia perpauci sunt, qui se murum pro domo Israel velint opponere, omnes fere episcopi et abbates Angliæ ad petitionem patris nostri in nos insurgentes, pro capella et canonicis de Lamhee domino papæ, contra nos et ecclesiam Cantuariensem, scribere non metuunt, magis terrenæ potestati deferentes, quam divinæ displicere formidantes; ita etiam ut quidam episcopi contra mandatum domini papæ, ne effectum consequeretur, cum domino archiepiscopo appellaverint. Sane quæ et quanta gravamina passi fuerimus, fratres nostri et scriptum rei gestæ penes nos, quia domini papæ mandato renunciare noluimus, poterunt plenius vobis explicare. Soli igitur Deo et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ inopes et desolati derelicti, ad unicum vestræ protectionis subsidium confugimus, rogantes et obtestantes per beatum martyrem Thomam, qui pro libertate ecclesiæ Cantuariensis in eadem occubuit, quatenus nostræ paci et ecclesiæ nostræ indemnitati providere studeatis, ne ab hujus causæ prosecutione citra finem debitum subsistatis. Machinantur enim adversæ partis fautores omnibus modis ab hujus causæ nos executione præpedire; quare nos nostri defectus suppletionem Deo et sancto Thomæ martyri et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ committimus. In manibus enim vestris Cantuariensis ecclesiæ dependet conditio. Valete semper in Domino.

They thank him for writing to the king on their behalf; and complain that the prelates of England write to the pope against them.

No. ccccxliii.

Ezek. xiii. 5.

f. 108 v°.

No. ccccl.

They beg him to continue to support them.

CCCCLIX. G. CARDINALI CONVENTUS CANTUARIENSIS. A.D. 1198. After July 6.

Quoniam de justitia et juris constantia sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ unitatis ecclesiasticæ dependet integritas, merito de ejus pendere debet judicio subjectarum ecclesiarum status et conditio, ut unius sponsi sponsa et singularis unius capitis obtemperat moderamini; ne partialium ecclesiarum quælibet suo commissa regimini, a capite recedens, schismata pariat et hæreses, et in se ipsa ecclesia, quod absit, divisa desoletur. Sane ad hanc pestem tollendam in Anglia vestra diu invigilavit diligentia, sed nondum debitum consecuta videtur effectum. Novit enim vestra discretio quale mandatum dominus papa in Angliam ad dominum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum patrem nostrum direxerat de demolienda capella de Lamhee, in Cantuariensis ecclesiæ erecta subversione. Sed prævalente voluntate proprii judicii rationis examini, exigitur gladius materialis ad reprimendum gladium Petri, ad superflua resecandum erectum, et ab iis ut dicitur provocatus, qui erectum deberent reprimere. Unde noverit vestra paternitas, elapso termino, nihil actum esse de præcepto summi pontificis. Quare vestram suppliciter exoramus paternitatem, quatenus, [sicut] bono principio de mali materia tollenda incepistis, ad finem debitum perducatis. Valeat cara paternitas vestra.

The convent remind the cardinal of the need of unity.

The archbishop has not obeyed the papal mandate, but has called in the secular power against it.

CCCCLX. GRATIANO CARDINALI CONVENTUS CANTUARIENSIS.

S. Luke, ii. 14. S. John, iii. 8. Cant. i. 2. 2. Cor. ii. 15. Gen. xxvii. 27.

Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis, quia spirante ubi vult Spiritu Veritatis, verum esse de vobis causarum merita et tempora longa probarunt, quod Cantica canunt Canticorum, "Unguentum effusum nomen "Tuum, ideo adolescentulæ," id est, gentium ecclesiæ, "dilexerunt Te." Quæ est enim ecclesia, quantave terrarum longitudine a vobis disparata, vel obscuritate loci celata, quam vestri nominis odor non resperserit, in tantum ut cum apostolo dicere possitis "Christi bonus odor sumus Deo in omni loco?" Novum esse Jacob, hoc est vitiorum supplantatorem, Gratianum gratia mater effecit, ut de vobis pater Isaac, id es risus noster, Christus, exultet et dicat "Ecce odor filii mei, sicut "odor agri pleni, cui benedixit Dominus." Quo virtutis et veritatis odore Cantuariensis ecclesia sæpe respersa, contra morbos ingruentes præ cæteris terrarum ecclesiis est experta virtutem. Quoniam igitur præteritarum rerum exhibitio futurarum est certitudo, et gratia præhibita fiduciam in causis instantibus, et spem præparat in futuris, sanctitati vestræ, cui tam sincera caritas præsidet, et pro nobis sollicitudo gratuita, quanta possumus devotione supplicamus, quatenus ob honorem Dei et ecclesiæ quam nostri Thomæ sanguis

The convent extol cardinal Gratian.

A.D. 1198. They entreat him to use his influence against the reviving chapel at Lambeth.

exornat, canoniam de Lamhee, quæ adversum nos rediviva consurgit, et ecclesiæ nostræ filiæ vestræ dignitatem et honorem molitur auferre, diffinitionis vestra sententia iterata de novo condemnet, et consequentis executionis vigor evertat. Latores etiam præsentium fratres nostros, et eos pariter quos ante præmisimus vestræ sanctitati commendamus, quatenus secundum unctionem Dei, quæ vos docet de omnibus, eis in causis ecclesiæ nostræ velitis assistere, et juxta eminentem gloriam vestram et gloriosam eminentiam, vota eorum et studia pro nobis promovere dignemini. Valete semper in Domino. 1 S. John ii. 27.

June or July.

CCCCLXI. Innocentio summo pontifici suffraganei Cantuariensis ecclesiæ.[1]

The suffragans of the church of Canterbury rejoiced in the accession of Innocent.

Reverendo patri et domino Innocentio, summo pontifici, suffraganei Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, salutem. Gratias agimus gratiæ Largitori, Qui Suam fundans ecclesiam super Petram, in Petro, et per eum in successoribus ejus, fratres suos confirmandos esse prædixit. Unde et cum beatæ recordationis Cœlestini tertii obitu essemus perterriti, superveniens nuncius electionis vestræ nubilum nostræ tristitiæ desiderabiliter serenavit. Non reliquit nos orphanos Qui pro patribus filios, Qui loco sanctorum suscitavit vicarios.[2] Congratulamur gratiæ Dei, Qui vos a primitivis adolescentiæ motibus, ita erudivit et informavit ad tantæ mysterium dignitatis, ut ecclesiæ incolumitas tota post Deum de vestræ potestatis auctoritate pendeat, et quæ in aliquibus membris infirmata est, sub indulto nobis cœlitus [Innocentio, ad justitiam et innocentiam convalescat. Noveritis igitur quod susceptis vestræ paternitatis litteris ad venerabilem patrem nostrum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, et nos directis, quarum vobis transcripta transmittimus, ad mandatum prædicti patris et metropolitani nostri, Cantuariam infra triginta dies susceptionis illius cum omni devotione convenimus, carissimo fratri nostro Coventrensi episcopo manum consecrationis, una cum eodem archiepiscopo imposituri, et super iis quæ a vestra sanctitate in mandatis accepta fuerant cum[3] deliberatione et consilio tractaturi. Nos autem ibidem pro his et ad hæc præsentialiter constituti, prædictum patrem et archiepiscopum nostrum devotum invenimus, ut in iis quæ injuncta fuerant, licet gravia viderentur, vestræ dispositionis imperio, juxta mandati formam et nostræ universitatis consilium, obediret. Cum autem satis exacta deliberatione super his invicem tractaremus, quibusdam nos-

fo. 109 r°.

S. Luke xxii. 32.

S. John xiv. 18. Ps. xlv. 17.

Having received the papal letters, they met at Canterbury within thirty days. (June 21.)

Nos. cccexxiv. & cccexxv.

They have discussed the subject.

[1] This letter is given by Gervase, c. 1610.

[2] *vicarios*] Nazareos, G. See Amos ii. 11, and Pet. Bles. *ep.* 99.

[3] *cum*] communi, G.

trum, scilicet quibus rei gestæ series plenius quam ipsi archiepiscopo innotuerat, constanter asserentibus, multis etiam viris magnis et prudentibus et fide dignis ad ipsum assertive protestantibus, pariter advertimus religionem vestram ex suppressione veritatis multipliciter circumventam. Primo, quod No. vi. cum capella de qua agitur, de speciali indulgentia piæ recordationis Urbani papæ, in honore beatorum martyrum Stephani et Thomæ a bonæ memoriæ Baldewino archiepiscopo constructa fuerit, sicut eam beatus martyr Thomas et plerique ipsius prædecessores in honorem protomartyis Stephani præconceperant construendam, nec in litteris Urbani papæ quæ de eadem No. cxxviii. capella demolienda dicantur emanasse, nec in præscriptis vestræ No. cccexxiv. sanctitatis apicibus, quæ ipsius Urbani litteris maxime videntur inniti, de prædicta indulgentia mentio facta fuit. Unde nec ipsius indulgentiæ vigor per has vel illas videbatur infirmari. Secundo, quod inclytæ recordationis Gregorius papa indulsit, No. cxxxix. ut per litteras domini Urbani prædecessoris sui a tribus mensibus ante obitum suum contra Baldewinum archiepiscopum et clericos suos directas, nisi de novo mandato, minime procederetur. Unde cum litteræ ejusdem Urbani per indulgentiam ejusdem Gregorii suspensæ fuerint, et nulla Clementis papæ vel alterius post illum inhibitio super [hoc] innotuerit, nihil in apostolicæ prohibitionis contemptum circa prædictam capellam videtur attentatum. Tertio, quod cum monachis Cantuariensibus in causa dicta procedendi facultas non suppeteret, eo quod Urbani litteras Gregorii indulgentia suspendisset, interventu domini Ricardi illustris regis Angliæ et venerabilis viri Walterii Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, nec non Dunhelmensis, Wintoniensis, Saresbericnsis, Roffensis, Conventrensis episcoporum, et cancellarii Angliæ tunc Eliensis electi, iisdem monachis instanter in capitulo, domino et illustri regi Scotiæ et abbate Cisterciensi multisque aliis et magnis No. præsentibus recitata, super hæc ita convenit, ut capella quæ cccxxxv. prope muros Cantuariæ fabricata fuit, in locum remotiorem, quemcunque delegisset archiepiscopus, sine subsecutura reclamatione libere transferretur. Sed et idem monachi omnibus aliis querelis spontanea voluntate renunciaverunt, seque dispositioni archiepiscopi sui per omnia subjecerunt, et, sicut a quibusdam fratrum nostrorum audivimus, archiepiscopus et monachi sui se ad invicem in pacis osculo receperunt. Quarto, quod cum bonæ memoriæ Cœlestino papæ processus totius negotii innotuisset, præfato archiepiscopo nostro de prædicta capella et præbendis ejus ad indemnitatem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, libere disponendi facultatem indulsit, No. ccccxiii. et sic statum capellæ confirmavit. Unde postmodum memoratis archiepiscopo et monachis super eadem dispositione tractatum habentibus, unanimi assensu complacuit, per nuncios

A.D. 1198. June or July. and conclude that the pope has been circumvented, for these reasons:

I. Archbishop Baldwin had licence to build from pope Urban, which has not been mentioned, and therefore not annulled by the later acts.

II. The decree of pope Gregory annulling the last letters of Urban was never repealed.

III. The monks are disqualified from proceeding, having themselves agreed to a compromise.

IV. Pope Celestine gave the archbishop full power of dealing with the new church.

A.D. 1198. June or July.

utriusque partis ad sedem apostolicam destinandos, sedis ipsius consilium super hæc expetere et expectare; archiepiscopo id consilio domini papæ committente, ut in ejus esset dispositione, sub quibus cautionibus, manente capella, Cantuariensis ecclesiæ provideretur indemnitati. Nunciorum autem prædictorum iter duo de monachis Cantuariensibus prævenientes, præter conscientiam vel archiepiscopi vel prioris et conventus, sicut idem conventus in capitulo super hoc requisitus viva voce protestatus est, a claustro clanculo recedentes, ob hoc ab archiepiscopo non immerito, secundum regularem disciplinam, sententia sunt excommunicationis innodati. Qui tacita veritate, vel egressus eorum vel sententiæ quam juste super hoc exceperant, idem eorum quæ supra meminimus litteras prædictas ad ipsum archiepiscopum et nos impetraverunt. His rationibus cum universitati nostræ videretur esse juri consentaneum, vestræque paternitati placiturum, litterarum executioni supersederi, donec super rei veritate vestra instrueretur religio; dictus archiepiscopus, ne quid mansuetudinis vel humilitatis omitteret, ex abundanti tam per se quam per nos instanter obtulit, ut derelictis[1] quos monachi Cantuarienses vellent episcopis, vel cujuscunque ordinis viris religiosis, de omnibus quæ præcesserant et de hujus mandati executione acceleranda vel differenda eorum pareret arbitrio. Monachis autem hæc voluntarie magis quam juste recusantibus, præmissis moti rationibus ipsum archiepiscopum ad hoc induximus, ut ipso interim subsistente, de solita sedis apostolicæ clementia confidentes, totum negotium ad vestram excellentiam referremus, supplicantes attentius, ut ita super hoc vestra disponat prudentia, ne inter regnum et sacerdotium in Anglia jam orta dissessio invalescat. Turbati sunt enim vehementer ex hoc mandato rex et regni magnates, eo quod jure canonico videatur licitum, et hactenus consuetudine Anglicana obtentum, ut tam archiepiscopi, quam episcopi, quam etiam laici, auctoritate diocesani episcopi, possint ecclesiam conventualem in suo construere [fundo]. Vos igitur, pater in Christo carissime, quod super hoc expedire videritis, veritate cognita disponatis, securi profecto quia quod statueritis dominus archiepiscopus et nos debito et devoto exequemur affectu. Quod si sanctitati vestræ testimonium nostrum [videatur] minus sufficere ad fidem, placeat vobis pleniorem hujus veritatis inquisitionem aliis quos elegeritis demandare, quorum sub[2] relatione, vestra sublimitas[3] quod Altissimo magis placere noverit diffiniendo decernat.

(V.) The peaceable settlement of the question was

fo. 109 v°.

defeated

(VI.) by the two monks whom the archbishop excommunicated, and to whom the pope has granted his recent letters.

They have therefore postponed the execution.

(VII.) The monks refuse arbitration; the bishops leave the decision to the pope, entreating him not to encourage

(VIII.) a quarrel between church and state.

(IX.) Every man has a right to build a church on his own estate.

[1] *derelictis*] de electis, G.

[2] *sub*] om. G.

[3] *sublimitas*] edocta, ins. G.

CCCCLXII. Innocentio papæ Rievallensis et de Boxeleia, et J. de Forda, et B. de Stradford, et de Ponte Roberti, et de Stanlega, et de Basingham abbates, totusque Cisterciensium abbatum de Anglia Conventus. A.D. 1198. June or July.

Reverendo domino et patri Innocentio, Dei gratia, summo pontifici, suæ sanctitatis filii et servi devotissimi, E. Rievallensis, R. de Boxeleia, J. de Forda, B. de Stratford, W. de Ponte Roberti, H. de Stanlega, W. de Basingeham abbates, totusque Cysterciensium abbatum de Anglia conventus, salutem et debitam cum humili subjectione reverentiam et obedientiam. Cum sacrosancta Romana ecclesia, cui Deo disponente præestis, mater sit omnium ecclesiarum in Christo, in multiplicandis eis, enutriendis ac defensandis, materna caritate atque sedulitate uti consuevit, et sic de adulta jam sobole gratulari, ut novam quotidie procreare non desinat. Quod si in tot filiis ejus duo aliqui se in utero ipsius aliquando collidunt, materna gravitate atque prudentia litem hanc dirimere novit, et in id ipsum reducere dissidentes, ne et ipsi ab invicem consumantur, et ipsa utroque orbetur filio una die. Hinc est quod pro beati Thomæ martyris ecclesia, qui ac si recens purpura totam vestit et ornat ecclesiam Dei, quanta possumus gemituum ac precum profusione paterna viscera pulsamus, ut convertamini aliquatenus et clementius aliquid cogitetis super eam. Securis apostolica jam ad radicem plantationis hujus novellæ, quod gementes dicimus, posita est, sed si terram non occupat, si fructum facit, si denique fructum plurimum, securim vestram vel ad modicum suspendi humiliter supplicamus. Sane non sine divinæ nutu dispensationis, beatus martyr in loco nativitatis suæ memoriam sibi elegisse videtur, præsertim cum diffinitione regum ac principum, cum consilio episcoporum et totius cleri, cum denique exultatione universæ terræ, fundata, ipsorum etiam monachorum Cantuariensium, quæcunque ipsi vestræ majestati suggesserint, solemnem in audientia publica gratiam et assensum meruerit. Denique si monachis illis contra prælatum suum, talem tantumque prælatum, ad tam pium opus demoliendum res ad vota cesserit, numquid non deinceps tam perniciosi virus exempli omnem cœtum religionis inficiet, et cornua increscent omnibus in-

The Cistercian abbots trust in the Holy See for peace.

Gen. xxvii. 15.

They entreat him not to destroy the infant church of S. Thomas;

S. Matt. iii. 10.

S. Luke xiii. 7.

which was founded with general applause, and with the consent of the monks who now wish to destroy it.

[1] This letter is given by Gervase, c. 1612. The writers are Ernald, abbot of Rievaulx; John, of Ford; Benedict, of Stratford Langthorn; Robert, of Boxley, and the abbots of Stanley, Robertsbridge, and Basingwerk, whose names are only known by the initials in this letter.

A.D. 1198. June or July.

fo. 110 r°.

obedientiæ filiis, ut levi occasione insurgant, et impugnent in parentes suos? Omnis jam domus, rupto pacis et obedientiæ vinculo, desolabitur; et ubi tanti mali auctoritas convaluerit, unusquisque vorabit carnem brachii sui. Quidque ad loci hujus venerationem, cum beati martyris illustri gloria præclara sui merita fundatoris accedunt, qui de nostro grege ad tanti officii culmen assumptus, magni illius mensuram gradus, ut mundus testis est, gloriose adimplevit, et in priori nihilominus humilitate in multa millium admiratione perseveravit? Et vir quidem ille, et ita venerabilis et doctrina incomparabilis et signis illustris, omnibus inter se [et] monachos suos illos solemniter consopitis, peregre consummatus est, Christianæ fidei pietati, tam morte pretiosa quam vita eximia, testimonium reddens. Non moveat, quæsumus, sanctitatem vestram livor istorum, nec post fata quiescens, quibus ignoscat Deus, quod quem vivum inexorabiliter sunt persecuti, et veteres post mortem inimicitias, in operum ejus relliquiis demoliendis, dissimulare non possunt. Reverendo patri successori ejus, domino nostro nunc Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, contra quem præfati monachi suum levavere calcaneum, etiam si ora humana tacuerint, opera ejus testimonium perhibebunt de illo, cum lucerna luceat prorsus omnibus qui in domo sunt. In viis ambulat gloriosorum prædecessorum suorum, qui si veteres et novi revolvantur annales, similia a suis monachis pertulisse invenientur. Judicem eum esse incorruptissimum, personarum prorsus et munerum acceptione deducta, nemo est in regno Anglicano qui dubitet. Benedictio proinde periturorum, pauperum, pusillorum ac viduarum super eum continua et copiosa descendit. Religiosi omnes non dominum eum vel judicem, sed patrem inveniunt et advocatum. In camera ejus non solum ad colloquium, sed passim et indifferenter ad hospitii gratiam suscipit eos. De conscientia denique bona constans ei atque fidele testimonium perhibemus, quia ipse est unica ac potentissima ecclesiæ Anglicanæ columna, qui sicut in omnibus causis suis, ita et in hac tantam exhibuit patientiam, lenitatem atque modestiam, quantam nec nos scripto ad præsens concipere possumus, et illi plenius vobis poterunt enarrare, qui a latere ejus ad vos missi ore ad os vobis loqui merebuntur. Sed de patientia ejus illi semper ad impatientiam crescunt, et de lenitate ejus atque modestia abutentes, contumaciores atque inimiciores efficiuntur in dies. Cadat ergo in conspectu vestro universitatis nostræ humilis supplicatio, ut respondeat ei hodie ante tribunal vestrum justitia sua, cui tot et tanta merita sua, et gloriæ beati martyris pia æmulatio et totius Angliæ communia vota suffragantur. Unum est quod precibus nostris adjicimus, ut si nos in commendatione unius alteriusve personæ timore seu

S. Matt. xii. 25.

Is. ix. 20.

Ovid, *Amor.* I. xv. 39.

S. Matt. v. 15.

Job xxix. 13.

The merits of archbishop Baldwin the founder.

The praises of archbishop Hubert; his justice, munificence, patience, lenity and moderation.

gratia excessisse timetis, consulere dignemini testimonium universæ terræ, et eos, si placet, præcipue, qui de Nigro sunt Ordine, cum in his utique non debeant esse de jure suspecti, et invenietis nos servos vestros fideles in omnibus, parcius etiam fuisse locutos. Valeat in Domino sancta paternitas vestra. A.D. 1198. June or July. Let the pope enquire of the Cluniac monasteries.

CCCCLXIII. Allegatio episcoporum Angliæ pro archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.

June or July.

Hæc est forma litterarum domini papæ, in qua falsa plurima cum facti narratione continentur. Primo, quod nunquam interdictum Urbani vel Clementis in publico comparuit, unde si factum est, pro non facto habendum est. Secundo, quod in constructione capellæ non processimus. Tertio, quod non post inhibitiones apostolicas quæ eis innotuerunt, clerici in capella ministraverunt. Quarto, quod nec exenia, nec ecclesias, nec possessiones, nec redditus eorum, quisquam invasit, sed auctoritate sedis apostolicæ monachi quibusdam ecclesiis sunt juste destituti. Quinto, quod in nullum ex fratribus sententiam temere tulimus. Sed et vera in narratione facti sunt suppressa; primo, quod post sententiam Urbani papæ, si qua lata fuit, partes composuerunt, et auctoritate illius compositionis capella de Lamhee constructa est; secundo, quod de indulgentia Cœlestini papæ, qua idem papa Cœlestinus constructionem capellæ illius confirmavit, nulla in litteris istis fit mentio. His rationibus dominus archiepiscopus appellavit; et juste, ut ei videtur, possunt alii quorum interest contra executionem hujus mandati dominum papam appellare. The grounds of the archbishop's appeal: five points in the pope's letter are false: and in two points there are suppressions of fact.

CCCCLXIV. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

Regi sæculorum honor et gloria, Qui contra omnes erroris laqueos, et calumniarum insidias humanarum, apostolicæ petræ munimen opposuit, et adeo collaudatæ lucem confessionis omnibus dedit contuendam, ut nunquam possit veritas subtilitate frustrari, nunquam justitia calumniis opprimi, si ad ipsam veritatis originem fontemque justitiæ redeatur, si ad caput concurratur, si beati Petri magisterii forma servetur, loquente Domino ad Petrum, "Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram "ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt S. Matt. xvi. 18. "adversus eam." Transiit etiam ad posteros hujus fides promissionis, et communio gratiæ et paterni jura primatus spirituales non reliquerunt hæredes, ecclesiam alloquente propheta, Ps. xlv. 17. "Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii, constitues eos principes The convent express fo. 110 v°. their confidence in the successor of S. Peter.

A.D. 1198. Pope Innocent is worthy of his position.

" super omnem terram." Quorum nunc floruit honor et confortatus est principatus, cum reverendus Innocentius diu laborantis innocentiæ causam suscepit, cui non tam contulit cathedra decus, quam a præsidente suscepit, qui apostolici possessor honoris habere contendit et meritum, et sicut cæteris est dignitate præstantior, sanctitate quoque esse conatur ornatior. Inde est quod tanto nobis desuper tutore dato justitiæ, causam justam sub ejus moderamine tueri non formidamus, quod totis insurgentibus in nos spectatis gravibusque personis, casibus improvisis humiles modicique pulsemur. Noverit ergo vestra clementia, quod ecclesia Cantuariensis, licet multis undique calumniis agitetur, inde tamen urgetur acrius, ut filiorum suorum insperatis attentatur excubiis. Suffraganei namque sui, quos ipsa episcopalis dignitatis evexit in apicem, suis eam insequuntur epistolis, et quos jure sacræ professionis suos sperabat advocatos, præcipuos jam sentit impugnatores. Causam enim quam zelus et contentio quorundam olim suscitavit, diuque protractam atque discussam, apostolicæ diffinitionis censura finierat, ipsi et dudum confoverunt, et nunc etiam contra vestræ mandatum clementiæ, multipliciter renovare nituntur. Suscepto namque de novo apostolatus vestri decreto, ad novitatis se vertunt argumenta, satis indignum putantes se a monachis superari, quasi pudendum sit justitiæ cedere, aut apostolico parere mandato, aut voluntatis arbitrium rationi sociare. Multiplices adversum nos movent objectiones, quibus mandatum quod pro nobis emanavit, evacuare nituntur apostolicum. Primo nobis objiciunt indulgentiam piæ recordationis Urbani papæ, qua concessum fuerat archiepiscopo capellam erigere;—ad quod respondemus, quod per surreptionem obtenta fuit, tacita veritate de loci tunc vicinitate; quam vicinitatem nunc alterius loci celebritas, Londoniæ urbis latus contiguum, et sinus regius, ubi totius est regni concursus, periculo graviore compensat. Summus quoque pontifex de capella concessit;—at dominus archiepiscopus, sicut ipse in capitulo Cantuariensi publica voce testatus est, ecclesiam nobilissimam fundare statuit, ubi jam plures canonicos instituit, spectabiles magnasque personas, unde ecclesia de Lamhee contra matricem ecclesiam elationis supercilium in quibusdam usurpandis assumpsit. Quod si necdum plantata præsumit, quid facturam speramus, si in consummationis robur evaserit? Secundo loco contendunt, quod venerabilis papa Gregorius indulsit, ut per litteras domini Urbani prædecessoris sui, nisi de novo mandato minime procederetur. Ad quod dicimus, quod novo mandato processum est, quia sanctæ memoriæ Clementis litteræ, ejusdem Gregorii successoris, super demolitione prædicti operis, per venerabilem Jo-

Ps. cxxxix. 17.

The convent complain that the suffragans of their own church have written against them: and proceed to answer the letter of the bishops.

Answer to No. cccclxi.

I. The licence of pope Urban was fraudulently obtained, and it was for a chapel, and not for a great church.

No. vi.

II. The inhibition of pope Gregory was superseded by the new mandate of Clement, and by the mission of

No. cxxxix. No. ccxci. & ccclviii.

hannem Anagninum publice cunctis innotuerint, qui ideo in Angliam legatus advenit, ut prædictam capellam funditus everteret, si hoc exequi dominus Baldewinus archiepiscopus detrectaret. Tertio, nobis opponunt, quod in causa jam dicta procedendi nobis facultas non suppetiit;—quod quidem verum est, sed ratione longe dissimili ei quam ipsi prætendunt. Nam cum piæ recordationis Cœlestinus papa ad executores apostolica scripta misisset, ut sæpedictam capellam everterent, ab ejusdem executione mandati regia sunt vi et potestate propulsi, per dominum Walterium Rothomagensem archiepiscopum, qui tunc temporis vices domini regis in Anglia summus agebat. Qualiter autem hoc super articulo pars adversa sit in causa versata, Romanæ sedis credendum est testimoniis, venerabilis etenim Johannes Anagninus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, scripto mandare curavit, ut veritas omnibus posset innotescere, quod, sicut præsens apud Cantuariam vidit, monachi ecclesiæ Christi in pace quam cum archiepiscopo suo fecerunt, vim passi sunt, et metu regis, qui tunc cum episcopis suis Cantuariam venerat, omnia compulsi sunt sustinere. Unde res sic gesta nostræ justitiæ præjudicium non debuit generare. Venerandæ quoque memoriæ Cœlestinus papa pacem illam vi et metu regis extortam revocat, et deducit prorsus in irritum, juxta quod ejusdem Johannis legati contestatur authenticum. Quarto loco nobis objiciunt, quod reverendus Cœlestinus papa domino Huberto archiepiscopo nostro de ecclesia de Lamhee et præbendis ejus libere disponendi facultatem indulsit. Ad quod respondemus, quod in prædicta indulgentia conceditur archiepiscopo disponendi facultas de ecclesia de Lamhee, cum hoc adjuncto de determinatione, "dummodo canonice." Quo dicto manifeste convincitur, concessionem illam apostolicam tacita veritate impetratam fuisse: quia ecclesia de Lamhee cum præbendis suis, ab ipsis sui exordiis, cum diminutione juris cathedralis ecclesiæ contra canones nititur violenta consurgere. Ecclesiæ namque ad Cantuariensem pertinentes ecclesiam, quibus ipsa privatur, clericis de Lamhee assignantur in præbendis, quod sine conniventia nostra canonice fieri non potest, nec debet alteri per alterum iniqua conditio inferri: nec debet una ecclesia suo jure destitui, ut altera surgat. Quod ergo dominus papa fieri concessit, ut sine injuria et damno cathedralis ecclesiæ fieret, concessisse videtur. Quinto nobis opponunt, quod domino archiepiscopo et nobis unanimi assensu complacuit, ut communiter per nuncios utriusque partis sedis apostolicæ consilium super hæc expetere deberemus. Ad quod dicimus, hoc a domino archiepiscopo sollicitius postulatum, nequaquam a nobis fuisse concessum. Egitque pars opposita

A.D. 1198. John of Anagni.

III. The power of proceeding was taken from the convent. by the use of the secular power, not by the compromise, which is null and void.

No. cccxxxvi.

fo. 111 r°.

IV. The licence of Celestine to Hubert to dispose of the church of Lambeth as he pleased, is limited by the word *canonical*: it is uncanonical for one church to be enriched at the expense and against the will of another.

No. cccexiii.

V. The convent never consented to a proposal merely to *consult* the pope on the question.

A.D. 1198. ut communiter nuncii mitterentur, quasi in universum sopito negotio, et capella quam auctoritas apostolica damnaverat, impune sub quodam calliditatis posset latere palliolo. Sexto loco contendunt, quod duo de monachis Cantuariensibus præter conscientiam vel archiepiscopi vel prioris et conventus a claustro clanculo recedentes, ob hoc ab archiepiscopo sententia sunt excommunicationis innodati, qui, tacito egressu suo vel excommunicationis sententia, litteras prædictas impetraverunt. Ad quod respondemus, non tam inspiciendum forte quid actum sit, quam quo tempore, qua causa, quo Christi zelo id actum sit. Tempore namque litis instantis exierunt, idcirco clanculo, quia comprehendi timuerunt, vel cum sua universitate concludi. Neque enim inanis hæc cautio fuit, aut vana formido, quia dictum archiepiscopum Hubertum crediderunt ejus posse mores imitari cujus sequebatur in causam, Baldewini videlicet prædecessoris sui, qui ne quis ex monachis Cantuariensibus publici juris auxilii invocandi gratia, Romanum posset adire pontificem, circumfusa multitudine ecclesiæ nostræ septa dudum concluserat. Causa etiam egressus eorum probatur honestissima, quia pro libertate et indemnitate ecclesiæ suæ ipsos constat egressos. Quorum intentionem tam nobilem cum mater eorum Cantuariensis ecclesia, redeuntibus eorum litteris, cognovisset, de communi consilio totius capituli prædictis fratribus nostris plenissimum robur auctoritatis suæ transtulit, et pro causa jam dicta nuncios suos esse constituit. Legum enim et canonum æquitate collectum est, ut id quod ab initio infirmum est, ratihabitione valeat confirmari. In sententia vero anathematis, quam testantur episcopi Hubertum dominum et patrem nostrum in prædictos tulisse fratres; salva reverentia sua, multum contra canones fecisse videtur. Ipsi enim fratres pro universitate Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, cujus ipsi sunt portio, contra eundem archiepiscopum [querelam] habuerunt, et ob hoc sedis apostolicæ petiere judicium, quod canon videtur approbare. Prædicti etiam fratres, litteris e vestigio remissis, apostolicam sedem appellaverunt, quæ cum in capitulo nostro coram domino archiepiscopo recitatæ fuissent, ipse nihilominus sententiam anathematis, quam post factam appellationem in jam dictos tulit monachos, firmandam esse censuit, quod contra leges et canones esse, nulli videtur ambiguum. Nam post appellationem interpositam nihil innovandum est. Septimo nobis objicere nituntur, quod auctoritatem apostolicæ sedis in incertam voluntatem vertere noluimus arbitrorum, cum pro nobis in Anglia nemo auderet arbitrari, sicut nec in præsentiarum aliquis pro nobis testimonium audet perhibere veritati. Octavo loco metum seditionis et scandali nituntur incutere; ad quod breviter respondemus, neminem hujus occasione man-

VI. The two monks who fled with their appeal to Rome were justified in doing so, and their conduct was approved and ratified by the convent.

No. ccccxxxiv.

No. ccccxxi.

No. ccccxxi.

VII. The convent were right in refusing arbitration.

fo. 111 v°.

VIII. No grounds for

dati scandalizari, nullumque turbari, præter adversam partem, ipsos scilicet Cantuariensis ecclesiæ suffraganeos, qui vel terrore vel favore personæ trahi videntur. Sententia autem super hoc negotio de corde regis expressa, sicut a viris fide dignis accepimus, hæc est; "Quorum orationibus Deus ipse "victoriam in hac causa præstare voluerit, ipsi obtineant." De jure etiam canonico et consuetudine Anglicana nobis opponunt, quod de facili solvitur. Sic quippe licet cuilibet in suo ædificare, ut cum alterius incommodo id non faciat: sed cum incommodo cathedralis ecclesiæ ædificare contendit, quia capella de Lamhee non vestitur nisi ecclesia nostra spolietur, quod nec etiam mores habent Anglicani. Sublimitati ergo vestræ quanta possumus humilitate cum devotione supplicamus, quatenus ecclesiam Cantuariensem, specialem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ filiam, quam solam divino respectu et gratis confovistis, juxta sententiam a vobis egressam, ad suam reformetis libertatem; et opus capellæ quod contra canones constat erectum, et gravem parit materiam seditionis et scandali, apostolatus vestri censura subvertat, universo negotio vobis ad terminandum et finiendum reservato. Vehementer enim formidamus adversam multitudinem pauci, astutiam simplices, humilesque potentiam. Innocentio vero soli justitiam nostram securi committimus. Valeat ad gloriam Dei et honorem universitatis ecclesiæ sanctitas vestra, et justitiam moresque vestros, qui conciti currunt ad bravium, perseverantia conservata coronet.

A.D. 1198. offence have arisen, nor has any one been disturbed except the bishops themselves.

IX. No one can build a church on his own estate to the prejudice of another church.

CCCCLXV. Hubertus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Conventui Cantuariensi. August.

Hubertus, Dei gratia, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, *etc.*, priori et conventui ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et singularem dilectionis affectum. Si vestræ sanctitatis memoria bene recolit, nos post susceptionem pallii et inthronizationem nostram celebratam solemniter, Cantuariam venientes, vobis in spiritu lenitatis, super omnibus querelis inter dominum Baldewinum bonæ memoriæ prædecessorem nostrum et vos diu ante subortis reducendis ad pacem, verbum proposuimus generale, desiderantes in diebus nostris ad utriusque partis indemnitatem præteritas sopire, causas repellere futurarum. Inter cætera ideo, super capella de Lamhee propensiore fuimus cura solliciti, quomodo cum pace et benevolentia vestra, salva et secura consisteret, quia verbum illud præ cæteris interius penetravit, efficacius movit, immo vehementius aliis vos in universo turbavit; nec licebat vobis dissimulare penitus, aut rite quæ acta fuerant irritare. Si vobis et Cantuariensi ecclesiæ timeatis, si vos teneri dicitis ne præ-

The archbishop reminds the convent of the measures he took after his election, to secure peace for the future.

A.D. 1198. August. The rights of the mother church are as dear to him as to the monks.

judicium ecclesiæ pariatur, quare non similiter teneamur? Quis nostra dubitet interesse vobis arctius adhærere, quia, quod majus est, ad ipsius ecclesiæ et vestri custodiam obligamur? Sane sollicitudo exigitur ad tutelam a membris ecclesiæ minor, a capite principalis. Eapropter, sicut oportuit, diligenter et diu deliberavimus in rem nostram, formam elicientes ad ultimum, in qua posset abundanter ecclesiæ cui nos Domino disponente præficimur, a futuri temporis incommodo provideri, quam vobis per abbates primo, per fratrem J. de Dovra capellanum nostrum designavimus consequenter. Revera quicquid securitatis ad perpetuam ecclesiæ vestræ indemnitatem sufficiat, ibi in abundantia continetur, multo etiam amplius quam quidam exquisitioris consilii censeant oportere. Audacter dicimus, super eadem forma nihil aliud timemus, nihil dubium æstimamus, nisi quod dominus papa in confirmatione illius capituli quod de juramento archiepiscopi interseritur, se difficilem exhibebit. Non enim creditur quod velit in tanta humilitate personam tanti nominis obligari. Si vero censuerit ad confirmandum, et a nobis, in exemplum eorum qui succedunt, jurari voluerit, ad nostros successores fortius innodandos, faciles ad executionem hujus operis descendemus. Volumus igitur, sicut alias vobis dedimus in mandatis, quatenus super iis quæ in forma illa concepta sunt, per fratrem A. latorem præsentium et tres alios qui mittendi sunt, usque Coventriam[1] responsionis vestræ certitudinem remittatis; vel per te, fili prior, et alios etiam juris vestri et dignitatis nostræ [memores], et pro statu ecclesiæ Lamhensis, quam sub protectione et custodia nostra cum omnibus pertinentiis suis suscepimus, solemniter nobiscum appelletis, teste me ipso, qui venturi estis Londonias ad nos.

No. dlvii.

He offers for the third time certain conditions which will secure the rights of their church.

CCCCLXVI. Abbati et capitulo Sancti Remigii.

July or August. The convent remind the chapter of S. Remy of fo. 112 r°. their duty of charity.

Caritas est virtus quæ plurimum prodest iis qui modicum possunt. In oppressis enim et afflictis maxime comparet virtus caritatis. Nec nominis dignitas Christiani alia ratione sui gaudet honore vocabuli, nisi adhærendo Deo et compatiendo proximo. Inde est quod sanctitati vestræ tribulationem nostram, licet toti fere orbi Latino notissimam, communicamus litteris. Bonæ memoriæ Baldewinus, noster quondam archiepiscopus, opus contentiosum, videlicet ecclesiam quandam de

[1] The archbishop was engaged in war with the Welsh on the borders in August (Gervase, 1614), and may have now been at Coventry on his return to London, where he resigned the justiciarship before the end of the month.

bonis ecclesiæ nostræ statuit erigere. Quæ quoniam Cantuariensis ecclesiæ insidiabatur honori, derogatura erat dignitati, manifestum minabatur exitium, nostrum non potuit in hac parte tenere consensum. Illo vero nihilominus proprium exsequente propositum, sedem apostolicam coacti sumus appellare. Ubi partium assertionibus causa discussa, pro nobis tandem sententia diffinitiva processit, directoque in Angliam legato, ut sententiam latam suo sociaret effectui, vis et metus regius speratum finem executionis elusit. Procedente tempore, cum venerabilis Hubertus, dominus et archiepiscopus noster, pontificatum suscepisset, prædecessoris sui vestigiis per omnia duxit insistendum, nisi quod ille severius, iste agere videtur argutius, immo prior altero, posterior cornu ferit utroque. Unde caritatem vestram, quam omnibus nostis gratis impendere, obsecramus impensius, quatenus et nobis, qui vobiscum una lege fœderamur, eodem tenemur proposito, eisdem nitimur regulæ disciplinis, in præsenti assistatis articulo, Deumque pro nobis, Cui cura est de omnibus sanctis, pulsetis orationibus, latoribusque præsentium per vos liberum habere transitum faciatis, gratiæque conductum. Non enim nobis tantum, sed universo nostri habitus ordini, qui ab initio lactentis ecclesiæ in regno coaluit Anglorum, dispendium imminet et ruina. Insurgunt etiam in nos, proh dolor! disparitatis habitus monachi, et juris æquitate despecta, in personæ rapiuntur acceptionem. Baldewinus etiam archiepiscopus Candidi habitus monachorum tenebat propositum, cujus personalem despectum in sui ordinis vertunt contumeliam.

A.D. 1198. July or August.

They briefly recount their charges against the archbishop.

They ask for their prayers and help for the bearers.

Wisd. xii. 13.

The Cistercians have begun to act against them.

CCCCLXVII. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.

After July 6.

Respexit Dominus in faciem lugentis ecclesiæ Suæ, cum lucernam quæ diu latuerat super candelabri summum apicem erexit, ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt. Innocentiam autem suæ libertati restituit, cum libertatis ecclesiasticæ defensorem ecclesiæ Suæ præfecit Innocentium. Et licet per orbem terræ multorum constantia sit turbata pastorum, Petrus tamen fide cæteris ardentior invictum servat justitiæ gladium; cujus ardorem fidei, zelumque justitiæ, confessamque dilectionem qua Christi oves suscepit alendas, experimur in nobis, et gratia quam primus obtinuit transivit ad posteros. Magna igitur majestatem vestram gratiarum actione prosequimur, quæ culminis oblita Romani, Christi se meminit esse discipulum, secundum Ejus formam magisterii humilia respicit, et alta a longe cognoscit. Vere beata Romana ecclesia, cujus pastor, qui apostolos honore sequitur, sequitur et merito; qui non fascibus coli meretur sed moribus; qui nihil appetit, nihil desiderat de

The convent express their confidence in pope Innocent.

S. Matt. v. 15.

S. John xxi. 17.

Ps. cxxxviii. 6.

A.D. 1198. After July 6. The term for the execution of the mandate has expired, and nothing has been done: the enemy mocks the Holy See.

sæculo; qui major est mundo. Cæterum, clementiæ vestræ mandatum, quo, juxta prædecessorum vestrorum veneranda decreta, capellam de Lamhee, in perniciem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ caput extollentem, evertendam funditus judicastis, decusso jam termino, nullum, vel in hoc vel in alio comprehenso litteris vestris articulo, consecutum est effectum, sed illudentibus nobis potestatis adversæ consiliariis, secundam se dicunt expectare jussionem. Illusores enim recte dixerimus, qui jam tribus illusis viris apostolicis, Urbano videlicet, Clemente in eandem mandati formam diffinitionisque modum concurrentibus, tertio quoque celebrandæ memoriæ Cœlestino, licet diversa litterarum forma, eundem tamen finem vimque servante sententiæ, nunc tandem more suo illudere nituntur et Innocentio, secundam expectantes jussionem, cum examinato discussoque negotio, et diffinitiva sententia totius altercationis tollendum conflictum, jam quatuor exceperint jussiones. Sed confidimus in Eo contra Quem non est sapientia, non est pru- Prov. xxi. 30.
dentia, non est consilium, quod per unctionem Suam, quæ vos in omnem induxit veritatem, sapienter æmulorum occurrat astutiæ. Sane totius ordinem rei gestæ et procedentis seriem facti, (quot scilicet tentationum humanarum pulsati sumus aculeis, quot illecti blanditiis, terroribusque afflicti, insperatis attentati consiliis, insurgentibus in nos cum clero simul quibusdam regni potestatibus; quomodo etiam possessionibus nostris per aliquot dies spoliati sumus, et pristinis non restitutis,[1] videlicet ecclesiis et exeniis, ablata sunt nova,) postquam sanctitatis vestræ litteræ a domino Huberto archiepiscopo nostro nobis No. cccexxxiv.
afferentibus sunt susceptæ, totius summam negotii fratribus nostris, quos pro eadem causa ad clementiæ vestræ vestigia direximus, sub sigillo nostro transmisimus. Universa enim No. cccl.
litteris istis inserere formidamus, quia etsi vestra nos ad se trahit humanitas, terret tamen tantis negotiis occupata majestas. Quod igitur minus epistola continet dignationi vestræ suggerendo, fratrum nostrorum vox viva litteris nostris erudita supplebit. In fine istud necessario duximus adnectendum, quod Cantuariensis ecclesia omni auxilio destituta solum Innocentium patrem, et solam matrem Romanam agnoscit ecclesiam. Confidimus autem de vobis in Domino, quia Qui cœpit opus bonum in vobis, juxta Pauli sententiam, Ipse Phil. i. 6.
perficiet usque in finem.

fo. 112 v°. They have drawn up a statement of all that has happened since June 9; and forwarded it to the brethren at Rome.

[1] *restitutis*] institutis, MS.

CCCCLXVIII. Cuidam cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis. A.D. 1198. After July 6.

The convent extol the character of cardinal Gratian.

Virtutum omnium magistra caritas, suggerente matre gratia, in supremum bonorum verticem Gratianum evexit; unde rerum infra se jacentium facies melius posset intueri, et lucem a tenebris, verum a fallaciis, æquum ab iniquo, lucis filius, veritatis discipulus, æquitatis assertor, disertissimo rationis acumine posset sequestrare; licet hoc pro meritis vestris modicum esse probetur, cum mores vestri ecclesiarum omnium
Phil. iii. 20. auribus insonent, "Nostra conversatio in cœlis est." Unde personarum acceptione deducta, et totius avaritiæ sorde proscripta, terrore despecto, eliminato favoris dulci veneno, tristibus simul contemptis rebus et lætis, rectissimo Christi tramite regius miles incedis, juris videlicet per omnia rectissimus exsecutor. Nec verbis vobis assurgimus, qui non vocibus quæritis properari sed moribus, quem nec laus inflectit nec tangit contumelia, qui perfectionis in culmine consistitis,
1 Cor. iv. 3, 4. cum Paulo sedula cogitatione versatis: "Mihi autem pro "minimo est ut a vobis judicer, aut ab humano die," et infra "Qui autem judicat me Dominus est." Sed difficile fere, immo [im]possibile, novimus caritatis ignem intra cordis arcanum diu contineri, quin boni operis flammas exserat, ut
S. Luke xii. 49. sermo Veritatis impleatur, "Ignem veni mittere in terram, et "quid volo nisi ut accendatur." Cujus ignis vires quem in beatitudine vestra Spiritus Sanctus accendit, ad mundi boream nobis mitigandum, rabiemque ventorum qui in ecclesiam nostram violenti consurgunt, quam dudum nostro patrocinando Thomæ, nominis vestri gloriæ dedicastis, non quidem tempore, sed nunc potissimum experimur. Litterarum enim impetratio tam cita, quas nuper de vestri bonitate consilii nobis dominus papa transmisit, manifeste denunciat, quia nobis etiam dormitantibus curæ vestræ pro nobis in Christo pervigilant. Cæterum caritatis affectus, tanti censura consilii, tanti moderatio Romani decreti, suo penitus frustrata est effectu, quia fomenta leniora induratus moribus irridet, et ferro curanda sunt vulnera, quibus prodesse non potest medicina. Ad primum enim tactum medicaminis æger vel ægri magis induruerunt, et inde nata levis occasio, ablatis diu non redditis, nostris scilicet ecclesiis et exeniis, quasi per regem detracta sunt et nova. Hinc omnis occasio, quod juris et justitiæ viam tenentes regiam, et apostolico volentes irrefragabiliter adhærere mandato, consentire nolumus arbitrorum ambiguæ voluntati, nisi forte aliquis reperiatur arbiter qui, contempto gladio quem cervici suæ severus judex et minax intonuit, pro ejus adversario arbitretur inermi. Sane, susceptis a domino nostro Huberto

The speedy granting of the papal mandate is proof of his love for them; unhappily it has been fruitless.

A.D. 1198. After July 6. The archbishop has received the letters: the results will be found in the statefo. 113 r°. ment sent to the brethren.

Cantuariensi archiepiscopo litteris apostolicis, quanta nos calliditate movere tentaverit, ut ab earum rectitudine recederemus errando, non est brevitatis epistolaris evolvere, nec auribus occupatis pariter et excelsis, ne tædio foret, tantam rerum nubem inferre: sed Christo tribuente sollicitudo vestra curis suis extracta quandoque respiret, fratribus nostris enarrantibus, quibus omnem rei seriem sub sigillo nostro conscripsimus, poteritis plenius cuncta cognoscere. Finem sociamus initio. Ut caritas vestra quæ erga nostram cœpit humilitatem perseveret in finem, quia scriptum est, "Caritas nunquam "excidit." Valete. No. cccl. 1 Cor. xiii. 8.

After July 6.

CCCCLXIX. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent praise the cardinals, and thank them for past kindnesses.

Reverendis dominis suis et patribus, ac omni officiorum honore dignissimis, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalibus, Gaufridus prior et humilis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ conventus, salutem, et per judicii præsentis æquitatem, in futuro cum Christo soliis judicantium posse conscribi. Gloria et honor Deo, quod hoc in tempore, frigescente multorum caritate, apud vos per vigorem disciplinæ statumque justitiæ, Spiritus Sancti probatur ignis ardere, penes vos apostolorum incorrupta servatur auctoritas, ut de vobis propheta dicat ecclesiæ, "Pro "patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii." Non immerito Petrus beatus pronunciatur a Domino, cui et Unigenitum Filium Qui est in sinu Patris humana non persuasit opinio, sed incommutabilis veritatis erudivit instructio, et hujus gloriæ consortium suos transmisit ad posteros. Vos estis sal terræ. Vos estis lux mundi. Ad vos omnium spectat sollicitudo ecclesiarum, ut vestræ norma censuræ judicet orbem terrarum in justitia et populos in æquitate. Æquitatis quidem vestræ statum inflexibilem, et constantis justitiæ perpetuam voluntatem, in multis sæpius et magnis Cantuariensis ecclesia est experta negotiis, at nunc præcipue urgentioribus causis oppressa gratioris remedii solatium experitur. Gratias igitur agimus gratiarum Largitori, Qui tales in prima sede Sibi judices elegerit, quibus orbem terræ dignissime committeret ad regendum, sicut Regum primus liber eloquitur, "Domini sunt cardines terræ, et "posuit super eos orbem." Quorum generositas spiritus et nobilitas cœlestis animi omnem mundi nebulam et densissimas humanæ cupiditatis tenebras a se longius expellens, nec personarum dignitate flectitur, nec munerum amore cæco rapitur, nec adversis dejicitur, nec rebus prosperis elevatur, in tantum ut suis specialiter filiis primus dicat judex ecclesiæ, S. Matt. xxiv. 12. Ps. xlv. 17. S. Matt. xvi. 17. S. Matt. v. 13, 14. 2 Cor. xi. 28. Ps. xcviii. 10. 1 Sam. ii. 8.

1 S. Pet. ii. 9. "Vos genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta." Cæterum apostolici forma decreti, vestri moderatio consilii, communis censura judicii, quam nuper in Angliam pro evertenda capella de Lamhee, bonitas vestra transmisit, nullum vel in hoc, vel in alio litterarum articulo consequitur executionis effectum; decernentibus alterius partis adjutoribus, secundam super hoc jam expectari debere jussionem, cum, sicut vestra potest meminisse sollertia, jam hic nulla sit causa, nil resederit ambiguum, nihil remanere possit obscurum. Vobis enim domino papæ assidentibus lis est contenta, utriusque partis rationes, patronis tantum invicem allegantibus, sunt auditæ. Causa diu multumque in vestra discussa præsentia, vestro est examinata judicio. Tandem quæstionis ipsius meritis sese prodentibus, secundum canonum æquitatem et juris formam civilis, pro nobis diffinitivam tulit auctoritas vestra sententiam. Cujus diffinitionis executio, ut, nullis præpedita rerum obstaculis, posset rite procedere, et sic demum jurgia conquiescere, venerabilis Johannes Anagninus de vestræ voluntatis arbitrio ab apostolica sede in Angliam ad hoc exequendum legatus dirigitur. Qui cum Cantuariam advenisset, regio teste suam non est permissus exercere potestatem, nec apostolicam exequi jussionem. Præclusa est enim ei libertas judicii, et nobis omnimodis indictum est a rege silentium. Conquerentibus vero nobis reverendo prædicto Johanni, concesso nobis authentico
No. cccxxxvi. suo, vim et metum regium litteris contestatur. Quod etiam venerandæ memoriæ Cœlestinus papa apostolica auctoritate pro
No. cccl vi. nostra parte confirmans, juris integritatem nobis conservat illæsam. Suscepto autem de novo pietatis vestræ decreto, reverendus Hubertus dominus archiepiscopus noster, excogitatis nisus est rationibus, subtilibus usus est allegationibus, graviumque personarum fultus est patrociniis, ut apostolici mandati vigore relicto, in voluntatem transiremus arbitrorum. Quod quia rationi omnino videbatur adversum, ut certum ponere-mus in dubium, auctoritatem Romanæ sententiæ in arbitrii verteremus ambiguum, finemque negotii, quod nobis sententia diffinitiva concessit, ad novi judicii revocaremus examen, nulla ratione potuimus ad consensum admittere. Unde quia apostolico mandato et vestro per omnia duximus adhærere decreto, quasi auctoritate regia possessionibus nostris per aliquot dies spoliati fuimus, et malis illatis pejora post hæc secutura fient omnino promissa. Universam autem rei gestæ seriem, postquam litteræ domini papæ ab altera parte nobis sunt offerentibus admissæ, fratribus nostris qui in curia Romana sub vestris
No. cccci. proteguntur alis, sub sigillo nostro transmisimus, quibus enarrantibus, cum sollicitudo vestra permiserit, poteritis cuncta cognoscere. Non enim litterarum angustia potuit universa

A.D. 1198. After July 6.

The late mandate has had no effect.

They remind the cardinals of the circumstances of the former decision; of the mission of John of Anagni; and of the confirmation of his acts by pope Celestine.

The archbishop is now trying to persuade them to an arbitration.

fo. 113 v°.

A.D. 1198. After July 6.

They entreat the cardinals to adhere to their decision.

complecti, nec auribus occupatis singula debuerunt impudenter inferri. Sublimitatem igitur vestram prudentissimam et sublimem prudentiam, quanta possumus humilitate, deposcimus, quatenus sollicitæ constantiæ vestræ memores, quam in sententiis latis servare vos semper invictam mundus ipse conclamat, quia quanto majoris deliberationis examine et exactioris moderatione consilii sententia diffinitionis egreditur, tanto magis sine retractione in suo debet constare vigore, hujus usum præclaræ consuetudinis in nos quoque servantes, quod, legum æquitate et canonici juris dispensante ratione, bene per sententiam pronunciastis, executionis effectu subsequente melius terminetis, ut qui nostri honoris et libertatis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ probamini defensores, cum ejus assertore glorioso martyre Thoma, in futura retributione possitis esse consortes. Valete, et qui beati Petri participes estis honoris et meriti, præmii quoque participium cum eo capiatis æterni. Quod autem communiter omnibus vobis, et non sigillatim singulis, contra morem scripsimus, viarum pericula, tempora inquieta, et litterarum apparentia, quæ numerosæ latere non possent, hæc nos invitos coegit admittere. Cujus rei veniam a clementia vestra cognitio causæ de facili merebitur impetrare. Iterum valete, et filios vestros, quos in Christo Jesu per evangelium genuistis, pii patres regendo cognoscite. Apostolatus enim vestri sigillum sumus in Domino.

They excuse themselves for not addressing each singly.

1 Cor. iv. 15

1 Cor. ix. 2.

July 23.

CCCCLXX. Ricardus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.

The king advises the convent to choose five bishops and five abbots as arbiters between them and the archbishop; and promises to pay their expenses at Rome.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, *etc.*, dilectis sibi in Christo, priori et conventui ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem. Laudamus et consulimus vobis, quod in arbitrium quinque episcoporum Angliæ, et quinque abbatum ordinis vestri, quos eligere volueritis, compromittatis, super quæstionibus quæ vertuntur inter venerabilem patrem nostrum Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et vos, super ecclesia de Lamhee et aliis: et compromissione facta et ab archiepiscopo et a vobis, terminum præfigemus, ad quem ipse archiepiscopus et vos et arbitri nominati coram nobis comparebunt, et tum super querelis illis fiet, quod negotium illud ad honorem Dei et ecclesiæ vestræ finem accipiet. Sumptus quoque vestri vobis salvi erunt, quos et eundo et redeundo ad curiam Romanam impenderitis, et post impetrationes vobis a curia illa concessas, nullatenus permittemus eleemosynarum collationes, factas a prædecessoribus nostris et prædicti archiepiscopi, in irritum revocari. Teste meipso apud Rupem de Andeli.[1]

[1] This letter is given by Gervase, c. 1608, with the date "xxiij°. die Julii."

CCCCLXXI. Ricardo regi Angliæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1198. After July 23.

In Gerv. c. 1609. Ps. cxliv. 10.

The convent thank the king for his kindness.

Ricardo, illustri regi Anglorum, Gaufridus prior et conventus, salutem in Eo Qui dat salutem regibus. Gratias vobis multiplices referimus pro devotione quam erga Cantuariensem ecclesiam et servos vestros in ea Deo servientes geritis, vitam vestram et incolumitatem sibi servari multum desiderantes, vestræ quoque voluntati, quantum cum Deo possunt, obedire paratos. Susceptis, domine, reverendæ majestatis vestræ litteris, in quibus laudastis et consuluistis ut in quinque episcopos et quinque abbates compromitteremus de capella de Lamhee, et aliis quæ vertuntur inter venerabilem patrem nostrum Hubertum archiepiscopum et nos, diu super hoc deliberavimus et multum tractavimus, et licet non ambigamus vos ita pro bono pacis nobis scripsisse, nullatenus tamen, quod salva pace vestra dixerimus, id facere audemus vel possumus; quia omnes fere episcopi Angliæ et abbates ita ad curiam Romanam pro domino archiepiscopo scripserunt, quod si possent ea probare quæ contra nos et ecclesiam Cantuariensem scribunt, et causa nostra penitus cassaretur et ecclesia Cantuariensis destrueretur; et constat nobis quod non minus darent ei per arbitrium, quam conantur adquirere per placitum. Cæterum, domine carissime, quomodo auderemus vel possemus causam istam a curia Romana revocare, et in arbitrium episcoporum vel abbatum ponere, desicut sententia lata est de hac causa a quatuor apostolicis, cum non liceat alicui in terra vestra sine consensu et voluntate vestra trahere aliquod placitum a curia vestra ad minorem curiam? Unde quia in his videmus evidens periculum, si sic fiant, ecclesiæ nostræ imminere, majestatis vestræ pedibus omnes et singuli provoluti cum lacrymis et gemitu supplicamus, quatenus, intuitu Dei et sanctorum ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, eisdem periculis præcaveatis, efficientes si placet erga dominum archiepiscopum, ut ei sufficiat quod tot sanctis archiepiscopis prædecessoribus ejus suffecisse dinoscitur, a tempore quo ad Christianitatem regnum Angliæ fuit conversum. [Valete.]

They have received his letter advising an arbitration,

fo. 114 r°. but cannot accept it, as the bishops and abbots have taken up the cause of the archbishop.

CCCCLXXII. Alianoræ reginæ Angliæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

After July 23.

The convent thank the queen for her services.

Excellentiæ vestræ quantas possumus gratiarum referimus actiones, super amore quem ad nos et ecclesiam nostram hactenus habuistis, et quod de statu nostro et ecclesiæ nostræ

A.D. 1198. After July 23.

piam geritis sollicitudinem. Unde, quia ex præcedentium exhibitione bonorum plenam de gratia vestra reportamus fiduciam, necessitates nostras et ecclesiæ nostræ vexationes vobis confidentius duximus insinuandas, sperantes a vestra bonitate clementer more solito exaudiri, et speratum per vos reportare subsidium. Noverit igitur excellentia vestra, dominum nostrum archiepiscopum in opere capellæ de Lamhee, a bonæ memoriæ Baldewino prædecessore suo inceptæ, eadem persistere voluntate; super cujus demolitione jam a domino nostro papa, exemplo prædecessorum suorum, suscepto urgenti mandato, nihil omnino facere voluit, sed, unde magis et vehementius affligimur, dominum nostrum regem adversum nos movet, ipsius gratiam nobis curans surripere, et ejus indignationem et iram in nos retorquere. Supplicamus itaque serenitati vestræ omnes et singuli cum lacrymis et gemitu, quatenus intuitu Dei et gloriosi martyris Thomæ, filii vestri domini nostri regis gratiam nobis integram et illæsam curetis conservare; litteris vestris, si placet, pro nobis supplicantes, ut pro salute animæ suæ, paci et indemnitati ecclesiæ nostræ provideat, nec eam indebitis vexationibus perturbari sustineat. Filio etiam vestro, domino Johanni de Moretonio, similiter litteris vestris supplicare velitis, ut pro nobis apud dominum nostrum regem partes suas interponat, ut nos pro vobis et incolumitate vestra apud Deum et sanctos ecclesiæ nostræ teneamur devotiores existere.

The archbishop persists in his design, and is exciting the king against them.

They entreat her influence with the king and earl John.

CCCCLXXIII. Eliensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

After July 23.

Devotionis sinceritatem et pium compassionis affectum, quam circa matrem vestram Cantuariensem geritis ecclesiam, referentibus fratribus nostris nuper a domino rege redeuntibus, plenius cognovimus, licet de bonitate animi vestri dubitare non liceat, quam toties in negotiorum nostrorum promotione, ipsa operum evidentia manifestius declaravit. Unde tanto vobis uberiores tenemur ad gratias, quanto id nullis præcedentibus meritis agitis, et eo majorem vobis reputabitur ad gloriam, quo pauciores ad præsens habemus, qui vel vices nostras doleant, vel miseriæ nostræ compati videantur. Noverit autem discretio vestra, nos regiis urgeri litteris, ut in arbitrium episcoporum et abbatum terræ compromittamus super capella de Lamhee et aliis. Quod quia omnino admittere formidamus, eo quod terror ipse potestatis pro se exigat arbitrium ferri, sanctitati vestræ summa cum humilitate supplicamus, quatenus zelo pietatis super nos ducti, secretius,

The convent have great confidence in the bishop of Ely.

The king has proposed an arbitration in the matter of Lambeth.

si placet, inquirere velitis, quomodo [gratiam] domini nostri regis in hoc negotio possimus comparare; et si forte alicujus obtentu obsequii, quod a nobis, ære alieno plurimum gravatis, possit impendi, se sub piò velit continere silentio, ne aut in nostrum procedat gravamen, aut domini papæ mandatum suum impediat consequi effectum. Quod autem super hoc vestra inquisierit diligentia, fratri nostro N alumno vestro insinuare velitis, ut pro hoc et aliis pia sollicitudine nobis impensis obsequiis, servos nos comparare debeatis perpetuos, et in retributione, cui non sufficimus, mercedem a Domino sperare perennem. A.D. 1198. After July 23. They beg him to inform them whether the king can be bribed to be neutral. fo. 114 v°.

In eundem modum omnibus amicis ecclesiæ Cantuariensis.

CCCCLXXIV. Ricardus rex Angliæ Huberto archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Sept. 6.

Ricardus rex Angliæ, *etc.*, Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. Noveritis quod mandavimus Gaufrido filio Petri, quod sine omni dilatione mittat Cantuariam discretos milites et clericos, ad videndum et inbreviandum thesaurum ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, una cum iis quos vos ad hoc mittetis. Et singulis inbreviatis, reponatur in tuto et salvo loco, sub custodia trium clavium, quarum una sit nostra et alia vestra, et tertia conventus; et quod nolumus quod thesaurus illius ecclesiæ dissipetur propter superbiam et dissensionem ipsorum monachorum, et quod ad exemplum eorum ita fiat per omnes episcopatus Angliæ, in quorum sedibus monachi sunt; et quod sustinere non possumus, sicut nec debemus, quod thesauri ecclesiarum, et eleemosynæ ab antecessoribus nostris illi et aliis prædictis ecclesiis collatæ, per præsumptionem monachorum dilapidentur, et in usus illicitos convertantur. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod vel episcopum vel abbatem vel clericos illuc mittatis, qui sufficiant ad id faciendum. Teste me ipso apud Rupem Andeli, vi. die Septembris. The king informs the archbishop that he has ordered the justiciar to inspect and enrol the treasures of the convent, and secure them under three keys.

CCCCLXXV. Hubertus archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi. September.

Hubertus archiepiscopus conventui Cantuariensi. Litteras domini regis suscepimus quas vobis mittimus, ut, una cum bailivis suis ad hoc assignatis, videri faciamus thesauros ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, et salvos reservari. Unde ad vos mittimus dilectos nostros abbatem de Faversham, archidiaconum Cantuariensem, priorem de Ledes, mandantes quod The archbishop sends three clerks to Canterbury to inspect and enrol the treasure of the church.

A.D. 1198. September. in præsentia illorum et bailivorum domini regis, thesauros illos videri et inbreviari faciatis; unum autem inbreviamentum penes vos remaneat, aliud penes nos, tertium penes bailivos domini regis; et insuper fidem habeatis iis quæ prædictus archidiaconus vobis ex parte nostra proponet.

Sept. 20. CCCCLXXVI. Conventui Cantuariensi justitiarius domini regis.

The justiciar sends five officers to inspect the treasure of the church.

Sciatis quod, præcepto domini regis, mitto Cantuariam thesaurarium Londoniæ, et archidiaconum Londoniæ, et priorem de Meretone, et conestabularium de Dovra, et vicecomitem de Kent, ad videndos thesauros ecclesiæ Cantuariensis: et ideo vobis mando, quod illos eis ostendatis, et quod faciatis hoc quod ipsi vobis ex parte domini regis et mea dicent. Teste Gaufrido de Boclande, apud Westmonasterium, xx. die Septembris.

After Sept. 26. CCCCLXXVII. Huberto archiepiscopo Cantuariensi Conventus Cantuariensis.[1]

The convent express their surprise at the visit, and the enrolling of their treasure; and remonstrate with the archbishop.

Suscepimus litteras sanctitatis vestræ per viros venerabiles abbatem de Faversham et archidiaconum Cantuariensem, in quibus nobis significastis, ut in præsentia illorum et bailivorum domini regis, qui simul advenerant cum litteris domini Gaufridi filii Petri, justitiarii domini regis, thesauros ecclesiæ nostræ videri et inbreviari faciamus, uno inbreviamento penes nos remanente, alio penes vos, tertio penes bailivos domini regis. Exigebant etiam bailivi domini regis, ut, singulis inbreviatis, reponatur in tuto et salvo loco sub custodia trium clavium, quarum una sit domini regis, alia vestra, et tertia nostra. Unde non minima ducti admiratione, eo quod hactenus in ecclesia nostra talis inaudita sit exactio, paternitati vestræ summa cum devotione supplicamus, quatenus honori vestro et famæ melius providentes, ecclesiam vestram ab indebitis exactionibus conservetis indemnem, ne ipsius dissimulantes injurias, quas propulsare tenemini, videamini inferre, et earum, quod absit, auctor existere. [Vale.]

[1] This letter is given by Gervase, 1614. The officers visited Canterbury on the 26th of September; Gerv. 1615. The archbishop left England on the 28th, and the manors were occupied by the king's officers immediately after.

CCCCLXXVIII. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis. A.D. 1198. After Sept. 26.

Innocentio summo pontifici, Conventus Cantuariensis humilis et afflictus, salutem. Litteras sanctitatis vestræ, pater reverende, sicut alias vobis significavimus, super demolitione capellæ de Lamhee, et statu ecclesiæ nostræ reformando, dominus et pater noster archiepiscopus suscepit, sed adhuc, alieno, sicut credimus, magis quam proprio ductus instinctu, nequaquam apostolicum adimplevit [mandatum]. Unde cum cæco illo clamante, transeunte Jesu, quem multi increpabant ut taceret, et muliere quam apostoli rogabant ut dimitteret, quia clamabat post eos, clamare et nos compellimur pro Cantuariensi ecclesia ad vos, quem Dominus constituit speculatorem domus Israel, Qui propter miserias inopum et gemitum pauperum nunc exsurgat, ut imperet ventis et mari, ne navicula nostra tot tempestatibus et tanto tempore exposita tandem patiatur naufragium, cum jam crederetur pervenisse ad portum. Decem et eo amplius jam anni elapsi sunt, ex quo causa Cantuariensis ecclesiæ in curia Romana ventilata est; quæ quatenus processerit, vel quid prædecessores vestri de consilio fratrum super ea non semel, immo sæpius, decreverint, multis, et maxime in regno Anglorum, satis innotuit. Cujus regni principes et prælati fere universi, ad instantiam domini et patris nostri Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, nuper contra nos scripserunt, in proscriptione ecclesiæ morem potius gerentes temporibus, quam languentis et lugentis ecclesiæ lacrymas consolantes. Nuper etiam publico edicto prohibitum est, ne quis nobis in mutuo auri vel argenti seu etiam victualium subveniret. A foro nostro in alienum evocati sumus responsuri super quæstionibus quæ laicam non contingunt potestatem. Novis et indebitis exactionibus quotidie vexamur, minis afficimur, opprobriis saturamur, damnis affligimur, desolationibus aggravamur. Ad hæc libertates et immunitates, quas sanguine proprio pretiosus martyr Thomas comparavit, et ecclesiæ suæ, sui cerebri ex liquore scripto in pavimento privilegio magno et memorabili, contulit et confirmavit, ut in irritum revocentur, desudatur, et a talibus qui talia non deberent præsumere. Sed et nuper venerunt ad nos quidam a justitiariis domini regis, sicut dicebant, destinati, volentes ut id modicum facultatum ecclesiæ quod Alemannicæ redemptioni remansit, eis exponeremus describendum et clavibus potestatis publicæ supponendum: et idem ad exemplum nostrum per omnes sedes Angliæ, in quibus a beato Gregorio monachi instituti sunt, se dicebant esse facturos, quod hactenus in partibus nostris inauditum est. Pro his igitur, pater

The convent inform the pope that his mandate is not yet fulfilled.

S. Luke xviii. 39. S. Matt. xv. 23.

fo. 115 r°.

Ezek. iii. 17. Ps. xii. 5, 6.

They remind him of their sufferings.

By a public edict it is forbidden to lend them money or food.

The justiciar has sent men to enrol their treasures.

A.D. 1198. After Sept. 26. They recommend the bearers to the pope.

reverende, et aliis quæ ob reverentiam domini et patri nostri Cantuariensis archiepiscopi ad præsens noluimus præsenti scripto inserere, præsentium latores fratres nostros ad pedes sanctitatis vestræ dirigimus, supplicantes quatenus Dei et martyris Sui intuitu, aurem et animum velitis inclinare, et Cantuariensi ecclesiæ jam fere in extremis agenti, quo prævaletis potentiæ brachio subvenire, scientes pro certo quod si secus egeritis, et simul et semel tota corruet, et ejus sibi subtracto patrocinio, irrecuperabilem decidet in ruinam, cujus ex visceribus primam dinoscitur duxisse originem.

In eundem modum omnibus cardinalibus.

Sept. 2.

CCCCLXXIX. Papa, de Faversham et Sancti Augustini et Sancti Gregorii prioribus.

The pope empowers the priors of Faversham, of S. Augustine's and S. Gregory's at Canterbury,

Innocentius episcopus, *etc.*, dilectis filiis de Ferversham, et Sancti Augustini, et Sancti Gregorii prioribus, in Cantuariensi diocesi constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Sic apostolica sedes inter fratres et coepiscopos nostros pastoralis dispensavit oneris quantitatem, sic eos in creditæ sibi sollicitudinis partem assumpsit, ut sibi nihil subtrahat de plenitudine potestatis, quominus de singulis causis ecclesiasticis inquirere possit, et cum voluerit judicare, ad communem omnium utilitatem constituens, ut ad eam tanquam omnium matrem et singulare fidelium Christi refugium appelletur, per quod et minorum tollatur oppressio, et superiorum præsumptio refrænetur. Cum itaque appellationibus quæ ad sedem apostolicam interponuntur sæpius, velimus ab omnibus humiliter ac devote deferri, discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, et districte præcipimus, quatenus ex parte nostra curetis fortius inhibere, ne quis in Cantuariensem ecclesiam et dilectos fratres nostros priorem et monachos Cantuarienses, post appellationem ad nos legitime interpositam, excommunicationis, suspensionis, sive interdicti, sententiam proferre præsumat. Si quis vero contra præsumpserit, vel hactenus forte præsumpsit, sententiam ejus nullam esse penitus nuncietis. Si qui etiam possessiones eorum invaserint violenter, eos ad restitutionem earum per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita compellatis; nullis litteris obstantibus veritate tacita a sede apostolica impetratis. Quod si omnes his exsequendis nequiveritis interesse, duo vestrum ea nihilominus exequantur. Datum Spoleti, iv. nonas Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

to inhibit and annul any sentence of excommunication, suspension, or interdict, against the convent. fo. 115 v°.

CCCCLXXX. Summus pontifex Conventui Cantuariensi.

A.D. 1198. Sept. 5.

The pope informs the convent that he has received three letters from the archbishop asking for delay, and that their two monks at the Roman court are dead, and others must be sent.

Innocentius episcopus, etc., dilectis filiis priori et monachis Cantuariæ, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Jam tertio litteras venerabilis fratris nostri Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi nos meminimus accepisse, quibus nobis instantissime supplicabat, ne in negotio suo et vestro procedere deberemus, donec solemnes nuncios ad nostram præsentiam destinaret. Verum quia duo monachi apud sedem apostolicam constituti naturæ debitum, sicut Domino placuit, persolverunt, universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta consulimus, quatenus viros providos et discretos ad nostram præsentiam destinetis, qui et sciant et possint vestram justitiam defensare, ne sub expectatione nimia præfati archiepiscopi nuncios, qui venturi dicuntur in proximo, apud nos detinere diutius compellamur, aut vobis absentibus aliquid contra vos valeat impetrari. Nos enim, licet eundem archiepiscopum in sua velimus justitia confovere, jus tamen vestrum conservare volumus illibatum. Datum Spoleti, v°. Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

CCCCLXXXI. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.

After Sept. 28. (See Gerv. 1615.)

The convent inform the pope that because they will not consent to renounce his mandate, their adversaries in the king's name have seized nearly all their possessions.

Benigna Dei providentia misericorditer ecclesiæ Suæ prospiciens disponere, ut ejus innocentiam contra nocentium laqueos tueretur et roboraret, Innocentium ad apostolatus apicem ascivit, evellere et destruere, eradicare et plantare per
Jer. i. 10. omnes nationes in nomine Suo. Apostolicæ igitur sollicitudini creditum esse constat, prout ministerium accepit, adeo militantis ecclesiæ oppressiones propulsare, pacem temporalem providere vianti, donec Deus æternam retribuat triumphanti, Illius præsidiis et promissis contra omnes mundi terrores fideliter et firmiter innitens, Domino Jesu Christo dicente,
S. Luke xxii. 32. "Ego pro te rogavi, Petre," *etc.* Ecce ergo, sanctissime pater, quia irrevocabiles funditus vobis adhæsimus cum causa ecclesiæ nostræ, pro qua adhuc in conspectu vestro miserationem vestram præstolantes indefessi astamus, insurrexerunt in nos adversarii nostri, et sub nomine regis malitiæ suæ obnubentes et mentientes audaciam, omnibus nos jam fere spoliaverunt possessionibus. Unde et non hoc contenti, undecunque occasionem in nos desæviendi possint excogitare et commentari, assiduis minis, damnis et opprobriis, nos satagunt persequi et impugnare. Qui licet quotidianorum exaggeratione malorum nos impetant et exacerbent, tamen eo nos acerbius et lugubrius stimulant et affligunt, quod veterum

A.D. 1198. After Sept. 28.

Their old afflictions are repeated.

cicatrices vulnerum ecclesiæ nostræ faciunt recrudescere, et antiquorum temporum injurias et calamitates quas sanctorum nostrorum quidam martyrio diluerant, quidam insuperabili exilii et laborum perpessione diluerant, moliuntur renovare. Unde tot repleti amaritudinibus cum propheta conquerimur, quia versa est in luctum cithara nostra, et organa nostra in vocem flentium. Et dies tribulationis et blasphemiæ dies nostri. Postquam autem sanctitati vestræ innotuit de mandato vestro ut decuit non prosecuto, nec postmodum aliquid solatii super hoc a vobis accepimus, e vestigio non tantum terrenis rebus denudati, sed indecenter ludibrio et ostentui habiti sumus. Comminantes etiam adversarii nostri et moventes super nos capita sua, verbis inverecundis Romanæ sedis religionem, quod gementes dicimus, ausi sunt lacessere. Libertates autem et privilegia, quæ beatissimus Dei martyr noster Thomas adhuc recenti sanguine cerebri in lapidibus ecclesiæ rubricavit, quæ nullo violabilia ævo videbantur et sperabamus, exinaniverunt, confuderunt, et ad commune jus regni et regulam redegerunt; ut jam illud propheticum in nobis impleatur, "Sicut populus, sic sacerdos." Ad pedes igitur beatitudinis vestræ, reverende pater, omnes et singuli provoluti, implora-mus, ut zelus justitiæ vestræ saltem ad conservationem relliquiarum nostrarum digne gladium Petri dignetur erigere, ut qui eum præ nimia miseria æruginasse et hebetasse reputant, in ecclesiæ injuriis vindicandis acutum sentiat, et ancipitem reformident, et nos [qui] communiter dolore salutare vestrum præstolamur, maturioris visitationis beneficio recreare velitis, ne nos penitus in direptionem, et sancta nostra dentur in conculcationem. Moveat itaque pietatem vestram æquitas causæ nostræ, et diuturnitas, jam coram quatuor viris apostolicis ventilatæ. Moveat dilectorum fratrum nostrorum exitus in præsentia vestra defunctorum, et aliorum plurimorum qui in ejus prosecutione in fata cesserunt. Deus autem pacis, Qui vos ad regimen ecclesiæ Suæ vocavit, tempora vestra in Sua pace disponat, et post tempora æterna felicitate beatificet.

Job xxx. 31.

Isaiah xxxvii. 3.

Their enemies revile the holy see, and trample under foot the privileges for which S. Thomas died.

S. Matt. xxvii. 39.

fo. 116 r°.

Isaiah xxiv. 2.

They entreat him to draw the sword of S. Peter.

He ought to be moved by the death of the brethren.

In eundem modum omnibus cardinalibus.

October. CCCCLXXXII. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent expatiate on their sufferings.

Quot et quanta pro sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ reverentia, et Cantuariensis ecclesiæ libertate pertulerimus adversa, tam nostram præ dolorum crebra acerbitate jam excedit memoriam, quam ex injuriarum multitudine fere universali satis innotuit ecclesiæ. Novis enim dolorum vulneribus mala priora inno-

S. Matt. xii. 45.

vantibus, fiunt apud nos novissima pejora prioribus, et unde sperabamus optatæ consequi plenitudinem sospitatis, inde nobis exuberavit perpetua causa mœroris. Fratres etiam nostri in præsentia sanctitatis vestræ viam universæ carnis ingressi, non solum sua nos morte mœstos reddiderunt, sed etiam venerabilis patris et prioris nostri et fratrum, coram prædecessoribus vestris pro eadem qua et ipsi coram vobis causa stantium, mortem nobis præsentem et recentem constituerunt. Quos licet beati martyris nostri Thomæ noverimus et in causa socios, et in pugna coathletas, et in præmio speremus esse consortes, dolemus admodum de medio sublatos, quos tam dulci complectebamur affectu præsentes. Verum quia adhuc viventibus non est de Dei misericordia desperandum, nec pro justitia certantibus de sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ constantia et pietate diffidendum, in ea fide, sub ea spe, qua et prius, ad sanctæ paternitatis vestræ patrocinium recurrimus, vestræ paternitati non solum inopes derelicti, verum etiam totius regni magnatum inimicitiis addicti. Quapropter sanctitatis vestræ pedibus omnes et singuli [lacrymis] madentibus provoluti supplicamus attentius, quatenus et nostram innocentiam oculo pietatis, et nostrorum adversariorum contumaciam virga correctionis respicere dignemini, fratribus nostris ultimo a nobis progressis, si tamen supersunt, benignam, si placet, audientiam exhibentes, qui vobis plenius edisserent quæ apud nos acta sunt, quia tædiosum esset ea vobis litteratorie significare. Quod si jam et ipsi in fata cesserunt, litteris quas ad eos direximus rei gestæ seriem poteritis, si placet, certius indagare, et in eisdem luculenter advertere, quod totius adversitatis nostræ causa est, quod a vestræ discretionis moderamine nullatenus nos adversarii nostri possunt avertere. Cum enim voto et voluntate filii sumus obedientiæ, præelegimus sub debita vobis obedientia quælibet adversa sustinere, quam in aliquo quocunque casu vestræ majestati, quantum ad nos pertinet, derogare.

A.D. 1198. October. They are reminded by the death of the two monks of the death of the prior and brethren in pope Clement's time.

They entreat the pope to be kind to the brethren whom they last sent out, if they are still alive.

No. cccci

CCCCLXXXIII. Ricardo regi Angliæ Hubertus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis. October.

In magno et urgenti necessitatis articulo ad vos, domine, semper consuevimus confugere, utpote ad illum in quo plus quam in alio post Deum confidimus. Accepimus, domine, quod dominus Gaufridus filius Petri per mandatum vestrum monachos Cantuarienses nuper dissaisivit. Cujus mandati transcriptum vestræ transmittimus excellentiæ. Et quia nihil est ad præsens, lite pendente inter nos et monachos ipsos, quod adeo possit obesse nobis et causæ nostræ, ut ipsorum destitutio,

The archbishop is dismayed to hear that the justiciar has seized the property of the convent.

A.D. 1198. October. This will be very offensive to the pope.

vel quod iram et indignationem domini papæ in nos potentius possit provocare, vestræ benignitati flexis genibus, profusis lacrymis humiliter et devote supplicamus, quatenus ipsis, immo nobis in ipsis, ad præsens parcatis, et saisinam suam eis restitui præcipiatis. Aderit enim tempus, Deo dante, satis opportunum, quo per manus nostras et excessus eorum satis sufficienter poterit puniri, et vobis in omnibus sicut decet satisfieri. Deum autem testamur, quod non est aliquis qui damnum et injuriam vestram molestius quam nos ferret, vel qui ad eorum emendationem libentius laboraret. Nec expediret, domine, sicut scitis, aliquid ad præsens fieri, quod prædictam nobis opportunitatem vel differret vel penitus auferret. Et quia certissimum habemus, domine, quod nihil scienter et prudenter faceretis, quod manifeste in nostrum redundaret damnum et dispendium, supplicamus, domine, quod si unquam aliquid potuerunt penes vos preces nostræ, nos in hoc magno necessitatis articulo velitis exaudire. Ad hæc dilecto et familiari nostro Cantuariensi archidiacono, super iis quæ vobis ex parte nostra proponet, fidem habeatis pleniorem. Cui litteras nostras super iis quæ de facto domini cardinalis novimus, commisimus, vobis, domine, porrigendas. Cæterum ex quo novistis, domine, per monachos prædictos et, ipsis procurantibus, per alios animum contristari, petimus ut tristitiam nostram vestra mediante benignitate velitis consolari. Valete.

fo. 116 v°. There will soon be an opportunity of punishing the monks: in the meantime he prays that the property may be restored. He sends news of the cardinal (Peter of Capua), by the archdeacon of Canterbury (Henry of Castillon).

Oct. 29.

CCCCLXXXIV. Ricardus rex Angliæ Gaufrido filio Petri.

The king commands the justiciar to restore the manors to the convent, and allow the archbishop's servants to enrol the treasure.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, *etc.*, dilecto et fideli suo, Gaufrido filio Petri, salutem. Sciatis, quod ad instantiam domini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, concessimus monachis Cantuariæ quod habeant maneria sua integre sicut habere debent, et mandamus vobis quod thesaurum illorum per visum servientium domini archiepiscopi inbreviari faciatis, et volumus quod ipsi nobis emendent in curia nostra id quod erga nos deliquerunt, salvis domino Cantuariensi dignitate et libertate sua. Teste meipso apud Rupem de Andeli, xxix. die Octobris.

In Gervase, c. 1615.

After Oct. 29.

CCCCLXXXV. Hubertus archiepiscopus Conventui Cantuariensi.

The archbishop, in spite of the conduct of the convent, rejoices to

Hubertus, Dei gratia, *etc.*, dilectis filiis Gaufrido priori, et conventui ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem et benedictionem. Licet aliter quam devotionem vestram decuisset erga nos fueritis, ut fere toti mundo jam innotuit, operati, ita quod

potius hostes quam filii meruerit appellari, tamen non duximus vobis malum pro malo reddere, sed affectu paterno malum bono recompensare. Ideoque licet vos offenderitis gravius, et honoris nostri quantum potuistis, studuistis dispendium procurare, tamen libertates ecclesiæ vestræ pro posse nostro non patiemur minui, nec vel minimum ex vobis minus rationabiliter lædi vel offendi. Et hoc quidem jam satis manifeste probavimus, quod cum de afflictione vestra, ut plerisque videtur, lætari, et gravamina vestra potius procurare quam amovere deberemus, possessiones vestras quibus jussu regio destituti fuistis, vix quidem et difficile vobis restitui obtinuimus. Quapropter, si vobis placeret, attendere deberetis, quod caput ecclesiæ vestræ sumus, et rector vester principalis, sub quo esse, et cujus consilium ita sequi, debetis in omnibus, sicut in necessitatibus vestris desideratis protectionem apud nos et patrocinium invenire. Unde et vos, sicut prius, adhuc quoque duximus admonere et consulere, quatenus ad cor revertentes attendatis quid expediat, et quæ vobis et ecclesiæ vestræ, necnon universali ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, occasione hujus controversiæ mala possint in posterum provenire. Quæ mala, si evenerint, merito in caput vestrum, qui causa et origo estis eorum, redundabunt. Quæ quidem controversia si nostris non fuerit temporibus consopita, timendum est ne diebus alterius, qui fortasse cum detrimento ecclesiæ vestræ vestra non timebit gravamina procurare, ecclesia vestra suarum incurrat jacturam libertatum. Si igitur, vel sero, erga nos, ut filios erga patrem decet, humilitatem volueritis amplecti, et nostræ, qui vos affectu paterno diligimus, volueritis in humilitate et devotione debita condescendere voluntati, tantum erga vos exhibebimus humanitatis et gratiæ, necnon et paternæ pietatis affectum, quod quicunque, quantum vos excesseritis agnoscentes, hoc audierint, de gratia et benignitate necnon mansuetudine quam apud nos invenietis, mirabuntur. Valete.

A.D. 1198. After Oct. 29.

return good for evil. He has prevailed on the king to restore the manors.

He reminds them that he is their lawful head, and warns them to come to terms.

If they will agree to his request, he will show them marvellous kindness.

CCCCLXXXVI. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis. October.

Innocentio summo pontifici, conventus Cantuariensis. Rerum exitus metitur prudentia, et ea nititur in initiis resecare, quæ finis honesti videntur jocunda præpedire. Hinc est, pater sanctissime, quod cum ad vos omnium cura et sollicitudo spectet ecclesiarum, non minus vestræ discretionis interesse dinoscitur, ea quæ contra juris ordinem et summorum statuta pontificum facta noscuntur, emendare, quam statum libertatis et innocentiæ jugiter in suo conservare vigore. Jam vero prædo publicus et hostis innocentiæ universalis regimen

The convent remind the pope of his duty of doing justice.

2 Cor. xi. 28.

fo. 117 r°.

A.D. 1198. October.

ecclesiæ advertens creditum Innocentio, ad innocentiæ et ecclesiasticæ subversionem libertatis, fraudem movet subtilius, viribus insistit violentius, in tantum, ut jam videatur ecclesia Cantuariensis primitias illius tribulationis prægustare, quam ille filius perditionis in vespera mundi Christi fidelibus præ- 2 Thess. ii. 3.

Some of the monks have turned traitors, and lent their seals to the enemies of the convent.

nunciatur inferre. Quidam enim Cantuariensis ecclesiæ filii, etiam in sinu ipsius diu et dulciter educati, tam favore personæ, quam potestatis terrenæ ducti, eo usque in ipsam non sine veritatis et justitiæ præjudicio insurgunt, ut sigillis eorum adversariis prædictæ ecclesiæ commissis, de omnibus quæ ipsi ab adversariis suis imponuntur, sigillorum suorum appositione, contra ipsam testimonium perhibeant, cum etiam nec scripta quibus testimonium perhibent conspexerint, vel saltem quod in eis contineatur audierint. Studet itaque illa contumaciæ conspiratio, nos ad consensum illius operis inducere, quod in contemptum sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, et subversionem Cantuariensis, erectum dinoscitur. Quicquid enim post appellationem ei interpositam ad sedem apostolicam, et ejus publicam prohibitionem, in eo factum est, contumaciam redolet et contemptum; ut vel sic sibi similes nos efficeret, et a tramite deviantes justitiæ, vobis inobedientes exhiberet, et sic vestra nos expugnaret indignatio, quos hactenus gratia confovit et vestræ paternitatis protectio. Nos autem potius elegimus quælibet excogitata sustinere gravamina, quam sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ reverentiam vel in modico offendere, vel dignitatis et libertatis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ diminutioni consentire. Unde, licet vobis onerosum sit audire, de multis aliqua nobis illata gravamina nos compellit necessitas clementiæ vestræ insinuare. Vosque nihilominus ea decet audire, cum non sit alia nostræ causa tribulationis, nisi quod ecclesiæ nostræ dispendium vestræ ausi sumus exponere pietati, nec a vestræ mandato dignationis nos possunt avertere. Quod ex hoc verum esse convincitur, quod quamdiu licet ignave ecclesiæ nostræ dissimulavimus injurias, summa pacis et tranquillitatis quiete fruebamur. Postquam autem universali ecclesiæ concessa aggressi sumus uti libertate, summo videlicet nostras injurias propalare, summæ sumus adversitati addicti. Ob hanc itaque causam regiæ majestatis offensam incurrimus, ad cujus nutum regni in nos conspiravit universitas, ut licet nobis aliqui corde compatiantur, verbis et vultu, ipsis etiam operibus, licet inviti, nobis adversantur. Publice prohibitum est ne quis nobis in mutuo præsumat subvenire. In hoc enim quod sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ reverentiam conservavimus illæsam, regiam majestatem dicimur offendisse. Ornamenta ecclesiæ nostræ, cum vasis sacris usibus dedicatis, domini regis et archiepiscopi nostri præcepto, ipsius regis

They are obliged to recapitulate their sufferings.

They have offended the king, who has forbidden any one to lend them money.

bailivorum custodiæ præcipiuntur deputari. Libertates et dignitates ecclesiæ nostræ, quas gloriosus martyr Thomas pro ipsa et in ipsa sanguine suo comparavit, in servitutem indebitam et inconsuetam, in odium nostri commutantur; et, quod nos magis movet ad indignationem, quam adversum nos licet injuste nostri conceperint adversarii, omnia regni Angliæ monasteria in quibus sedes sunt episcopales et monachi, eandem jubentur subire servitutem et exactionem. Regiis ministris injungitur, ut quicquid poterunt gravaminis et molestiæ nobis non omittant irrogare: unde fit ut quidam de nostris in carcerem ob minimam causam retrudantur, alii rebus suis spolientur, alii injuste et præter regni consuetudinem in forum civile trahantur, aliisque malis tam nostri quam nos ipsi studiosius exquisitis vexentur, ac si videatur omnium gratiam promereri quisquis nobis in aliquo poterit injuriari. Amoto namque venerabili domino et patre nostro archiepiscopo ab administratione regiæ potestatis, tales ipsius loco, eo procurante, quod inviti dicimus, sunt substituti, qui illo acrius in nos et in nostros insurgunt, in tantum ut coram ipsis de libertatibus et dignitatibus ecclesiæ nostræ litis subire cogamur discrimen, falso in multis accusati, quæ regiæ videntur derogare majestati, ut sic malis undique coarctati cogeremur a causæ nostræ prosecutione, quam in præsentia vestra constituimus, omnino deficere. Eapropter, pater sanctissime, innocentes a culpa de Innocentii confidentes constantia, ad vos unicum post Deum refugium confugimus, supplicantes, et per Eum Cui adhærent innocentes et recti obtestantes, ut in hac causa, et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ reverentiam et ecclesiæ Cantuariensis conservetis indemnitatem, ne multiplex fraudis astutia et eloquentiæ confidentia simplici veritati præjudicet, et tantæ contumaciæ et præsumptionis impunitas incentivum amplius parturiat delinquendi.

A.D. 1198. October. Their liberties are destroyed, and the same slavery is extended to the other cathedral monasteries.

Their friends are persecuted.

The new justiciars are as hostile as the archbishop.

They trust in the pope only.

fo. 117 v°.

Ps. xxv. 20.

CCCCLXXXVII. Gaufridus prior Cantuariensis fratribus in curia Romana.

Early in October.

Gaufridus prior, fratribus in curia Romana. Extremæ desolationis est calamitas speratæ remedio consolationis in tribulatione privari. Unde licet nostræ depressiones et angustiæ præ multitudine non possint a nobis numerari, hæc velut summa et singularis cordibus nostris altius hæret et torquet acrius, quod post susceptum domini papæ mandatum, nihil de statu vestro vel constantia curiæ certum accepimus. Unde timor pessimus augur in dubiis veris nos efficit sæpius deteriora vereri. Sane, quia non est nobis salus nisi Petri gladius

The prior is in distress at not hearing from the brethren at the Roman court.

Statius, *Theb.* iii. 6.

A.D. 1198. Early in October. The monks are now threatened with expulsion from all the monastic cathedrals.

pro nobis exertus virtute constantiæ cum rigore vires suas exerceat, quas et quales persecutionis procellas pro sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ reverentia et Cantuariensis libertate tuenda quotidie et continue sustineamus, pro parte vobis insinuare decernimus, ut his domino papæ innotescentibus, vel sic utriusque partis, nostræ videlicet et adversariorum nostrorum, advertat intentionem. De Lamhee vix in lite fit mentio, sed de monachorum ejectione publice se revelat adversariorum nostrorum intentio; nec solum Cantuariensi, verum omnibus cathedralibus ecclesiis Angliæ in quibus ordo viget monasticus, hanc intendunt injuriam irrogare; proh pudor! jam se jactitantes Gregorianæ correctores institutionis. Fisci jubetur dispositioni thesauros ecclesiæ nostræ et omnium sedium episcopalium monasteriorum ad reponendum committi, id tam domino archiepiscopo quam rege præcipiente, ut sic exhausti in causæ prosecutione deficiamus, sic a dispositione rerum ecclesiæ repulsi, postmodum ab ipsa nos ecclesia facilius expellant. Publice inhibetur ne quis nobis in mutuo subveniat. Compelluntur Judæi ea quæ eis debemus, etiam inviti, violenter a nobis extorquere. Cassatis omnibus ecclesiæ nostræ libertatibus, quas sanctorum prædecessorum suorum meritis et laboribus comparatas, beatus martyr Thomas sanguine suo confirmavit, cogitur ipsa ecclesia irreverenti subjacere servituti. Si qui prætenderint aut advocaverint Cantuariensis ecclesiæ sibi libertates, minis, opprobriis, damnis, carceribus, servitutibus, suppliciis, aliisque excogitatis injuriis et exactionibus puniuntur. Post rerum omnium nostrarum exteriorum spoliationem, interiora minantur aggredi, et in ipsas ecclesiæ personas degrassari. Citamur in exteris et nostris regionibus domino regi de regiæ majestatis læsione respondere; et ut exire non valentibus, ne forte manus in eos injiciantur, objiciatur regii mandati contemptus, et excogitata malignandi occasio licentiam in nos sæviendi videatur adjudicasse, et sub fraude palliata totius malitiæ expediatur effectus. Ad hujus siquidem executionem propositi, magni et famosi viri, tam juris periti quam ad rem quoquomodo efficiendam affecti, ad curiam Romanam sunt destinati, ita quod si dominus archiepiscopus per eos id quod petit nequiverit impetrare, in propria persona, prout asserunt, curiam adibit. Jactitant enim audientiam a domino sibi papa concedi, super his quæ in curia tempore quatuor apostolicorum sunt ventilata, et sententiæ diffinitione decisa. Unde consulimus, quod si timueritis curiæ inconstantiam sive adversariorum nostrorum astutiam nostræ innocentiæ præjudicium parturire, aliquem peritum advocatum accersite, vel saltem usque ad audientiam nostram causam suspendite; nosque de nostra confidentes justitia, in mortem pro ea ire

Their treasures are confiscated.

The Jews are compelled to exact payment of what is owed them.

Their friends are persecuted: they are cited into the king's court.

Great men are sent against them to the court of Rome; and they are confident of a hearing.

The monks must secure a skilful advocate.

parati, in multitudine fratrum vos visitabimus, ut quam nequit paucorum astruere scientia nostram justitiam alleget multitudinis copia. Mittimus vobis ad auxilium tres fratres.

A.D. 1198. Early in October. The prior sends three brethren.

CCCCLXXXVIII. R. præcentori Sancti Quintini Conventus Cantuariensis.

Nihil rationi tam consonum aut naturæ conforme, quam suos agnoscere. Unde nec vastitas elementi liquentis, nec distantia longa terrarum, vestræ puritatem devotionis ab ecclesia Cantuariensi potuit elongare, dum quod præsentia negat corporalis litterarum vicissitudo recompensat. Vere namque ipsa epistola vestra elegantia linguæ non caruit, quæ tam efficaciter nobis sui missoris affectum innotuit. Affectus etiam iste transivit in effectum, dum et nuncios nostros, Cantuariensis ecclesiæ contemplatione, digno cum honore suscepistis, et causam nostram magnifice et utiliter, capituli vestri sigillum appendendo, promovistis; laborem nostrum de compassione communicastis, et vos vestraque nobis exponentes, ad constantiam roborastis. Unde tantam animi vestri alacritatem advertentes, et devotionis vestræ fervore gaudentes, quod estis dignati rogare vobiscum pariter obsecramus, videlicet ut, quoties opportuna se dederit occasio, vicariis nos invicem litteris consolemur. Vicissitudo quippe litterarum sola res est quæ amicos absentes præsentes facit. Valete.

The convent thank the precentor of S. Quintin for setting his seal to the copy of their privileges; and hope to continue the correspondence.

fo. 118 r°.

CCCCLXXXIX. Omnibus Christi fidelibus Gaufridus prior Cantuariensis.

Late in October.

Universitati vestræ notum esse cupimus, nos antequam iter versus curiam Romanam arriperemus, post solemnes et publicas appellationes sæpe ad sedem apostolicam a nobis contra capellam et canoniam de Lamhee pro Cantuariensi ecclesia interpositas, in capitulo nostro contra ipsam capellam et canoniam, pro statu ecclesiæ Cantuariensi et nostro, dignitate, personis, possessionibus, et pro omnibus quæ ad ipsam pertinent, contra omnia gravamina appellationem nostram innovasse. Appellamus etiam ne aliquid, vel ab ipsis ecclesiæ personis, vel ab aliis, quoquomodo contra libertatem et dignitatem ipsius ecclesiæ, nobis absentibus, fiat. Unde si quid in absentia nostra vi vel metu vel alio aliquo modo contra appellationem nostram aliquid actum vel immutatum fuerit, in irritum illud revocamus.

The prior, before starting for the court of Rome, renews his appeal; and appeals against anything that may be done against it in his absence.

A.D. 1198. Late in October.

CCCCXC. Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent announce that the prior has undertaken the management of the appeal in person, and declare null anything they may be forced to do against him in his absence.

Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, conventus Cantuariensis supra modum afflictus, salutem. Universitatis vestræ innotescat cognitioni, nos, cujusdam capellæ fabrica in ecclesiæ nostræ ruinam et dispendium surgente, contra eam, sub apostolicæ protectionis munimine, intrinsecus et extrinsecus, nos et nostra redigentes, illius præsentiam appellasse, et ad appellationis executionem venerabilem Gaufridum priorem nostrum seipsum exposuisse. Si igitur interim in ejus absentia aliquid in ecclesiæ nostræ fuerit statu attentatum, vel novæ personæ subrogationi vel alterius degradationi, vel cujuspiam rei permutationi assentire compellamur, seu regio metu, seu ejectionis timore, seu famis afflictione, vel cujuslibet violentiæ irrogatione, sicut non credimus debere, ita nec volumus vires vel vigorem habere; eligentes potius causæ nostræ justitiæ cum integritate conscientiæ inniti et adhærere, quam iis quæ a nobis fuerint enormiter extorta ratam conniventiam adhibere. Valete.

Late in October.

CCCCXCI. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent almost overwhelmed with trouble, and in fear of expulsion,

Quantalibet tribulationis pœna momentaneæ mansuescit, longis autem temporum dilatata spatiis, quasi amicta diploide, duplici incommodo adversatur et acescit. Intumescente igitur, sanctissime pater, persecutionis nostræ unda et fervore, et semper in deterius vergente et declinante, vestræ miserationis gratiam indefessis clamorum gemitibus suscitare compellimur, "Præceptor, perimus." In nostræ enim desolationis exitium livor consilia statuens, et in perniciem manus funestas exserens, quasi cum iniquis deputatos tota die mœrore afficiunt; assiduis damnis, minis et opprobriis, quasi vulnus vulnere imprimentes et iniquitatem iniquitati copulantes, lacerant et affligunt; ut etiam præsentis miseriæ nostræ cognitio sit nobis maxima doloris exaggeratio, et piis omnibus luctuosa recordatio. Non enim jam tractatur de pacis reformatione et prioris ecclesiæ Cantuariensis libertatis redintegratione, sed de monastici ordinis ab ea extrusione, et perpetua memoriæ et nominis nostri abolitione. Ad pedes igitur sanctitatis vestræ beatissimæ venerabilem Gaufridum priorem nostrum destinamus, quem ex familiari convictu virum novimus spectatæ religionis et morigeratæ conversationis, qui, pro more et exemplo pii pastoris, se ipsum, ut caput pro visceribus, exponit et allegat. Intuitu

S. Luke viii. 24.

S. Luke xxii. 37.

send the prior to the court of Rome.

Dei et beati martyris Thomæ, pro cujus etiam martyrii titulo, ne diebus nostris cassetur et exolescat, se impendit, misericorditer suscipiatis, favorabiliter audiatis, ut cum maximum pignus cœtus nostri vestræ præsentiæ astiterit conspectui, saltem maturius clementiæ vestræ respectus ad miserandas miserias nostras dirigatur. Deus autem dies vestros ecclesiæ Suæ utilitati in tempora longa adaugeat et conservet. A.D. 1198. Late in October. They entreat the pope to be favourable to him and them.

CCCCXCII. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis. Late in October.

Ecclesiam Suam Deus futuræ pacis interminabili reservans quieti, pacem internam relinquit vianti; quam sicut mundus non potest auferre, ita nec præstare, Ipso Domino dicente, S. John. xiv. 27. "Non sicut mundus dat, Ego do vobis." Per prophetam autem reprobans pacem quæ sine integræ conscientiæ sereno Jer. vi. 14. habetur, ait, "quia divitiæ et voluptates custodiunt pacem "filiæ populi Mei cum ignominia ejus, qui dicunt pax! pax! "et non est pax." Attamen licet crebris temporalium inquietionum agitetur procellis, Redemptoris sui sanguine glorificata, super omnia mundi libera redditur et magnificatur. Pro ea igitur multipliciter vexati et injuriati, exundante tribulationis nostræ æstu et fervore, et magis ac magis dolorum amaricante et accrescente cumulo, amodo secretiori silentio penes nos, præ nimia asperitatis vehementia, non potuimus delitescere. Ad commune ergo jubar querimoniam nostram elicientes, publicarum aurium benignitati et gratiæ ecclesiæ nostræ miserias expromimus et deploramus. Derelicta enim et non habens consolatorem qui pro ea ascendat in die prælii, quasi vidua, sub tributo, et sicut civitas in manus hostiles deputatur; a cunctis autem fidelibus eo uberius miseranda, quia juxta illud Lam. i. 5. propheticum, facti sunt hostes ejus in capite, et qui eam contra quarumlibet roborare deberent insultationem, super eam Ps. xli. 10. moliuntur et magnificant supplantationem. Propugnator etenim ejus, qui omnes machinas scandali et offensionis suæ deberet exterminare, in ejus ruinam cujusdam canoniæ sæcularis fabricam tueri nititur et ædificare. Nos autem, quia illius operi et promotioni assentire non possumus sine gravi conscientiæ scrupulo et fidei qua ecclesiæ nostræ tenemur lubrico, Romanam curiam sub appellationis munimine, jam diu juris remedia interpellantes, prosequimur, omnibus terrenis rebus spoliati, alienorum beneficiorum suffragia mendicantes. Supplicamus igitur quatenus priorem nostrum et cæteros fratres, *etc.*

The convent fo. 118 v°. have good hope in all their troubles.

They show their complaint to the cardinals; the archbishop is their great enemy.

They recommend the prior to their favour.

A.D. 1198. Late in October.

CCCCXCIII. Gaufrido priori Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent encourage the prior to look at the uses of adversity.

Justa Dei dispositio tali provisione Suos permittit attentari adversis, ut examinatos laboribus in statum redigat solidiorem. Ex coctione autem camini metalli depuratur rubigo, et defæcatiori coruscans nitore, potioribus postmodum usibus deputatur. Sic etiam virtus, injuriarum exercitata pressuris, clarioribus illustratur titulis, et plurimorum assequitur incrementa fructuum, juxta apostolum, "quia tribulatio patientiam Rom. v. 3.
"operatur, patientia probationem, probatio spem, etc." Ipse

The example of the Saviour's sufferings.

enim Qui finxit laborem in præcepto, quasi cujusdam exempli propositione ad imitationem Sui alios invitans, de torrente Ps. cx. 7.
in via bibit et exaltavit caput, forma factus gregis Sui, "Qui 1 S. Pet. v. 3. 1 S. Pet. ii.
"peccatum non fecit, nec inventus est dolus in ore Ejus." 22.
Non igitur deterreat justitiæ zelatorem, si cum pium propositum suum in usus operum nititur depromere, multiplicium insultuum retundatur amaritudine; non enim obliviscetur Ps. lxxvii. 9.
misereri Deus, nec repellet in finem, "sed grata superveniet Ps. xliv. 23. Horace,
"quæ non sperabitur hora." Vestræ igitur, benigne pater, *Epist.* I. iv. 14.

They thank him for his courage and generosity in undertaking the appeal.

venerationi, omnes et singuli acclines, gratiarum assurgimus profusione, et votorum nostrorum pia affectione, quod tam commendabili effectu liberalem vestrum super nos denodantes affectum, causæ nostræ executioni vosmet exposuistis, et nec prælationis temporalis ambitione pellecti, nec laborum difficultate et acerbitate detenti, nec primorum regni indignatione et terrore revocati, sub dissimulatione delitescere, et imminens desolationis nostræ discrimen clausis oculis placuit pertransire. Ælmulamini nempe charismata meliora, et ut filius sanc- 1 Cor. xii. 31

They set before him the merits of his predecessors;

torum et cohæres eorum, patrum vestrorum imitamini fidem et religionis devotionem, qui ne ecclesia nostra alicujus terrenæ et servilis ignominiæ stigmate et nævo obfuscaretur, quidam eam martyrii rosis rubricaverunt, quidam beatæ confessionis liliis dealbaverunt, sicque cumulatissimis vitæ et mortis et meritorum suorum insigniis eam glorificantes, in illibatæ libertatis integritate ad tempora nostra conservaverunt. Qui licet

fo. 119 r°.

continuis nobis non desistant patrocinari suffragiis, instat tamen tempus vestrum, ut bonum [certamen] certetis, cursum consum- 2 Tim. iv. 7.

and the reward of his labours,

metis, præstolantes repositam vobis inter eos coronam justitiæ; scientes nos vobis unanimi et constanti assensu inniti, et non publicæ potestatis terrore, nec cujuscunque persecutionis sævitia vel malivolorum insultatione a vobis vel causæ nostræ prosecutione ignaviter quoquomodo fatiscere. Cæterum, sig-

The archbishop, if compelled to destroy the college,

nificamus vobis quod jam communi retrac . . . . opinio percrebuit, quod si canonici domini papæ decreto extrudantur, et fabrica illa diruatur, dominus archiepiscopus tredecim

eorum in capella sua Cantuariensi, in curia sua quam tam eminenter ædificavit et magnifice consummavit, instituet. Ideoque elaborate, ut quocunque fabrica illa vel canonia transmigret vel transferatur, apostolica sententia perpetuo cassetur. Valete. A.D. 1198. Late in October. will plant thirteen clerks in the palace chapel.

CCCCXCIV. Summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.

Late in October.

Orbi terrarum jam dudum innotuit, quod et cœlos non credimus ignorare, quia tempore piæ memoriæ Baldewini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, cum ex constructione novæ clericorum ecclesiæ quam primus incepit, videremus Cantuariensi ecclesiæ, cui deservimus, grave imminere dispendium, ad sedem appellavimus apostolicam. Ubi priore nostro et fratribus constitutis, parte adversa coram posita, cum sanctæ recordationis papæ Urbano tunc presidenti documentis luce clarioribus de causæ nostræ veritate constaret, fratrum suorum deliberatione decrevit et consilio, in opere illo nullatenus procedendum, sed potius diruendum omnino; et hanc sedis apostolicæ sententiam, hoc judicium conscriptum, litteris apud nos notissimis commendari præcepit apicibus apostolicis. De cujus successore, papa Gregorio, non est quod enarremus, cujus promotio et mors auribus nostris prope simul insonuit, nisi quod præfato archiepiscopo semper favisse dinoscitur quoad potuit, magis, ut dicunt, amore personæ quam causæ. Cæterum, huic succedens bonæ memoriæ papa Clemens super prædicto opere idem prorsus de fratrum consilio et eodem modo judicavit, non discrepans vel in verbo. Piæ quoque recordationis papa Cœlestinus sententiam ipsam ratam habuit, et a prædecessorum suorum decreto non deviavit. Quo in senectute bona ad patres suos apposito, placuit dispositioni Divinæ majestatem vestram ecclesiæ Suæ patrem et pastorem præordinari atque præponi. Opere igitur sæpe memorato ad tot Romanæ ecclesiæ statuta perdurante, immo vires et augmenta sumente in dies, in præsentiam vestram res perducta est. Novit magnificentia vestra quid egerit. Testatur pagina constitutionis vestræ vulgatissima, et viritim in hoc occidente discurrens. Recentius est quam ut in memoriam reduci oporteat, clarius quam ut discussione indigeat, maturius quam ut retractari patiatur. Nunc ergo, pater sancte, pastor reverende, pro hac ipsa re itidem in præsentia vestra prior noster et fratres assistunt. Scimus quidem quia longe impares congrediuntur cum adversariis, pauci cum multis, cum fortibus debiliores, cum prudentibus utinam in Christo, stulti propter Christum. Unam petierunt a sede apostolica, hanc requirunt.

The convent present the pope with a short statement of their case.

The acts of pope Urban,

pope Gregory,

pope Clement,

and pope Celestine.

What was done when the cause came before Innocent himself.

Ps. xxvii. 4

A.D. 1198. Late in October.

For the sake of their dead brethren, they entreat the pope to persist in his determination.

Defuncti quoque nostri, qui se ipsos impenderunt causæ, ipsa morte validius vociferantur et clamant, vel nunc exaudiendi. Nos quoque qui tribulamur et sustinemus, aporiamur et non 2 Cor. iv. 8. destituimur, omnes prostrati ad pedes vestros attente supplicamus et obnixe, quatenus finem debitum causæ velitis imponere, et non patiamini eos qui statum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ conturbant, si placet, prævalere. Alioquin non nobis invalidis, qui tamen pro defensione ecclesiæ cui deservimus libenter animas nostras ponimus, formidandum erit coram Deo vel hominibus, sed providendum vobis, cui sollicitudo 2 Cor. xi. 28. omnium ecclesiarum incumbit, quia Cantuariensis ecclesia, martyrum sanguine redempta, vobis stat aut cadit. Stabit autem per gratiam vestram ad honorem et gloriam nominis vestri sempiternam et salutem. Valete.

October.

CCCCXCV. Innocentio summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent remind the pope that they stand to him in the same filial relation as the archbishop.

fo. 119 v°.

Nunquam sic æquitas judicii suum potest explicare fulgorem, vel sine injuria utriusque partis et querela procedere, quam cum apud eum judicem causa agitur, qui utrique pari dilectionis jure fœderatur. Tunc judex stat inflexibilis, cum speciali favore neutram in partem pronior inclinatur. Quod quidem in causa nostra, Cantuariensis scilicet ecclesiæ, probatur evenisse, dum in vestræ paternitatis affectuosa clementia domini archiepiscopi nostri causa, nostraque pariter, agitatur. Quamvis enim nobis pater existat, vobis tamen filiali jure nobiscum simul absque dubitatione tenetur. Cum igitur de paterni cordis affectu et dilectionis intemerata radice a vobis egressa sit sententia, quæ contrariam partem oppressit, sed alterius justitiam, videlicet nostram, affirmavit; quid est quod eam dominus archiepiscopus exequi detrectat, et hujusmodi mandato parere injuriam putat, quasi verecundum sit aut majoris exequi jussionem, aut cedere rationi, aut justitiæ subdi? Immo vero inter maximos numerare posset honores, si pacem ecclesiæ quam alter abstulit ipse reformaret. Et mirum quomodo tutor ecclesiæ vel curator dici recte possit vel credi, qui eam, non dico sponte, sed nec vestri præceptione coactus, contra adulteræ tuetur vel curat insultus. Ipse namque pericula potenter expressit, quæ Lamheensis ecclesia Cantuariensi poterit generare, si a suis initiis in statum ac perniciosum robur evaserit. Nec tamen ab ejus constructione desistit, et dum alienam quærit honorari, suam non timet abjici. Quod si etiam capella de Lamhee ad honorem et decus ecclesiæ Cantuariensis accederet, cum cedat in detrimentum, a suo

The archbishop ought to be glad to obey and reform the errors of his predecessor: but he persists in building his church.

tamen foret proposito revocandus archiepiscopus, cum juxta legis auctoritatem tutor ille judicetur esse suspectus, qui operas suas ingerit invitis. Quantas autem minas et contra jus et licitum vexationes perpessi simus et nunc usque patiamur, priore nostro poteritis narrante cognoscere, quem cum fratribus nostris plurimis ad paternitatis vestræ vestigia periculorum instantiis urgens magnitudo transmittit. Unde beatitudinem vestram obtestamur per eam, cujus in nobis fundamenta Romana jecit ecclesia, venerabilem fidem, quam et martyrum nostrorum purpura et confessorum candor illustrat, per beatum martyrem Thomam, qui in Cantuariensi et pro Cantuariensi ecclesia non legem aut canonem, sed caput allegavit proprium, ut dignitatem ejusdem ecclesiæ et libertatem, quam ipse suo comparavit sanguine, conservetis illæsam. Nulla quippe ratione decet, ut adversus sponsam Christi profana consurgat, cum Veritas dicat, "Omnis plantatio quam "non plantavit Pater Meus Cœlestis eradicabitur." Valete.

A.D. 1198. October.

Digest. III. iii. 25, *Gloss.*

The prior will inform the pope of the persecutions of the convent: they beg him to save them.

S. Matt xv. 13.

CCCCXCVI. Gaufrido priori et Conventui Cantuariensi, S. et R. fratres a curia.

After Nov. 6.

Omnipotentis Dei clementiæ abundantia, omnimoda et abundanti gratiarum actione merito est prosequenda, de Cujus munere venit et gratia, nos inter pressuras tribulationum vehementissimas, subito et inopinato remedio refoveri; ita quidem quod omnes justitiæ et veritati consentientes una voce, una devotione, nobiscum dicant, Benedictus Deus, Qui quando et cui vult abundanter miseretur. Sane ad majoris consolationis cumulum sanctitati vestræ duximus significandum, dominum papam post multiplices partis nostræ et adversariorum allegationes, pro parte nostra, die Sancti Leonardi, publice sententiam pronunciasse, ut capella de Lamhee funditus destruatur, et quicquid propter illam factum est in irritum revocetur. Hæc autem vobis cum omni festinatione significandum dignum duximus, ut cauti sitis et præmuniti, si forte hujus rei occasione, justitiarii domini regis in vos vel possessiones vestras manus violentas mittere præsumpserint. Hoc etiam vobis significamus, quod adversarii nostri infinitam pecuniam obtulerunt, ut animum domini papæ a vobis averterent, vel saltem negotium impedirent, ne debitum sortiretur effectum: sed frustra, quia vir ille fundatus est supra Petram, nec personarum acceptor nec munerum. Verumtamen quia scriptum est, "cui "honorem, honorem," consiliosum nobis videbatur, tum pro personæ reverentia, tum pro gratia ipsius plenius adipiscenda,

The brethren S. and R. inform the convent that on S. Leonard's day the pope pronounced sentence in their favour.

The enemy spent great sums of money in vain; and the writers made the pope a handsome present.

Rom. xiii. 7.

A.D. 1198. After Nov. 6.

ut ex parte vestra eum pro posse nostro visitaremus. Valete et gaudete in Domino, quia visitabit nos quamcitius Oriens ex alto. S. Luke i. 78.

After Nov. 20.

CCCCXCVII. Gaufridus prior Cantuariensis et fratres Conventui Cantuariensi.

The prior informs the convent, that after a laborious and expensive journey,

Virtuosæ mentis est ita viam vitæ præsentis pertransire, ne quid momentaneæ gaudium dilectionis, aut transitoriæ terror tribulationis, ad virtutis bravium tendentem dejiciat a perseverantia. Unde vestram, etsi non ex discretionis abundantia, tamen ex dilectionis plenitudine, duximus exhortari fraternitatem, quatenus id virtutis in vobis perseverantiæ fructificet, quod tam gloriose zelus domus Domini et justitiæ parturivit. Et ne nostra prædicatio de morum contrarietate debeat repudiari, noveritis nos postquam a vobis recessimus, quotidie et continue inter pericula diversa, non sine gravi rerum dispendio et laboris immensitate, processisse, semper habentes præ oculis, quia non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam, quæ Deo propitiante revelabitur in vobis; tandemque post labores multos et graves expensas fratri nostro dilecto Salomoni apud Lucam obviasse, parato negotium quod per ipsum [et] fratrem nostrum R. in curia Romana fuerat expeditum, excluso cujuslibet discriminis metu, exequi et expedire. Nos autem perpendentes et pensantes utriusque casum aleæ, multum timuimus, ne persona vel occasio persecutionis odium parturiret universitati. Unde et fratrem Salomonem retinentes, quia domino archiepiscopo odiosus et labore multo fatigatus, dilectum fratrem nostrum W. præcentorem cum negotio nostro remisimus. Unde super omnia supplicamus, quatenus constanter agatis, nihil de nobis dubitantes, immo pro certo scientes, quod etsi gladium nostræ cervici videremus exsertum, nulli causæ nostræ consentiemus detrimento. Nos autem apud Pysam, nuncium et consilium fratrum nostrorum B. et B. et T., qui in curia Romana tunc erant, expectantes, juxta quod Dominus nobis melius inspiraverit, sive per eos, sive alio modo, non cessabimus exequi quod incepimus; semper pro mercede reputantes, quod pro justitia certamus, licet constantia et justitia summi pontificis, prout accepimus, totius sit nobis levamen et solamen tribulationis. Nihil enim ab eo credimus nobis aut aliis denegari, quod dictante justitia probare potest deberi. Non sit ergo vobis pigrum, aut tædiosum, id orationibus et suspiriis cum devotione incessanter exequi, quod vobis Dei gratia tam gloriose propinavit, ne vel elatio in vobis inchoatam gratiam corrumpat, aut ejus effectum a vobis inertiæ tepor avertat.

fo. 120 r°.

Rom. viii. 18.

he met brother Salomon at Lucca, returning with the mandate, which he sends on by W. the precentor.

He is waiting at Pisa for the messenger of the three brethren at Rome.

CCCCXCVIII. Summus Pontifex Huberto archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.[1]

A.D. 1198. Nov. 20.

Cum ex injuncto nobis apostolatus officio locum Ejus, licet immeriti, teneamus, Qui juxta verbum propheticum liberavit pauperem a potente et inopem cui non erat adjutor, diligenti studio satagere nos oportet, ne minores a majoribus opprimantur, sed ut prælati sic acceptam exerceant jurisdictionem in subditos, ut prodesse probentur potius quam præesse. Hoc ergo secundum officii nostri debitum attendentes, diu tibi districta jussione mandavimus, ut in negotio capellæ de Lamhee, juxta formam litteris apostolicis comprehensam, ab oppressione monachorum Cantuariensium omnino cessares. Super quo venientes ad nostram præsentiam dilecti filii nostri de Boxleia et de Ponte Roberti abbates, nuncii tui, super facto capellæ de Lamhee fraternitatem tuam nitebantur multipliciter excusare; inprimis siquidem proponentes, quod cum bonæ memoriæ Theobaldus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, et gloriosus pontifex Thomas successor ipsius, attendentes quod nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis sæcularibus, et nolentes monachos Cantuarienses, relictis divinis officiis, ad negotia sæcularia se transferre, ad honorem protomartyris Stephani ædificandi ecclesiam, voluntatem et propositum habuissent, et in ea clericos sæculares ordinandi, de suis proventibus et ecclesiis eis redditibus assignandis; per quos, tam apud apostolicam sedem, quam apud curias sæculares, sua possent negotia expedire. Laudabile propositum primi obitus festinatus, secundi longum exilium impedivit, sicut in litteris venerabilis fratris nostri Johannis quondam Lugdunensis archiepiscopi plenius continetur expressum, quæ in nostra et fratrum nostrorum fuerunt præsentia recitatæ. His bonæ memoriæ Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, ita proposito ut officio, voluntate ut dignitate, succedens, prope suburbium civitatis Cantuariæ quasi per stadia tria vel quatuor, ad honorem præfati protomartyris et beati Thomæ cœpit construere [ecclesiam], felicis recordationis Urbani papæ prædecessoris nostri super hoc indulgentia primitus impetrata. Cujus auctoritate sibi concessum fuit, ut in honorem ipsorum martyrum et ædificare posset ecclesiam, et de personis idoneis ordinare, quibus in ecclesiasticis beneficiis canonice provideret, sic tamen quod ecclesiæ debitis obsequiis et necessariis stipendiis minime fraudarentur. Et licet idem Urbanus adversus dictum Baldewinum prædecessorem tuum super demolitione operis suas sæpius litteras destinasset, quia in eis non faciebat de

Ps. lxxii. 12. The pope reminds the archbishop of the apostolic duty of delivering the oppressed.

He has heard the abbots of Boxley and Robertsbridge, and reviews their arguments.

2 Tim. ii. 4. I. The intention of Theobald and Thomas to build a secular college.

No. vi. II. Pope Urban's licence to archbishop Baldwin, unrepealed in his later acts.

Nos. xl. and cxxviii.

[1] This letter is in Gervase, c. 1616, and in Epp. Innoc. ed. Baluz. i. 432. Part of it is in the Decretals of Gregory IX. It was received by the archbishop at Lambeth on the 2nd of January.

A.D. 1198. Nov. 20. fo. 120 v°.

concessa jam indulgentia mentionem, ei dicebant per rescripta sequentia nullatenus derogatum; quæ præterea proponebant et per falsi suggestionem et veritate tacita impetrata, et ad ipsius archiepiscopi notitiam minime devenisse. Unde si eis non paruerat, de jure non poterat reprehendi. Rescriptum quoque sanctæ recordationis Gregorii papæ prædecessoris nostri pro se pariter producebant, qui cum litteras indulserit generales, ut rescripta quæ a tribus mensibus ante obitum prædicti Urbani prædecessoris sui fuerant impetrata eandem firmitatem haberent, non obstante obitu mandatoris, quam obtinere debuissent si tunc viveret, negotia quæ ipsum archiepiscopum et ejus clericos contingebant sub præmissa noluit generalitate concludi: per quod nimirum rescriptum prædecessoris sui dicebant litteris derogatum, quas adversus archiepiscopum direxerat ad instantiam monachorum. Quibus siquidem litteris, et etiam felicis memoriæ Clementis successoris sui, qui ejus in hac parte fuerat imitator, per factam tunc temporis amicabilem compositionem, de partium voluntate, inter archiepiscopum et monachos memoratos, per carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ricardum Anglorum regem illustrem, et venerabilem fratrem nostrum Walterium Rothomagensem archiepiscopum, et quosdam episcopos et abbates, dicebant penitus derogatum. Cum enim tempore præfati Baldewini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, præmissi rex et archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, Cantuariam accessissent, inter eos fuit, tam de constructione capellæ, quam de institutione prioris et quibusdam aliis quæstionibus, a partibus compromissum. Ipsi autem, deliberatione diligenti præmissa, pariter judicaverunt, quod ipse archiepiscopus rationabiliter ædificaverat ecclesiam memoratam. Ipse tamen pro bono pacis concessit, ad prædicti regis instantiam et etiam aliorum, quod canonicorum collegium ad locum alium transferret quem eligeret competentem. Per hanc ergo compositionem dicti nuncii tui renunciasse dicebant monachos rescriptis præcedentibus a sede apostolica impetratis. Cum exinde dictus archiepiscopus, loco priore dimisso, ubi ædificare non potuerat sine scandalo monachorum, ad locum de Lamhee, per quinquaginta milliaria distante a civitate Cantuariensi, suum propositum transtulerit, ubi et ecclesiam, sicut prius fecerat, ædificare cœpit ad honorem martyrum prædictorum, ut sic propter nimiam locorum distantiam nulla remaneret monachis materia conquerendi. Cui postea tu succedens, quod ab ipso minus factum fuerat, perficere voluisti, et quod ipsum tibi liceret ex rescripto litterarum bonæ memoriæ Cœlestini papæ prædecessoris nostri ostendere nitebantur, qui anno pontificatus sui septimo et extremo, ad omnem inter ecclesias Cantuariensem et de Lamhee discordiam sopiendam, et ne canonici de Lamhee facultatem

III. The rescript of pope Gregory.

Nos. cxxxviii. and cxxxix.

IV. The effect of the compromise in voiding the mandates of Urban and Clement.

No. cxciii.

No. cccxxxv.

V. The licence of pope Celestine to archbishop Hubert.

No. ccccxiii.

haberent contra cathedralem ecclesiam insurgendi, disponendi de ipsa ecclesia de Lamhee interius et exterius, non obstantibus litteris ad venerabilem filium nostrum Cicestrensem episcopum et dilectos filios nostros de Waltham et Radinges abbates No. cccxcvii. obtentis, concessit tibi liberam facultatem. Per has igitur litteras præcedentia scripta sua, quæ his videbantur adversa, dicebant penitus revocata. Intentionem ergo suam probare dicti nuncii tui satagebant, per laudabile propositum Theobaldi et gloriosi Thomæ martyris pontificum præmissorum, et per Urbani et Gregorii et Cœlestini Romanorum pontificum indulgentias et rescripta, et per præmissam compositionem factam de partium voluntate. Verum præmissis rationibus ex parte monachorum fuit ex ordine taliter obviatum, quod de occultis hominum voluntatibus, quas Sibi tantum Dominus Jer. xvii. 10. reservavit, Qui renes et corda scrutatur, a nobis judicari non poterat, nec debebat, nec ipsi valebant ad talia respondere, quæ proponere in judicio nihil aliud erat quam de secretis No. vi. cordium divinare. Sane per indulgentiam Urbani papæ prædecessoris nostri, de qua præmisimus, juri suo in nullo dicebant penitus derogatum, quia canonica beneficiorum assignatio per eam Cantuariensi archiepiscopo servabatur, quæ juxta constitutionem canonicam sine tractatu et assensu monachorum procedere non valebat; qui nedum quod ipsius facto in hac parte consenserint, verum etiam contradixerunt expresse, sicut sequentia docuerunt, et adhuc in eodem proposito perseverant. Eis ergo contradicentibus superioris judicium erat exspectandum. Idem etiam ratione nitebantur ostendere, quod juxta Digest. XLIII. viii. 2, and XXXIX. ii. 24. sanctiones legitimas, si quando alicui conceditur beneficium principale, puta libera factio testamenti, nihil aliud videtur indulgeri, quam ut modo testetur legitimo et etiam consueto. Ille quoque qui, ut in loco publico posset ædificare, a principe simpliciter impetravit, ædificare cum alterius incommodo non valebit, nisi et hoc ipsum a principe postulatum fuerit et concessum. Per sequentes etiam ipsius Urbani litteras exec- No. cxxix. utorias, quibus opus ipsum maledictum haberi voluit et profanum, asserebant præscriptæ indulgentiæ derogatum. Quæ sive coram eodem Urbano fuerit ostensa, proponebant eam penitus abrogatam, cum ea non obstante demolitio ipsius ecclesiæ fuerit demandata; sive fuerit prætermissa, sibi debuit imputari, cum jure civili etiam caveatur, quod sub prætextu instrumentorum postea repertorum lites non debeant restaurari. Id ipsum per litteras piæ recordationis Clementis papæ prædecessoris nostri probare volebant, in cujus præsentia nunciis partium constitutis, cum dictus Baldewinus prædecessor tuus opus maledictum et profanum voluisset contumaciter et pertinaciter consummare, ad exemplum Urbani prædecessoris sui, prædicto archiepiscopo de

A.D. 1198. Nov. 20.

The answers of the monks.

I. That God alone can judge of the intentions of men.

II. The licence of pope Urban was limited to canonical purposes;

and ought fo. 121 r°. to be construed equitably;

it was also annulled by his subsequent mandate, and that of Clement.

A.D. 1198. Nov. 20.

consilio fratrum districte præcepit, ut quicquid fecerat in ecclesia nominata, curaret sine dilatione qualibet demoliri, quod de instituendis canonicis et aliis fuerat perperam attentatum, in irritum penitus revocato: ubi sive omissa fuerit præmissa indulgentia, vel etiam allegata, eorum non poterat ratione præmissa propositum impedire. Per ipsam quoque compositionem de qua præmisimus, tanquam regio metu violenter extortam, partem suam in nullo gravari posse dicebant. Cum enim dictus Clemens papa prædecessor noster, pro sedanda discordia inter archiepiscopum et monachos Cantuarienses exorta, bonæ memoriæ Johannem Anagninum tunc temporis tituli Sancti Marci presbyterum cardinalem, apostolicæ sedis legatum, postea vero episcopum Prænestinum, in Angliam destinasset, postquam illuc transfretavit, factum fuit, dicto Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo procurante, quod apud portum Dovorum contra voluntatem suam per dies plurimos teneretur; quod in gravem ecclesiæ Romanæ injuriam redundavit; nec ante fuit permissus Cantuariam proficisci, quam per dominum regem Angliæ, qui eodem tempore cum episcopis suis Cantuariam venerat, in pace quam fecerunt cum archiepiscopo, monachi vim passi fuerunt et compulsi sunt omnia sustinere. Quod ideo cum prope positus audisset, et postea præsens apud Cantuariam cognovisset, scripto mandare curavit, sicut in suis litteris patentibus continetur, quas coram nobis fecimus recitari, ut et rei veritas omnibus innotesceret, et quod factum fuerat non generaret præjudicium justitiæ monachorum, et si archiepiscopus ipse vel aliquis de successoribus suis scripturam super forma pacis quandoque proferret, sciretur ab omnibus eam fratribus jam dictæ ecclesiæ nec consentientibus nec scientibus fuisse confectam, nec sibi exhibitam postulanti qui ad causam ipsam fuerat a summo pontifice destinatus; unde vel rem gestam confirmare debuerat, si justitiæ concordaret, vel si aliter facta fuerat, infirmare. Sic ergo cognoscens intercessisse illi facto violentiam manifestam, auctoritate qua fungebatur apostolica statuit, quod neque concordia sic facta valere deberet, neque compromissio violenter extorta, neque scriptum aliquod sic conceptum, et quod ipsis monachis in posterum præjudicium non afferret, cum omnia eo præsente ac contradicente fuerint adimpleta. Post hæc, cum bonæ memoriæ Cœlestinus papa prædecessor noster omnia quæ per memoratum Baldewinum archiepiscopum circa monachos vi vel metu acta fuerant auctoritate apostolica in irritum revocaret, nominatim ea quæ, legato Romanæ ecclesiæ præsente et contradicente, contra mandatum sedis apostolicæ facta proponebantur, sicut in authentico ejusdem legati Johannis Anagnini, quondam presbyteri cardinalis, ob causam ipsam in Angliam

No. cxciii.

IV. The compromise should not be injurious to the monks,

No. cccxxxv.

for it was made in contempt of the legate, and was annulled by his act, protesting compulsion,

No. cccxxxvi.

and by the act of pope Celestine.

No. cccl vi.

destinati, continebantur expressa, viribus carere decrevit, et quæcunque contra jus monachorum, vel tenorem privilegiorum sedis apostolicæ, idem archiepiscopus impetraverat. Insuper statuens, ut nullus hominum quæ male gesserat ad consequentiam traheret, nec ea, quæ a sede apostolica obtinuerat tacita veritate, juri monachorum vel privilegiis, ullo unquam tempore in aliquo præjudicium generaret; quemadmodum nobis et fratribus nostris ex ipsarum constitit continentia litterarum. Ex ipsa quoque majore loci distantia sibi asserebant monachi majus præjudicium generatum, qui cum in eorum defectum, sicut a tuis nunciis dicebatur, sæculares clerici fuerint evocati, vix possent per eos vicinos Cantuariensis ecclesiæ negotia monachis absentibus procurari, quæ ipsis procul positis, et quasi eorum captata absentia, sine monachorum conscientia, tractarentur, et eis penitus inconsultis; unde Cantuariensis ecclesia dispendium incurreret et jacturam. Sic ergo per hoc eis nihil accessit, eadem contradictionis causa manente.

A.D. 1198. Nov. 20.

The removal of the college from Canterbury to Lambeth adds to the scandal. fo. 121 v°.

No. ccccxiii. Ultimum quoque rescriptum dicti Cœlestini papæ prædecessoris nostri carere viribus asserebant, utpote per suppressionem veritatis subreptum; quoniam in eo nulla fiebat mentio mandatorum quæ ab Urbano et Clemente præcesserant, nec etiam confirmationis illius quam ipsemet super cassatione compositionis prædictæ concessit; et præsertim cum rescriptum illud indulsisse dicatur, eo tempore quo eum infirmitas admodum prægravabat. Ad fundandam sane intentionem suam, prædictorum Urbani, Clementis et Cœlestini Romanorum pontificum rescripta, necnon et nostrum post illa, idem monachi producebant; quibus urgentissime mandabatur, ut quicquid de prædicta capella fuerit attentatum, haberetur in irritum et inane. Cum autem quæ præmisimus, et similia, in nostra et fratrum nostrorum præsentia prudenter essent a nunciis allegata, nos qui tempus accepimus justitiam judicandi, volentes Ejus vestigiis inhærere apud Quem non est acceptio personarum, Cujus locum licet indigni tenemus in terris, et ita via regia prudenter incedere, ut non declinemus ad dexteram vel ad sinistram; prædecessores quoque nostros Urbanum, Clementem et etiam Cœlestinum credentes amplius imitandos, in illis maxime quæ deliberatione prævia statuerunt; de communi consilio fratrum nostrorum per apostolica scripta mandamus, et in virtute obedientiæ districte præcipimus, quatenus omni contradictione, excusatione et appellatione cessantibus, infra triginta dies post susceptionem præsentium, quicquid ædificatum est in ecclesia memorata expensis tuis facias penitus demoliri, eo non obstante si absens ab ecclesia tua exstiteris; cum cautum sit etiam legitima sanctione, ut si is cui opus novum fuerat nunciatum, ante remissionem ædifi-

V. The licence of pope Celestine to Hubert was obtained on false representations, and when the pope was very old.

Having considered the arguments on both sides, the pope orders the archbishop to destroy his church within thirty days,

Col. iii. 25.
Num. xx. 17.
Digest. xxxix. i. 1.

A.D. 1198. Nov. 20. to annul the foundation, restore the property of the convent,

caverit, deinde agere cœperit, jus sibi esse ita ædificatum habere, sibi debeat actio denegari: reducens prorsus in irritum quicquid de instituendis ibidem canonicis et aliis ad ipsam ecclesiam pertinentibus, a te vel prædecessore tuo cognoscitur ordinatum; eorum redditibus ad statum pristinum revocatis, quos ab obligatione præstiti juramenti pro eo quod ibidem instituti fuerunt, auctoritate nostra per te denunciare præcipimus absolutos. Cum enim amodo non teneat principale, quicquid ex eo vel ob id secutum est, sub præmissa districtione, decernimus irritandum, sicut sancitum est traditione canonica et civili. Clericos præterea, qui in capella ipsa post inhibitiones apostolicas divina officia celebrarunt, sicut nos per alia scripta mandavimus, tam diu habeas pro suspensis, quousque super illud satisfecerint competenter. Et universa quæ in prædictorum monachorum sunt attentata gravamen, exeniorum videlicet et ecclesiarum et aliorum invasione, quæ ante appellationem habuerunt dictis monachis non differas resignare, ac de cætero circa statum monasterii, contra prohibitionem nostram hujus occasione negotii, non præsumas aliquid innovare. Si vero, quod non credimus, præceptum nostrum, sicut præmissum est, vel contempseris vel distuleris adimplere, a pontificali officio ex tunc noveris te suspensum, et pro contemptu apostolici mandati ad nostram te volumus venire præsentiam responsurum. Venerabilibus quoque fratribus nostris Cantuariensis ecclesiæ suffraganeis, de consilio fratrum nostrorum, in virtute obedientiæ districte præcipimus, quatenus nisi tu infra præmissum tempus mandatum nostrum duxeris ad effectum, ipsi tibi nullam impendant obedientiam vel reverentiam; quia justum est ut ei non obediatur a subditis, qui suo contempserit obedire prælato. Quod si forte nec sic te poterimus ad bonum obedientiæ revocare, propter quod nullum malum committitur, bonum autem debet sæpius intermitti, majorem tibi animadversionem noveris imminere, cum ferro sint abscidenda vulnera, quæ fomentorum non sentiunt medicinam. Sane super præmissis, in quibus salva conscientia non potuimus alio modo procedere, fraternitatem tuam rogamus nullatenus contristari, quia teste Deo non ex indignatione aliqua processerunt, sed quia cum simus, licet insufficientes, in sede justitiæ constituti, unde jura sua tenemur servare singulis illibata, fraternitati tuæ, quam sincerius amplexamur, cum te inter fratres et coepiscopos nostros honorabile membrum et in domo Domini columnam immobilem habeamus, non potuimus sine gravi Creatoris offensa deferre; nec nobis potes in hac parte aliquid imputare, cum secundum traditionem canonicam, quando non nisi peccando alicui consuli potest, tunc æstimare debet homo quid faciat non habere.

Digest. L. xvii. 129.

suspend the offending clerks, and restore the xenia and churches alienated.

If the archbishop disobey, he is to be ipso facto suspended;

P. Siricius, *ad Himer.* c. 7.

and is threatened with further punishment. He is not to be grieved with the strong measures of the pope, who has great affection for him.

fo. 122 r°.

II. Decr. XIV. v. 10.

Digest. xxviii. vii. 15. In ipsis etiam legibus sæcularibus invenitur ut quæ facta lædunt pietatem, æstimationem, verecundiam nostram, et generaliter quæ bonis moribus adversantur, nec posse nos facere sit credendum. Super eo quoque non sufficimus admirari, 1 S. Pet. ii. 8. quod cum dicta ecclesia jam dudum quasi lapis offensionis fuerit et petra scandali, pro qua nos et prædecessores nostri adversus te tuosque prædecessores ita graviter sumus moti, et viri religiosi pariter et prudentes monachi Cantuarienses, qui omnia dimiserunt pro Christo, tot laboribus et doloribus, tot mortibus et periculis, personas et res non dubitaverunt frequenter exponere, quod proculdubio tam illi quam isti, ut dictum est, non fecissent nisi cognoscerent præmissa respicere in grave Cantuariensis ecclesiæ detrimentum;—ut de aliis omittamus, tu, saltem pro vitando tam gravi scandalo proximorum, ab his etiam prohibitis non cessasti, cum sacræ scripturæ testimonio debueris didicisse, quod licet opera illa quæ sine mortali peccato dimitti non possunt, non sint pro vitando scandalo dimittenda, nec ea debeant pro scandalo vitando committi, quæ sine mortali peccato committi non possunt; ab ils tamen quæ committi possunt sine mortali peccato pariter et dimitti, sit pro scandalo tollendo cessandum, et eis etiam pro vitando scandalo insistendum. Unde apo- 1 Cor. viii. 13. stolus in epistola dicit, si scandalizaretur frater, carnem non comederet in æternum. Et Dominus in Evangelio contra eos S. Matt. xviii. 7. qui scandali præstant materiam, "Væ autem homini illi per "quem scandalum venit: melius est illi ut suspendatur mola "asinaria in collo ejus, et dejiciatur in profundum maris." Et licet majorum scandalum sit vitandum, præcipue tamen vitandum est scandalum pusillorum, juxta testimonium Veritatis. S. Matt. xviii. 6. "Qui scandalizaverit," inquit, "unum de pusillis istis "minimis qui in Me credunt," etc. Finis ergo iis quæ præmissa sunt a te taliter imponatur, quod præteritæ contradictionis rebellio per virtutem sequentis obedientiæ valeat nec immerito expiari. Datum Laterani, xii. kalendas Decembris, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

A.D. 1198. Nov. 20.

He is astonished that the archbishop has not seen that it was his duty to yield, if only to avoid offence.

He must expiate his obstinacy by obeying.

CCCCXCIX. Innocentius summus pontifex, omnibus suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ.[1]

Nov. 20.

No. cccclxi. Litteras fraternitatis vestræ super facto ecclesiæ de Lamhee, unde inter venerabilem fratrem nostrum et dilectos filios nostros monachos Cantuarienses quæstio movebatur, nuper nobis sub sigillis omnium pariter destinatas, cum debita benignitate recepimus, super eo non modicum admirantes, quod,

The pope is surprised that the bishops suppose him to have been circumvented.

[1] Another version of this letter is given by Gervase, c. 1621

A.D. 1198. Nov. 20.

Their opinion rests on the letters issued by Urban, Gregory and Celestine.

sicut earum serie nobis intimastis, quibusdam vestrum visum fuit nos fuisse multipliciter circumventos, quando litteras nostras eidem archiepiscopo et vobis ipsis super eodem negotio curavimus destinare. Sane, sicut litteræ vestræ continebant, in præmissam opinionem eos qui de nobis talia æstimabant, quatuor induxerant quæ sequuntur. Quorum primum, secundum et ultimum erant indulgentiæ piæ recordationis Urbani, Gregorii et Cœlestini Romanorum pontificum, quæ in nostra et fratrum nostrorum præsentia fuerant recitatæ. Tertium, compositio facta per carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ricardum illustrem regem Anglorum, et venerabilem fratrem nostrum Rothomagensem archiepiscopum, et quosdam alios, inter archiepiscopum et monachos memoratos; quibus et aliis qualiter ex parte monachorum ratione prævia fuerit obviatum, ut cognoscatis et approbetis plenius veritatem, universitati vestræ præsentibus litteris duximus explicandum; ex rescripto litterarum quas dicto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo destinamus, effici poteritis certiores: quod de verbo ad verbum præsenti paginæ duximus inserendum. "Innocentius, servus servorum Dei, "Huberto Cantuariensi," etc. "Cum ex injuncto nobis apostolatus officio," etc., *ut supra*. Quocirca fraternitati vestræ de consilio fratrum nostrorum in virtute obedientiæ districte præcipimus, quatenus nisi supradictus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis infra præmissum tempus mandatum nostrum duxerit ad effectum, vos ei nullam obedientiam vel reverentiam impendatis, quia justum est ut ei non obediatur a subditis, qui suo contemnit obedire prælato; pro certo scituri, quod si præcepto apostolico in hac parte præsumpseritis obviare, nos, auctore Deo, inobedientiæ vestræ curabimus per debitam animadversionem respondere. Datum Laterani, xii. kalendas Decembris, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Nos. vi., cxxxix, and ccccxiii.

No. cccxxxv.

The monks have answered the argument, as will appear from the mandate addressed to the archbishop.

No. ccccxcviii.

If he fails to obey, the bishops are to renounce obedience to him.

A.D. 1199. January. fo. 122 v°.

D. Hubertus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Conventui Cantuariensi.

The archbishop received the pope's mandate on Jan. 2: and reminds the monks that he was always willing to obey a second mandate,

Mandatum domini papæ suscepimus in crastino Circumcisionis Dominicæ, ut infra triginta dies a mandati ejusdem susceptione, quicquid ædificatum est in capella de Lamhee faceremus penitus demoliri. Filii carissimi, si meminerit vestra discretio, cum ad nos alias super eodem negotio mandatum apostolicum pervenisset, semper hæc nostra fuit petitio, hoc desiderium, hæc voluntas, ut quia non solum a nobis sed a plerisque credebatur, quibus processus rei magis innotuerat, religionem domini papæ fuisse multimodis circumventam, ipsi totius negotii series sub multorum testimonio referretur, et si, veritate accepta et cognita, censeret in ejusdem mandati proposito

persistendum, nos iterata ipsius jussione muniti, sicut deceret, jussionem apostolicam humiliter ac devote in memorato negotio compleremus. Hoc siquidem nobis erat inter vota præcipuum. Hoc semper egimus apud vos, ut veritatis et negotii relationem vestra dilectio æquanimiter sustineret. Cui desiderio nostro licet vestri favoris assensus non accederet, licet ad consilii vel hortatus vel supplicationis instantiam obtineri non posset, nos, quia nostra interfuit, rem gestam nihilominus multorum et magnorum assertione in fidei testimonium conscribi fecimus et referri. Nunc autem dominus papa, relatione facta, ratus sibi super veritatis notitia satisfactum, secundam super memorata capella jussionem concepit, quam nos et in ea qua decuit veneratione suscepimus, et per Dei gratiam, infra terminum in litteris præfinitum, in humilitate debita et devota studebimus adimplere. Sed cum nobis expediat vestrisque utilitatibus non resistat, ut cum domini regis benevolentia vel permissione saltem aut licentia, quod jussum est effectui mancipetur, id agimus ut valemus, ad id totis viribus et desideriis anhelamus, quod si nobis non contigerit indulgeri, non segnius ideo quod nostrum est exequemur, satagentes in omnibus obedientiæ fines amplecti, ne quid sinistre in nos quisquam ex certa causa retorqueat vel suggerat nobis merito imputandum. Huic negotio de capella prædicta in eisdem litteris consequenter adjicitur, quatenus universa quæ in vestrum gravamen attentata sunt, videlicet in ecclesiarum vel exeniorum et aliorum etiam invasione, quæ ante appellationem habuistis, vobis resignare minime differamus. At, sicut vos ignorare non credimus, hujus articuli executio ut procedat, necesse est, quæ petitis in nostra præsentia specificari certius et designari planius, nosque super invasione et appellatione, per quos hæc facta, quando illa interposita fuerit, per vos sufficienter instructi et perfectius edocti. Unde volumus et vobis districte mandamus, quatenus quos et quot de universitate vestra videritis expedire ad usque cum omni festinatione mittatis, tanta nimirum ut per eos instructi prout oportuerit de præmissis, infra terminum memoratum quod super hoc in mandatis accepimus, devotissime compleamus. Et tenetur etiam in earundem serie litterarum, ut clericos qui post inhibitiones apostolicas in prædicta capella ministraverunt, pro suspensis habeamus, donec inde satisfecerint competenter; nosque ob reverentiam domini papæ dilectis filiis abbati de Faveresham, et de Lehdis et Sancti Gregorii prioribus, et magistro Feramino, W. de Kalna, E. vicearchdiacono Cantuariensi, in vi obedientiæ firmiter et districte præcipimus, quatenus ad ipsam capellam festinanter et pariter accedant, adjunctis sibi viris prudentibus et discretis, solemniter ibi ex parte nostra, prædictos omnes et in forma prædicta suspensos

A.D. 1199. January. issued on better information.

He is prepared to obey in reference to the chapel, as soon as he has the king's licence.

As for the restoration of the xenia, and the churches, he must be first instructed as to the rights of the convent.

He has given order for the suspension of the contumacious clerks.

A.D. 1199. January.

denuncient, ipsis etiam injungant, ut de cætero se gerant et habeant pro suspensis. Huic denunciationi faciendæ, de vestris aliquot, si placet, volumus interesse, ut assistentes comminus devotionem nostram fide oculata intelligant, et si necesse fuerit, ipsi quod viderint fideliter asseverent. Super aliis etiam articulis in mandati ejusdem tenore contentis, in forma præfixa disposuimus operari. Præter ea quæ dicta sunt hoc adjicimus, quod si coram nobis apparere nolueritis, ut ea quæ petitis exprimatis, et nos faciatis de circumstantiis certiores, coram domino P. Capuano,[1] ecclesiæ Romanæ cardinali et apostolicæ sedis legato, id agatis, cujus examen super his devote exequi volumus et subire ; vel, si melius placet, unum ex parte vestra quem volueritis eligatis, et nos alium eligemus, qui duo cum prædicto cardinali dijudicent de prædictis. Ex abundanti etiam hoc offerimus vobis, ut quia dominus Eliensis præsens est in Normannia, et dominus Lincolniensis et abbas Sancti Eadmundi præsentes erunt in brevi, ad quos super iis quæ petuntur litteras detulistis, idem duo episcopi et abbas cum prædicto cardinali, quæ inde proposueritis audiant, et quod juri consonum fuerit, etiam infra terminum a domino papa præfixum, sine occasione decernant. Non enim volumus eorum arbitrium declinare, vel etiam, quantum in nobis fuerit, quicquam agere quominus, prout justum fuerit, mandato apostolico pareatur. Volentes etiam ea quæ vobis obtulimus in domini papæ notitiam devenire, mandamus quatenus litteras patentes ex parte capituli vestri nobis transmittatis, per quas domino papæ singula quæ vobis offerimus exponatis. Valete.

He proposes that on the other points the convent shall accept the arbitration of Peter of Capua alone, or with two others ; or of the cardinal and the judge delegates.

fo. 123 r°.

The convent must report this offer to the pope.

A.D. 1198. Nov. 20.

DI. Innocentius summus pontifex, Lincolniensi et Eliensi episcopis, et abbati Sancti Eadmundi.

The pope has ordered the archbishop to restore the xenia and the alienated churches to the convent.

Inter alia quæ venerabili fratri nostro Cantuariensi archiepiscopo super negotio capellæ de Lamhee, de fratrum nostrorum consilio, felicis recordationis Urbani, Clementis et Cœlestini, prædecessorum nostrorum, vestigiis inhærentes, per apostolica scripta mandamus, et illud specialiter continetur, quod ecclesias monachorum, cum fructibus medio tempore perceptis, exeniis et aliis injuste ablatis, infra triginta dies post receptionem litterarum nostrarum, etiamsi ab ecclesia sua absens fuerit, eis restituere non moretur. Volentes autem ut mandatum apostolicæ sedis debitam obtineat firmitatem, nec

[1] Peter of Capua, created cardinal deacon of the title of S. Mary in Via lata, in 1193 : he was sent as legate to arrange a peace between Richard and Philip, in 1198. Hoveden, 447.

alicujus negligentia retardetur, discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta districte præcipimus, quatenus, nisi dictus archiepiscopus infra præfixum tempus sibi curaverit quod mandavimus adimplere, vos, omni contradictione, dilatione et appellatione cessantibus, ecclesias ipsas cum fructibus perceptis dictis monachis restituere non tardetis; detentores ipsarum, si vobis in hac parte, immo nobis ipsis, præsumpserint obviare, pœna suspensionis et excommunicationis etiam, si opus fuerit, percellentes; provisuri ut, Deum præ oculis habentes, sine personarum acceptione, mandatum apostolicum taliter exsequamini, quod devotionem vestram et nos commendare possimus, et Deus debeat acceptare. Quod si omnes exsequendis his nequiveritis interesse, duo vestrum ea nihilominus exsequantur. Datum Laterani, xii. kalendas Decembris, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

A.D. 1198. Nov. 20. He commissions the bishops of Lincoln and Ely, and the abbot of S. Edmund's to enforce execution within 30 days of the receipt of the mandate.

DII. Innocentius papa Ricardo regi Anglorum.[1]

A.D. 1198. Nov. 20.

Inter alia quæ nos hortantur celsitudini regiæ congaudere, illud tanquam memoriale, quia personam tuam quam sincera diligimus in Domino caritate, multa gratiarum actione prosequimur, quod jam dudum nos regiis apicibus rogavisti, ut pro nullo deberemus in iis quæ agimus a justitiæ tramite deviare; nec illud fuit in eisdem litteris prætermissum, unde circumspectionem regiam dignis laudibus commendamus, ut si forte a nobis interdum aliquid postularet quod esset obvium rationi, nolebat aliquatenus exaudiri. Nos ergo præter officii nostri debitum, ex quo cum, licet indigni, tempus acceperimus justitiam judicandi, universis et singulis in suo jure existimus debitores, regiæ prudentiæ salutaribus exhortationibus invitati, et volentes regia via prudenter incedere, nec declinare ad dexteram vel sinistram; nuper in præsentia nostra nunciis venerabilis fratris nostri, et dilectis filiis nostris monachis Cantuariensibus constitutis, in facto capellæ de Lamhee, de communi fratrum nostrorum consilio processimus, sicut nobis fuit divinitus revelatum, et litteræ quas eidem archiepiscopo et venerabilibus filiis nostris Cantuariensis ecclesiæ suffraganeis destinamus, continent evidenter. Ut autem mandatum nostrum, quod de pura conscientia, Deo teste, processit, liberius valeat adimpleri, serenitatem regiam prece qua possumus et affectione rogamus, quatenus iis quæ a nobis facta sunt benignius annuendo, non sit impedimento, quominus debeant juxta rescripti nostri seriem effectui mancipari; quin potius si quis se, quod vix credimus, duceret opponendum, ejus

The pope thanks the king for his good advice.

Num. xx. 17.

He has acted upon it, and issued a second mandate to the archbishop and suffragans; which he begs the king will suffer to be executed.

[1] This letter is given by Gervase, c. 1622.

A.D. 1198. Nov. 20. However much he might wish to oblige the king, he must punish the contumacious.

audacia, quæsumus, potestate tibi tradita reprimatur, ut mandata sedis apostolicæ debitam obtineant firmitatem. Alioquin quantumcunque magnificentiam tuam in Domino diligamus, et sibi velimus quantum cum Deo possumus honeste deferre, contemptum apostolicæ sedis et nostrum non poterimus æquanimiter sustinere, sed eos qui se opponere nostris in hac parte jussionibus attentabunt, pœna magistra docere curabimus, quam durum sit contra stimulum calcitrare. Provideat igitur regia celsitudo, quod ita preces apostolicas in hac parte diligenter exaudiat, sicut petitiones suas apud sedem apostolicam cupit etiam in majoribus exaudiri; procurans attentius, ut præfatos monachos, quos sub protectione nostra suscepimus, ne minores a majoribus opprimantur, dextera suæ potentiæ protegat et defendat, ut apud Eum æternæ retributionis præmia consequatur, Qui juxta propheticum testimonium liberavit fo. 123 v°. pauperem a potente, et inopem cui non erat adjutor. Datum Laterani, xii. kalendas Decembris, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Acts xxvi. 14.

Ps. lxxii. 12.

Nov. 20. DIII. Innocentius summus pontifex Conventui Cantuariensi.[1]

The pope reminds the convent of the blessings of tribulation.

Nisi viri prudentes essetis, et sacrarum haberetis scientiam scripturarum, pro tribulationibus quæ invenerunt vos nimis, egeretis forsitan consolationibus aliorum: sed imitatores apostolorum effecti, ut relictis omnibus liberius sequi possitis Christum pauperem et egenum, amissionem temporalium, (quæ debetis cum apostolo tanquam stercora reputare, ut Christum lucrifacere valeatis,) excipere cum gaudio vos oportet, nec pro ea, sicut cæteri hominum, contristari, ne per immoderatum dolorem, postquam manum misistis ad fortia, retro aspicere comprobemini, et manna contempto ad Ægypti pepones et allia et ollas carnium aspirare. Cum itaque non sint condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis, monemus universitatem vestram et hortamur in Domino, quatenus ad memoriam revocantes quod tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia vero spem, spes autem secundum apostolum non confundit, ex hoc ipso gratias agatis Altissimo, quod illi de quibus indubitatam fiduciam habebatis, retribuentes mala pro bonis, vobis non cessant detrahere, quia sequimini bonitatem. Et quanto mundus, (qui vos odit quia de mundo non estis, alioquin quod suum erat diligeret,) persecutiones vobis excitat graviores; tanto magis Patri luminum, a Quo est omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum, in gratiarum actionibus assurgatis, Qui vobis dedit patientiam in

Ps. xlvi. 1.

Phil. iii. 8.

S. Luke ix. 62.

Num. xi. 5.

Rom. viii. 18.

Rom. v. 3.

S. John xv. 19.

S. James i. 17.

[1] This letter is given by Gervase, c. 1625.

adversis. Despecta est enim confessio quam facit prosperitas, A.D. 1198. Nov. 20.
Ps. xlix. 18. teste scriptura quæ dicit: "Confitebitur tibi cum benefeceris ei." Sed illa magni momenti debet existere, quam non adimit vis
Job. ii. 10. doloris, ejus exemplo qui ait, "Si bona suscepimus de manu "Domini, mala autem, etc." Nos autem qui locum Ejus, licet indigni, tenemus Qui juxta propheticum testimonium libe-
Ps. lxxii. 12. ravit pauperem a potente et inopem cui non erat adjutor, affectu paterno vestris doloribus condolentes, non attendimus contra vos vultum potentis, sed ut oppressionibus vestris finis debitus imponatur, spe sola retributionis æternæ, Petri gladium exseruimus ad justitiam faciendam: discretionem vestram rogantes attentius et obsecrantes in Domino, quatenus hanc nobis retribuatis mercedem, ut apud misericordissimum Judicem pro peccatis nostris preces et lacrymas effundatis,
1 Tim. ii. 8. puras ad Eum manus sine disceptatione levantes, ut injunctum nobis apostolatus officium ad laudem et gloriam nominis Sui, ad honorem et profectum ecclesiæ, ad redemptionem et salutem animæ nostræ, concedat et faciat adimplere. Datum Laterani, xii. kalendas Decembris, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

He has drawn the sword of S. Peter against their enemies, for which he asks their prayers as his reward.

DIV. Conventui Cantuariensi magister Hugo eorum advocatus et domini papæ capellanus.[1]

About Nov. 20.

Cum beatissimo Thomæ martyri totius devotionis, totius subjectionis, quadam speciali reverentia, quodam sim debito servili, subjectus, nec lædi dominus sine servo, nec servus impune injurias domini sub dissimulatione poterat præterire. Venientibus igitur fratribus vestris ad apostolicam sedem, ut tuerentur libertatem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, quam gloriosus Thomas suo pretioso sanguine comparavit, et intellecta litis materia quæ inter vos et contemptores mandatorum Romanorum pontificum vertebatur, non attendens preces amicorum et ipsius archiepiscopi mihi inverecunde propositas, eis qui, licet in habitu religionis, non tamen in spiritu humilitatis contra memoratum martyrem venerant, ut ipsius duplicarent martyrium, et ipsi in anima et corpore multipliciter læderentur, et per arma justitiæ virtutis Dei rationabiliter obviavi. Et licet per viros peritos, specialiter propter hoc a longinquis
Ps. cxl. 3. regionibus advocatos, acuerunt linguas suas sicut serpentes, et veritatem niterentur quibusdam frivolis allegationibus palliare, ut peccatores effecti excusationes adducerent in peccatis, Christi martyris auxilio, cui toto mentis affectu proposui deservire, ita fraudem et dolum quem sub juris velamine

Master Hugo expatiates on his own excellent services as advocate for the convent against the abbots of Boxley and Robertsbridge.

[1] Hugo, or Ugolino dei Conti di Segni, chaplain and kinsman of the pope. He was afterwards pope Gregory IX.

A.D. 1198. About Nov. 20. committebant, per varios juris articulos evidentissima ratione detexi, sicut ex serie litterarum domini papæ, in quibus responsiones et objectiones per ordinem exponuntur, evidentius poteritis edoceri, ut ex dolore concepto nequitiam non possent aliquatenus parturire, nec alicui veniret in dubium, quin Christi martyr deberet in hac quæstione reportare triumphum: et ideo Deus Judex justus et fortis, per vicarium Suum et patrem nostrum papam Innocentium, quem constituit super gentes et regna, qui novit sugere mel de petra et oleum de saxo durissimo, puniens in contumace superbiam, et exaltans in humilitate justitiam, justum judicium judicavit. Pro his ergo æternum exspectans præmium, non temporale subsidium, obsecro omnes generaliter, singulos specialiter, ut divinæ pietatis intuitu, mei quoque obtentu servitii, me peccatorem vestris sacris orationibus admittentes, Deum et beatam Virginem et Christi martyrem Thomam dignemini exorare, ut ita transeam per bona temporalia, ut non amittam æterna, et ut dignus servus digne possim tanto domino famulari. De pretiosis quoque relliquiis beati Thomæ mihi, si placet, destinare curetis, qui, Deo propitio, nomen ejus cupio suppetentibus facultatibus dilatare.

The result will be seen in the pope's mandate.

Ps. vii. 15.

fo. 124 r°.

Ps. vii. 12.

Jer. i. 10.

Deut. xxxii. 13.

He desires no earthly reward; but their prayers and some relics of the martyr.

Collect, 4th Sun. after Trin.

DV. Magistro Radulfo de Sancto Martino.

A.D. 1199. January. Hugo, Dei gratia, [Lincolniensis] et Eustachius eadem gratia Eliensis episcopi, et Samson Ejusdem permissione abbas Sancti Eadmundi, magistro Radulfo de Sancto Martino, salutem in Domino. Mandatum domini papæ suscepimus in hæc verba, "Innocentius, servus servorum Dei, venerabili "fratri Hugoni Lincolniensi et Eliensi episcopis, et dilecto "filio S. abbati Sancti Eadmundi, salutem," etc., "Inter "alia" *ut supra*, etc. Hujus auctoritate mandati tibi præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus supradictis monachis Cantuariensibus ecclesiam de Eastreia, cum fructibus tempore tuo medio perceptis, absque difficultate restituas, aut in crastino Dominicæ qua cantabitur *Jubilate*, coram nobis apud Westmonasterium in capella Sanctæ Katerinæ, per te vel per sufficientem procuratorem compareas, quare id non fueris exsecutus ostensurus et juri pariturus. Valete.

The judge delegates require Ralph of S. Martin to give up the church of Eastry to the convent; or to show cause at Westminster on the 10th of May.

No. di.

In eadem forma scripserunt exsecutores ecclesiarum Eleemosynariæ J. quondam Lugdunensi archiepiscopo pro ecclesia de Aignesford, et Symoni archidiacono de Welles[1] *pro ecclesia de Muneketune, et Virgilio personæ de Mapeham.*

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[1] Simon Sywell, archdeacon of Wells, and vice-chancellor to the archbishop. He became bishop of Chichester in 1204.

DVI. Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1199. January.

No. d.

Gratias agimus paternitati vestræ multiplices, quod nos nuper et nunc salutationis elogio et bona litterarum vestrarum continentia dignati estis. Verum erat in illis quas per A. et G. fratres destinastis, quod omnes nos et singulos offenderit, et quod senes cum junioribus non immerito moleste ferunt, quod, videlicet, non filiorum sed hostium nomine nos verius censendos judicaveritis. Quia si benigniorem res haberet gesta interpretem, vel certe dicenda scriptorem, signum dedimus amoris et gratiæ, cum dudum orphani, diductis aliis omnibus, vos, nec piget, in patrem præelegimus et pastorem, non sine offensa gravi et interminatione multorum. Cæterum et quod nunc geritur, si res recte pensetur, non ex odio sed ex amore processit. Absit enim ut aliquem omnino hominum, nedum patrem et dominum, oderit professio nostra, nisi odio forte perfecto, quod bonis et sanctis non inhiberi credimus sed mandari. Sane, et nos coram Deo loquimur, in facto nostro non personam vestram persequimur sed amamus. Tanquam si sponsæ zelantis animum pertrahere conetur quis ad consensum ut aliam superducat, vel saltem habeat subintroductam; numquid illa sponsum odisse judicabitur, si non dederit quod postulatur? immo certe, si non dederit persistenti, si non clamaverit ex animo, minus amasse comprobabitur? Quanto vero fortius repugnaverit, tanto liquidum erit adamasse vehementius. Hoc itaque, domine carissime, pater amantissime, hoc agere conamur cum Dei adjutorio, Ipsum testem advocamus Quem et adjutorem: hoc contendimus vestri et ecclesiæ vestræ servi, ut sit una unius, unica unici, et possit paupertas nostra pace debita et consueta gaudere, et ecclesia cui, Deo auctore, sub patrocinio vestro deservimus, status et dignitatis suæ non valeat detrimentum incurrere. Qui autem pro ea pugnant, a vobis, ad quem in capite respicit ejus defensio, non sunt, si placet, hostes habendi vel nuncupandi, sed filii vel servi. Non ubique omnia compaginari possunt: utinam tamen innotuisset vobis qualiter, antequam vel rei rumor insonuisset, divino præinstructi sumus oraculo; martyre namque nostro glorioso alicui fratrum tertio apparente et ænigmatice ostendente omnia. Et ecce in litterarum, de quibus supra diximus, serie, protestamini non modo Cantuariensi, sed toti Anglicanæ ecclesiæ, ex hoc posse periculum imminere. Sed et ipsi novistis, si tamen memoriter tenetis, quid quandoque in capitulo nostro super ipsa re quam certa ratione dixeritis. Cæterum in mandato vestro quod nunc

The convent were much hurt that the archbishop considered them rather as enemies than as sons.

No. ccccl.xxxv.

Their feeling towards him has been one of jealous love.

They were warned by a vision of the Martyr.

No. ccccl.xxxv.

fo. 124 v°.

No. d.

A.D. 1199. January. They thank him for again giving them the name of sons; and for preparing to obey the mandate.

recepimus, in quo nobis non filiorum nomen adimitis, revixit spiritus noster et exultavit in Deo salutari nostro, ubi et unde intelligimus vos mandato apostolico humiliter ac devote paratos obedire. In quibus utique verbis, dummodo verba non sint, tanto magis facti sumus sicut consolati, tanto hilariores effecti, quanto honorem vestrum, si honorabilis est virtus obedientiæ, respicit, et salutem vestram, si sancta et salutaris, et tam vobis quam nobis pacem pollicentur. Mittimus itaque ad serenitatem vestram fratres nostros et filios vestros devotissimos, rogare quæ ad pacem sunt, judicium et justitiam juxta quod decretum est fieri postulantes et judicatum solvi. Neque enim opus esse credimus vos super spoliatione rerum vel appellatione instruere, cum jam non qui sciat, sed qui nesciat, difficile sit invenire. Age ergo, pater sancte, supplicant devoti filii vestri omnes et singuli, pedibus vestris provoluti, ut sæpius. Age, benignissime, et hoc jurgiorum caput, hanc scandalorum causam auferte de medio, et jussionibus vestris nos in Domino, ut justum est, paratissimos comprobabitis ac devotos. Valete.

They hope he will not evade any portion of it.

DVII. Innocentio papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

After January 27. The convent thank the pope very earnestly.

Gratias tibi, Deus, Qui spiritum Danielis denuo suscitasti in ecclesia, judicare non modo populum Tuum in justitia, sed et pauperes Tuos in judicio. Ecce, Domine, causa pauperum ingreditur ad eum, et nomen eorum honorabile, nomen illorum coram illo. Et vere misericordiæ Domini multæ, eo quod non sumus consumpti. Sane nisi cordi vestro inspirasset Dominus, pater sanctissime Innocenti, per quem inter nocentes tuta est innocentia; nisi pectori vestro sacratissimo immisisset, ut ex adverso ascenderetis, comprehendens arma et scutum, et exsurgens in adjutorium nobis, cum exsurgerent homines in nos, non dicimus forte, sed certe ad nihilum deduxissent nos. Unde gratias paternitati vestræ de cordium medullis exsolvimus, quæ nec mente digeri possunt, nec corde deprimi. Sed quid est, sanctissime pater? quid est quod a peccatoribus justus, a remissis fervidus, a tepore nostro igneus in caritate, ut pervidemus, orationum suffragia petere voluistis? Numquid, ut dici solet, "Juvabimus solem facibus?" Immo potius regulariter et rite respondebimus, "Ora pro nobis, pater." Attamen ne non videamur omni cum humilitate imperata suscipere, quid acturi simus pro vobis, si licet, pro animabus patris et matris vestræ et omnium propinquorum vestrorum omni anno in perpetuum, carta super hoc patenti magnificentiæ vestræ directa, declarat dies, transitus vestri anniversario; quo die gratia et misericordia quam fecistis cum servis vestris in

Ps. lxxii. 14. Lam. iii. 22. Ps. xxxv. 2.

Their prayers are scarcely worth his acceptance, but they are prepared to keep his obit on the anniversary of his death.

capitulo nostro recensenda erit. Verum ut sciatis quatenus in negotio nostro, sed vestro, processum sit, sanctitati vestræ significare duximus, quod dominus et pater noster venerabilis, cum in transmarinis agens litteras vestras accepisset, missis nunciis ad capellam de Lamhe, ipsam suis expensis funditus demoliri fecit. Domus tamen clericorum circa capellam et propter eam ædificatæ, adhuc in integritate sua consistunt. Cæterum de ecclesiis et exeniis nihil nobis actum est, nec ut credimus fiet, nisi forte quos dedistis exsecutores mandatum vestrum exsequantur. Asserunt autem quamplures nihil nobis provenire posse sine discussione, nisi ecclesiæ designentur ex nomine. Vos melius scitis quid nobis expediat ad jus nostrum consequendum. Indigentiam nostram, si placet, plenitudo vestra supplere dignetur, sciens quia in vobis post Deum substantia et virtus nostra consistit. De his ergo quæ acta sunt, in manu vestra gratias semper uberiores referentes, ea quæ restant facienda beneplacito vestro relinquimus, fine quo visum fuerit concludenda. Valete.

A.D. 1199. After January 27. The archbishop has demolished the chapel at Lambeth, but not the collegiate buildings: he is quibbling about the alienated churches, &c.

DVIII. Omnibus cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis.

After January 27.

Conservans ecclesiam Suam Deus in unitate fidei intemeratæ, corda patrum suorum convertens in filios, avitorum prudentiam derivavit ad posteros. Præsciens autem eam temporalium æstuum frequenter exagitandam procellis, super reges et regna suos suscitavit defensores, Petri vicarios, qui et tumultus pacificarent, tranquillitatemque suam pio studio confoventes ampliarent. Potissimis itaque non est orba patronis, quorum principatus confortatus super omnem terram, pro ea contra quaslibet potestates viriliter studet zelare, et eam etiam ex tribulationum suarum pressuris satagit dilatare. Nos igitur, domini et patres, omnes et singuli, corporis officiosa humiliatione et animi pia devotione, vestigiis provoluti, gratias vobis quanta possumus mentis alacritate persolvimus, quod, ne lucerna nostra exstingueretur, benedictionem nobis reliquistis, et convertentes justitiam nostram in judicium, eduxistis eam quasi diluculum matutinum, nec pervicacia falsitatis vigorem elidi veritatis passi estis, et causam nostram optato et debito fine defraudari. Vobis autem Cantuariensis ecclesia stat aut cadit. A diebus enim beati Gregorii, qui nos per sanctum Augustinum in Christo secundum Evangelium genuit, ut propria soboles speciali sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ semper incubuit affectu, et innitebatur devotione. Ad titulos igitur excrescit apostolicæ quicquid in honorem redundat Cantuariensis, ecclesiæ. Quia vero serena securitate gaudere non possumus, donec illud

Mal. iv. 6.

Ps. cxxxix. 17.

fo. 125 r°.

Ps. xciv. 15.

1 Cor. iv. 15.

The convent thank the cardinals for their support.

The interests of Rome are bound up in those of Canterbury.

A.D. 1199. After January 27. The new church has been destroyed, but the collegiate buildings are still standing. They beg them to complete their work.

funditus evertatur offendiculum, [quod] in tantam nostri surrexit perniciem et dispendium, significamus vobis mandatum domini papæ juxta formam suis apicibus comprehensam non penitus exsecutum. Ædificia enim quæ circa capellam facta fuerant, quæ una cum ea sub eadem districtione mandabantur dirui, in sua adhuc persistunt integritate, sola capellæ fabrica demolita. Decernite igitur evacuari et exterminari, si placet, quod ex parte superest, ut tam æquissimo examine et justa deliberatione data sententia ad plenum et perfectum convalescat, nec in injuriam qualitercunque sibi sentiat derogari. Valete, et creditum vobis in ecclesia Sua ministerium sic det vos exequi, ut palmam supernæ vocationis assequi mereamini. Valete.

. January.

DIX. Conventus Cantuariensis magistro H. advocato suo.

The convent praise Master Hugo, for sustaining the cause of the humble, by his welcome and unexpected advocacy.

Spiritus ubi vult spirat. Quis enim dubitet, quis non facillime advertat illum Spiritu Christi regi, qui in Romani culminis palatio conversans Christum pauperem imitatur, Qui cum dives esset pro nobis pauper effectus est? Et vos potentium donis abjectis, et honoratorum vultu contempto, justæ causæ faciem attendistis, cui pro Christo et Ejus martyre patrocinium impendistis, non cum altis alta sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes. Unde in magnas vobis assurgimus gratiarum actiones, quia advocatio vestra, quanto nobis exstitit inopinatior, tanto gaudiorum facta est plenior, tantusque dulcedinis affectus per litteras vestras nobis infusus est, ut tristitiæ nebulis dissolutis, novæ jubar lætitiæ subito cordibus nostris illuxerit. Accessit ad litteras lingua fratrum quos fovistis, igne caritatis accensa, quæ nostræ diem exultationis duplo reddidit clariorem, quia juxta dictum sapientis, nescimus quid latentis operationis viva vox habet; et veneranda lex vestra, dignior est viva vox testium quam vox mortua instrumentorum. Caritati igitur vestræ vicem quam possumus compensantes, cum omni devotionis obsequio vos, patrem vestrum et matrem, seu animas ipsorum, si jam humanis rebus excesserint, omnium bonorum quæ in nostra fiunt ecclesiæ et fient, per Dei gratiam, usque ad consummationem sæculi, constituimus esse participes. Cæterum, a pari vobis respondere poterit gloriosus martyr Thomas, ut illum in omnibus patronum habeatis in cœlis, cujus ecclesiæ patrocinium devotissime præstatis in terris. Mittimus etiam devotioni vestræ de relliquiis ejusdem martyris amatoris vestri, cujus vos meritis et precibus non sine sacræ scripturæ auctoritate commendatis. Legeratis enim illud apostoli Jacobi: "Multum valet depre- "catio justi assidua." Memoriam vestram non excidebat

S. John iii. 8.

Rom. xii. 16

Novell. 73. iii.

They constitute him a sharer in the benefit of all the services of the church for ever; and send him a relic of S. Thomas.

S. James v. 16.

victoria Moysi contra Amalech, quam non gladiis sed precibus obtinuit. Noveratis quam sit potentissima sanctorum oratio, quæ etiam iræ Divinitatis obsistit, dicente Domino ad Moysen, "Dimitte me ut irascatur furor meus contra populum istum." Valete, et spiritum quo pro nobis fervetis nolite exstinguere.

Exod. xvii. 12.
Exod. xxxii. 10.
1 Thess. v. 19.

A.D. 1199. January. They remind him of the virtue of prayer.

DX. Gaufridus prior et socii Conventui Cantuariensi.

A.D. 1198. After Dec. 11. The prior recommends patience.

Beati pauperes spiritu, qui mentis humilitate mundi superiora transcendunt, et ad regnum sibi promissum properantes, quo magis iis intendunt quæ facere debent, minus sentiunt mala quæ sufferunt; quia patientia pauperum non peribit in finem; quia non commendat malorum tolerantia, sed pia mentis in adversis cum alacritate constantia. Bonorum siquidem congeries operum sine cemento humilitatis spiritum non reprimit elationis, nec sine patientiæ longanimitate litis et iræ motus repellit et insultus. "Nam virtus vidua est quam non pa-"tientia firmat." Quod quamvis vestra melius discretio noverit, nos tamen de plenitudine dilectionis, licet ex abundanti, fraternitatem vestram ad hæc duximus commonendam, quia "non nocet admisso subdere calcar equo." Vobis igitur quanta possumus supplicamus devotione, quatenus Deum semper habentes præ oculis, tam honesti certaminis fortiter et gaudenter expectetis triumphum, ne modicæ tribulationis angustia animos illos effœminet, quos tam longa, tam acerba malorum tolerantia corroboravit. Consolamini igitur in Domino et gaudete, Ei semper gratias agentes Qui, meritis vestris et precibus suffragantibus, iter nostrum et actus hactenus sua gratia sic prosperavit, ut licet in expensis gravibus et immenso labore, quod pro nihilo reputamus, cum omni causæ nostræ integritate, et sine omni impedimento, Romam prospere per omnia tertio Idus Decembris pervenimus. Elapsis vero aliquot diebus, domini papæ præsentiæ constituti, benigne fuimus ab eo suscepti; expositaque adventus nostri causa, sic dominus papa respondit: "Beati qui persecutiones patiuntur "propter justitiam; quod tribulationes et angustias sustineatis "bene scimus, quod pro justitia, credimus, et fecimus quod "potuimus et debuimus, non accipientes alicujus personam, "vel munera captantes, et si nova excreverint mala, nos nova "adhibebimus remedia, et si aggravata est manus adversario-"rum vestrorum contra vos, certe nos aggravabimus manus "nostras super illos. De damnis vestris dolemus, sed magis "de contemptu nostro confundimur, et certe diligimus vos "et ecclesiam vestram, nec aliquando in hac parte nostrum "vobis defuit auxilium, nec unquam deerit." Accepta itaque ejus benedictione discessimus, habitoque sermone cum cardi-

S. Matt. v. 3.
Ps. ix. 18.
Prudentius, *Psychom.* 177.
Ovid, *Ep. ex Ponto*, ii. vi. 38.
S. Matt. v. 10.

fo. 125 v°.

He arrived at Rome on the 11th of December, and had a hopeful interview with the pope.

A.D. 1198. After Dec. 11.

nalibus per singulos, post triduum domini papæ præsentiæ constituti, ab adversariis nostris fuimus objurgati: ubi dominus papa eos increpavit et confutavit, magis pro nobis vices advocati, quam ad formandum judicium partium allegationes admittens. Quia vero non videtur consonum rationi, ut pœna duplici unus puniatur contemptus, supersedit ad præsens dominus papa domino archiepiscopo pro nobis scribere, donec ei plenius constiterit, quid de ipsius secunda jussione factum fuerit, ut hujus mandati contemptus vel adimpletio doceat eum vel contumaciam punire, vel obedientiam [laudare]. Ideo vestræ supplicamus discretioni, quatenus omni mora et occasione postpositis, post terminum elapsum de mandato apostolico adimplendo, quid inde factum fuerit, quid omissum, nobis cum summa diligentia et fideli nuncio, cum conventus testimonio significetis, et mariscum et universa a nobis ablata instanter repetentes, nihil de contingentibus omittentes quæ causam in aliquo poterunt promovere. Valete.

At a second interview the pope undertook the advocacy of the convent.

He does not write to the archbishop until he hears how the second mandate has been received.

DXI. Gaufridus prior et fratres qui cum eo sunt Conventui Cantuariensi.

A.D. 1198. After Dec. 11.

Cum sub virtutum certamine sola perseverantia bravium comprehendat, pro justitia certantibus summopere est attendendum, quam sit laudabile bono principio felicem jungere finem, et permaxime providendum, ne gloriosæ litis initia tepor aut terror tribulationis decoloret. Quod nos attendentes, parati sumus pro Christo et ecclesiæ nostræ liberatione omnia sustinere. Satis enim nobis constat de causæ justitia, nec eam posse suo præmio privari timemus, aut debito fine fraudari. Revirescit enim in ecclesia Romana virga correctionis, jubar videlicet universalis ecclesiæ, Innocentius, quem nec inclinat avaritia ad cujusquam injuriam, nec impedit segnities a correctione, quem virtutis amor in tantum possedit, ut nihil quod bonum deceat pastorem prætermittat. Gaudete igitur in Domino, et consolamini sub malleo tribulationis, exspectantes gratiam supernæ visitationis: hoc pro parte consolationis accipientes, quod, licet cum gravibus expensis et immenso labore, prospere tamen Romam pervenimus, invenientes ibi fratres nostros sanos et incolumes, et per omnia prospere agentes; fratremque nostrum T. paratum negotium exsequi, quem ad vos dirigentes supplicamus attentius, quatenus viriliter agatis; nihil omnino de Dei bonitate diffidentes, sed in adversis meliora sperantes, assiduis orationibus et vigiliis, quod nos opere, vos exsequi devotione non cessetis, pro domino papa et nobis attentius exorantes. Valete.

The prior consoles the convent with an account of the excellence of the pope.

He and his companions have arrived at Rome, and found the brethren safe and sound.

DXII. RICARDUS REX ANGLIÆ GALFRIDO FILIO PETRI.

A.D. 1199. Before March 13. (*Gervase*, 1626.) The king orders the possessions of the convent to be seized.

Quia monachi Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ post restitutionem possessionum suarum, absente domino archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, qui est caput eorum, noluerunt respondere in curia nostra de iis quæ nobis forisfecerant, et jus nostrum periclitari videtur in hoc, quod ignoramus quando simul aderunt ipse archiepiscopus et monachi in curia nostra, vobis mandamus et præcipimus, ut possessiones eorum in manum nostram saisiatis, quousque nobis juri steterint in curia nostra de injuriis nobis illatis. Nec hoc dimittatur etsi sine præsentia domini archiepiscopi voluerint respondere. Teste, *etc.*

fo. 126 r°.

DXIII. RICARDO REGI ANGLIÆ CONVENTUS CANTUARIENSIS.[1]

After March 13. The convent beg the king for the sake of his own honour to restore their possessions.

Quando aliquid injusti gravaminis nobis infertur quasi nomine vestro, scit Deus quod non tantum pro vexatione nostra, sed etiam pro serenitate vestra dolemus, quem decet eos magis protegere, qui sub patrocinio vestro Deo servire disponuntur, et pro vobis et vestris Deum studiosius exorare. Qui ergo, ut dicunt, de mandato vestro rebus omnibus, ut jam sæpius, spoliati sumus, celsitudini vestræ servi vestri supplicamus ad pedes, quatenus pro amore Dei et honore vestro jubeatis, si placet, ecclesiæ vestræ bona sua restitui. Nihil enim nos deliquisse credimus, nisi quod in iis in quibus injuriam passi sumus, ab eo qui in talibus nos [2] habet judicare, etiam justitiam nobis exhiberi postulamus.

DXIV. HUBERTO ARCHIEPISCOPO CONVENTUS CANTUARIENSIS.[3]

After March 13. The convent inform the archbishop that their persecution is disgraceful to him.

Quoties aliquid nobis injusti gravaminis irrogatur, quod nos non tam pati dedeceat quam alios inferre, non modo pro afflictione nostra, sed pro honore vestro, scit Deus, acrius cruciamur quam credunt quamplures, et asserunt mala quæ patimur omnia procurare. Intelligimus enim [4] summum pontificem et ecclesiam Romanam, cum talia ad eos perferuntur, sentire similiter, et ideo contra celsitudinem vestram acrius commoveri. Quod utique tanto portamus gravius, quanto gratiam vestram, caput primum et causam jurgiorum præcipuam,

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[1] Gervase, 1626.
[2] *nos*] non, MS.
[3] Gervase, 1626.
[4] *enim*] quoque, G.

A.D. 1199. After March 13. They have been despoiled of their possessions, because they would not appear in court without the archbishop, their chief: they beg him to obtain restitution.

videmus destruxisse, et pacem de cætero nostram in manu vestra perfici et petimus et præstolamur. Nunc ergo, domine carissime, noveritis quia, domino rege præcipiente, rebus omnibus spoliati sumus, eo quod vocati super capitulis quibusdam respondere, quæ ad regis coronam pertinent, dicimus, ut semper, nos sine vobis, utpote capite nostro, nec debere, nec velle sisti judicio. Capitula vero ipsa in præsentia vestra quandoque recitata sunt. Indulgeat eis Deus qui hujusmodi ad vexationem nostram commentant. Petimus ergo, quatenus pro restitutione nostra pietas paterna, sicut hactenus, ita et nunc, erga dominum regem, sicut officii vestri debitum expostulat, partes suas efficaciter, si placet, interponat, nec patrocinio vestro nos reputetis indignos, quibus nihil aliud imputari potest vel imponi, nisi quod jus nostrum sub judice postulamus. Quod si aliquatenus movit, rogamus ne animi vestri benignitatem immutet, sed magis in ira misericordiæ recordetur. [Valete.]

After March 13.

DXV. Innocentio summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.[1]

The convent complain to the pope of the capricious cruelty of their persecutors.

Multa diversa, immo et quædam sibi adversa, sanctitati vestræ quandoque significamus, quia talia sunt quæ nos premunt. Sed in hoc confundimur, quod ea quæ [vere fiunt et][2] non scribuntur, dum loquimur, dum auditis forte, in contrarium mutata sunt; adeo non simpliciter operantur qui nos affligunt, ut vel ita apud vos de mendacio nos possint arguere, vel, quod uno aliquo non prævalent, multis nos possint vulneribus immutare. Unde et modo feriunt, modo ictum suspendunt, et iterum antequam scissa coeant, repercutiunt. Eapropter non levitati, quæsumus, imputetis, quod diversa vel sibi dissona nunciamus, qui utique majestati vestræ decrevimus non mentiri, sed nec omnia suggerere quæ patimur in[3] veritate. Nunc autem quia substantia spei nostræ apud vos est, et casus urget quem silere[4] non possumus, sanctitati vestræ significandum duximus, quod omnibus possessionibus nostris quasi de regis mandato jam tertio spoliati sumus, postquam ad audientiam vestram confugimus, jus nostrum sub judicio vestro postulare, nullius delicti nobis conscii, nisi quod in causa ecclesiastica jus nobis dici petimus, ab eo cui commissa est sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum. Itaque, sanctissime pater et domine, si quid potestis adjuvate nos. Omnia enim potestis

They have been despoiled the third time by the king's orders.

2 Cor. xi. 28.

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[1] Gervase, 1627.

[2] *vere fiunt et*] om. MS.

[3] *in*] om. MS.

[4] *silere*] simulare, MS.

Phil. iv. 13. pro justitia, sicut apostolus de se ait. Nos autem pauperes Christi non rerum momenta sumus, pro quibus debeat dignatio vestra cum principibus dimicare, sed officii vestri, si placet, memores estote.[1] A.D. 1199. After March 13.

DXVI. P. Cardinali et legato Curiæ Romanæ Conventus Cantuariensis. After March 13.

Quanto paternitatem vestram sublimitas sedis apostolicæ cariorem habet, et præ aliis amplius honoravit, tanto et humilitas nostra, quantumcunque ad præsens depressa, vobis reverenter assurgere, et vos propensius desiderat honorare. Verum afflictio quam hoc tempore sustinemus, ut credimus, quia ausi sumus prægravati sedem apostolicam appellare, facultatem detraxit alios honorandi, sed non ademit voluntatem, quam parati sumus, cum Deus posse reddiderit, maxime qui nos pro Christo diligunt, operis exhibitione ostendere. Et quidem multis modis fatigati, postquam ad ecclesiam Romanam confugimus, hoc nunc tertio possessionibus nostris spoliati sumus. Adeo justum est bobus triturantibus ora obstruere, et laborantibus coram Domino victualia denegare. Quia ergo hoc de regis edicto factum est, sicut litteræ ejus super hoc directæ testantur, excellentiæ vestræ supplicamus omnes et singuli, quatenus, pro reverentia et honore sedis apostolicæ, dominum regem commonere velitis et inducere, ut parcat regia serenitas pauperibus suis et devotis, nec moveatur contra nos, eo quod jus nobis in ecclesiasticis a summo pontifice dici postulamus, quia etsi aliam causam prætendunt homines ipsi, omnia non tam contra nos, quam contra salutem propriam adinvenerunt. Dominum quoque nostrum et patrem Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, ut id ipsum velit et faciat, si placet, exhortamini, cujus gratiam in simili casu nobis jam sæpius sensimus affuisse, et quamvis iratus videatur, experti sumus auxilium.

The convent hope to show their regard for Cardinal Peter of Capua, when better days come. They are now for the third time despoiled.

1 Cor. ix. 9.

No. dxii.

fo. 126 v°.

They ask for his intercession with the king and the archbishop.

DXVII. Gaufridus prior et fratres Conventui Cantuariensi. January.

Irrefragabile virtutis est argumentum, inter varias rerum et temporum vicissitudines ita motus animorum temperare, ut ad patriam properantes gaudium non impediat, dolor a recto

The prior and his companions advise the convent to

[1] Gervase gives the concluding clause of the letter: "et sicut Deo "inspirante egregie cœpisti, Ipso "adjuvante, speciali filiæ vestræ "Cantuariensi ecclesiæ miserias "amovete. Valeat et vigeat in "Christo semper sanctitas vestra, "ut per eam nostra deleatur mise-"ria. Amen."

A.D. 1199. January. preserve equanimity.

tramite non dejiciat, timor non repellat, spes supra quam decet non extollat, sed æquanimiter omnia sufferant, præ mentis oculis semper proponentes, quia diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum. Rom. viii. 28. Unde, licet vestra prudentia quid agendum sit plenius noverit, de plenitudine dilectionis compellimur quod sentimus vobis explanare; nec doctrina etiam superflua redolet arrogantiam, quam tantæ devotionis instigat affectus. Sit ergo vobis summa sollicitudo, æquo animo quoslibet eventus pensare, ut tam in prosperis vestra commendetur modestia, quam in adversis patientia. Unde enim ait poeta, "Virtus est "medium vitiorum utrinque redactum?" Horace, *Epist.* I. xviii. 9. Ne tamen in ambiguis vereamini mala, vel in malis deteriora, status nostri certitudinem vobis significare curavimus, idem a vobis desideranter nobis exhiberi exspectantes. Noveritis igitur nos sanos esse et incolumes, causam nostram bene procedere, dominum papam de conscientia a rectitudinis tramite non deviare; dominos cardinales fere omnes nostræ justitiæ favere, et adversitati condolere. Nos autem nuncii vestri desiderio sumus fatigati, quem e vestigio sperabamus nos subsecuturum. Unde videtur hic potius tepor quam amor operari. Quia tamen experimento tenus viarum novimus difficultates, potius indulgemus missi tædiis et labori, quam mittentium accusemus tarditatem, id attentius efflagitantes, ut quod minus factum est perficiatur. Sane, quia recte offerentes caput offerunt et caudam, orationibus devotius insistite, ut Qui nos in hac causa gratia Suæ dignationis in initio litis visitavit, ad ipsius decisionem, ad honorem Dei et ecclesiæ Suæ, dignetur comitari. Valete.

They are well, and the cause prospering; but they are very anxious for news from home, which ought to have reached them.

DXVIII. Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

After May 19. (See No. dxxviii.)

Moram facientibus vobis, pater reverende, in partibus transmarinis, quoties et quam atrociter vexati fuerimus, in derisum et direptionem dati populo, dolorum et desolationum de die in diem accrescentium inebriati absinthio, difficile esset et nobis revolvere et sanctitati vestræ, quæ multis et arduis occupata est, tædiosum audire. Lam. iii. 5. Verumtamen filiorum corda graviter exulcerata spes paterni adventus, ne penitus deficerent, fovit et refrigeravit. Venistis sero, sed pene nimis sero et regi et regno. Gavisi sunt populi provinciæ circumquaque, quia ex pacis vestræ radio serenata sunt nebulosa, et penitus disparuit, quæ jam in januis erat, aeris inclementia bellicosi. Sed et morem consuetudini, qua usque adhuc usi estis apud nos, gerere non omisistis, scilicet ut in recessu patris filii

The convent having suffered much during the archbishop's absence from England, rejoiced at his return.

lætiores remanerent. Venientem læti suscepimus, et recedentem prosecuti sumus animo lætiori. Sed, quod gementes dicimus, subito succisa est lætitia nostra, et facta sunt dolorum nostrorum novissima pejora prioribus. Et licet spiritum nostrum adhuc roboret præteritarum recordatio passionum, nihil tamen est quod sensimus, nihil est quod sustinuimus, nulla sunt vulnera quæ nobis hucusque sunt inflicta, respectu vulneris quod senescalli vestri, nescimus tamen si per vos, nobis nuper inflixerunt. Prohibuerunt enim ex parte vestra, ne quis pro justitia consequenda curiam nostram sequeretur. Super quo quia satis non sufficimus admirari, ad vos, uti ad patrem nostrum, dignum duximus præsentium latores fratres nostros destinare, supplicantes obnixius, quatenus nos in eo pacis et libertatis statu conservetis, in quo cum in patrem et pastorem vocaremus, invenistis, et nos antecessorum vestrorum, virorum scilicet apud Deum et apud homines spectabilium, tantis temporibus gavisi sumus. Sed et cum causa quæ inter nos vertitur nondum decisa sit, et prior et fratres nostri adhuc in ejusdem prosecutione coram domino papa consistant, contra prohibitionem etiam ipsius miramur hujus gravaminis subitam novitatem, cum nuper ab omni gravamine appellaverimus; quamvis et istud cæteris omnibus nobis ablatis gravius reputemus, et pro quo, si necessitas id poposcerit, ut sine simulatione de cætero loquamur, parati sumus cervices exponere, et venientis cujuslibet fortunæ ictus animo hilari excipere et fortiter sustinere, donec in nos, Domino donante, desierint desævire. Cætera in ore fratrum nostrorum vobis intimanda posuimus, quos pietate paterna a vobis suscipi et exaudiri postulamus.

A.D. 1199. After May 19.

S. Matt. xii. 45.

They are sadly disappointed, for the stewards of the archbishop have forbidden any one to resort to their court of justice. They send brethren to entreat him for redress.

They are prepared to endure any hardships.

fo. 127 r°.

DXIX. Innocentius papa Walterio Rothomagensi archiepiscopo et Eustachio Eliensi episcopo.

A.D. 1198. Dec. 22.

Lacrymabilem afflictionem dilectorum filiorum prioris et monachorum Cantuariensium et miserabilem, apud sedem apostolicam toties replicatam,[1] referre sine multa cordis amaritudine non valemus; cum eis apostolicæ sedis subsidium nihil videatur commodi attulisse, quin eis, quanto eis ratione prævia magis adesse voluimus et prodesse, tanto adversus eos manus hostilis in contemptum sedis apostolicæ est diutius aggravata: et cum per carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ricardum Anglorum regem illustrem, oppressiones hujusmodi crederemus et violentias pro reverentia sedis apostolicæ refrænari, cujus sæpius super hoc scripta recepit; e contra nunc ultimo in tantum

The pope complains of the conduct of king Richard towards the convent of Canterbury; especially the seizure of their estates and the enrolling of the treasure. He enjoins the archbishop of Rouen and

[1] *replicatam*] replicamus, MS. The letter is given in Epp. Innoc. i. 486.

A.D. 1198. Dec. 22. the bishop of Ely to urge restitution on the king under pain of spiritual punishment.

profecimus, quod prior et monachi, spreta sedis apostolicæ reverentia, suis sunt rebus et possessionibus spoliati, emisso edicto de thesauro ecclesiæ consignando, quod hactenus fuit penitus inauditum. Volentes autem adhuc maternis insistere lenimentis, et nolentes Illius exemplo Cujus vicem, licet indigni, teneamus in terris, per singulos dies irasci, adhuc semel super Ps. vii. 12. eodem facto præfato regi litteras nostras destinamus. Ut No. dxx. autem preces et mandata nostra cordi regio tenacius quam hactenus imprimantur, rogamus fraternitatem vestram attentius, et per apostolica scripta præcipimus, quatenus litteras super hoc sibi [transmissas], omni dilatione cessante, curetis ei fideliter explanare; quas si aure surda transierit, præter animadversionem debitam [quam] in contemptores ecclesiæ Romanæ ac nostros non differemus ulterius jaculari, ejus instruemur exemplo qualiter suas suorumque petitiones debeamus etiam in majoribus exaudire. Quod si ambo his exequendis, *etc.* Datum Laterani, xi. kalendas Januarii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

A.D. 1198. Dec. 22.

DXX. Innocentius papa Ricardo regi Anglorum.[1]

The pope professes his regard for king Richard, and his own disinterestedness in the matter of the convent.

Cum inter alios mundi principes personam tuam, sicut carissimi filii, disposuerimus prærogativa dilectionis et gratiæ honorare, et tam tuis quam tuorum utilitatibus paterna provisione diligenter intendere, miramur plurimum et dolemus, quod hoc propositum nostrum, ex quo nimirum quantum magnitudini tuæ valeat honoris et utilitatis afferri, serenitatem regiam non credimus ignorare, pravis quorundam suggestionibus niteris impedire. Cum enim negotium Cantuariensis [ecclesiæ] dudum, Deum solum habentes præ oculis, studuerimus secundum Divinum beneplacitum terminare; in quo si personam vellemus accipere, vel munera forsitan acceptare, partem Cantuariensis archiepiscopi proculdubio prætulissemus partibus monachorum; credebamus quod factum nostrum celsitudo regia deberet gratiarum prosequi actione, quæ nos hactenus de justitia facienda sæpius exoravit, nec sustineret aliqua ratione quod quisquam deberet in hac parte apostolicis jussionibus obviare: quin potius si aliter fecissemus, præter offensam Divinam et conscientiæ læsionem, plurimum verebamur ne diceremur oppressores pauperum et justitiæ contemptores. Verum secus contigit quam vellemus vel etiam credere deberemus. Nuper enim accedentes ad præsentiam nostram dilecti filii prior et socii sui monachi Cantuarienses, lacrymabili nobis et deflenda conquestione monstrarunt, quod cum regia potestas et sublimitas mandavisset, de thesauro

He had trusted that the king would not hinder the execution of the mandate.

[1] This letter is given by Gervase, c. 1623. Epp. Innoc. i. 485.

ecclesiæ redigendo in scriptis, et sigillis tam regis quam archiepiscopi necnon et monachorum consignando, neque hoc, unde ipsos in Domino commendamus, facere voluissent, sicut erat prius in ipsorum perniciem cogitatum; ablatis eorum possessionibus et redditibus, ad sedem apostolicam nolentes pariter et dolentes compulsi sunt venire. In quorum adventu renovatus est dolor noster; quia sustinuimus cum propheta pacem et non venit, quæsivimus bona et ecce turbatio. Cum enim veterem, sed nondum inveteratam, et perlatam questionem sæpius ad sedem apostolicam, crederemus penitus exstinxisse, cujus occasione religiosi viri et Deum timentes, Honorius quondam prior et nonnulli Cantuariensium monachorum, pro libertate ipsius ecclesiæ animas posuerunt, et hi qui nuper ad nos venerunt, prædecessorum vestigiis inhærentes, malunt mori pro eadem quam videre mala gentis suæ et sanctorum ecclesiæ; quasi morbus pullulat recidivus, et facta sunt novissima ejus pejora prioribus; quod tristes referimus et dolentes. Porro, quoniam auctoritatem sedis apostolicæ, cui, licet immeriti, præsidemus, vigorem debitum volumus obtinere, nec sustinere possumus nec debemus ut in sugillationem ejus aliquid debeat attentari; magnificentiam regiam de puro corde rogamus, monemus et hortamur, et in remissionem peccatorum injungimus, quatenus, revocatis omnibus quæ contra eosdem monachos attentata noscuntur, in pristinum statum reducas; quos pro reverentia sedis apostolicæ apud sublimitatem tuam haberi volumus plurimum commendatos, mandatum nostrum in causa quæ inter ipsos et præfatum archiepiscopum vertebatur emissum, non sustineas ab aliquo præteriri. Quod tanto fortius brachio potentiæ tuæ credimus effectui mancipandum, quanto amplius in tuis negotiis et tuorum a nobis desideras etiam in majoribus exaudiri. Neque super hoc circumspectionem tuam volumus dubitare, quin si præmissa studeas liberaliter adimplere, majorem ex hoc gratiam et favorem apud sedem apostolicam valeas promereri. Alioquin quantumcunque personam tuam in Domino diligimus, et honori tuo velimus, quantum cum Deo possumus et honore nostro, deferre, contemptum nostrum, immo Dei, Cujus locum, licet indigni, tenemus in terris, non poterimus ulterius æquanimiter sustinere; sed in eos quicunque fuerint, et terras eorum, qui nostræ dispositioni præsumpserint obviare, eam animadversionem sine differentia personarum curabimus exercere, quod per exhibitionem operum ostendemus nos velle regia via prudenter incedere, nec cujusquam gratia vel favore declinare ad dexteram vel ad sinistram, cum omnem inobedientiam sedis apostolicæ prompti simus ulcisci. Si quis autem regiæ serenitati suggesserit, quod de ipsa quicquam

Jer. xiv. 19.

S. Matt. xii. 45

Num. xx. 17.

A.D. 1198. Dec. 22.

The enrolling of the treasure has compelled the monks again to apply to Rome.

He is much disappointed, but does not intend to yield the point: and fo. 127 v°.

charges the king in remission of his sins to recall his late measuresagainst the convent.

He threatens spiritual punishments against the king and his dominions.

A.D. 1198. Dec. 22. sinistri a dictis monachis propositum fuerit coram nobis, fidem non adhibeatis, quin potius afflictiones et molestias suas plus altero procurante quam de voluntate credant regia processisse. Datum Laterani, xi. kalendas Januarii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

The convent have laid no complaint against the king personally.

A.D. 1199. Between Jan. 27 and March 13.

DXXI. Innocentio summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent cannot express their gratitude to the pope.

Si linguis hominum loqueremur et angelorum, caritatem et devotionem quam ad sanctitatem vestram habemus, non eloqueremur. Unde et anima omnium nostrum, una in Christo, concupiscit et deficit in gratiarum actionem, quod concepit parere, et quod nititur non prævalemus per verba proferre. Sicut et vocis velocitas calamum prævenit tardiorem, ita profecto prævertitur a velociore cogitatu, nec eum, etsi conetur, assequitur. Hinc est quod gratiam et misericordiam quam fecisti cum servis vestris, non ea quam dictat animus, sed quam lingua potest edicere, gratiarum actione prosequimur, orantes ut retribuat pro nobis Dominus, et omnis benedictio Domini super caput vestrum copiosa descendat, unicum post Deum refugium et virtus, vita et substantia spei nostræ. Nunc ergo, domine, quia gratia nobis magna collata fiduciam præstat majora sperandi, et pars negotii melior ad finem deducta est in manu vestra; quod restat, de ecclesiis videlicet et exeniis, marisco etiam nostro per dominum et patrem nostrum nobis ablato, ad quem nullus unquam archiepiscoporum manum extendit, effectui, si placet, mandare curetis. De domibus quoque clericorum circa ecclesiam dirutam consistentibus, quæ alias jussæ sunt demoliri, vos videritis quid expediat, qui in specula positi, Deo disponente, ad universalem ecclesiam oculum geritis superiorem, videntes ea quæ nondum sunt tanquam ea quæ sunt. Minantur etenim clerici se ultum iri de nobis; surgere ecclesiam in loco celerius, frænum maxillis nostris, cui non possint resistere et contradicere omnes adversarii ejus. Pater etiam noster, sicut nobis referunt fratres ab eo revertentes, jam palam et quasi super tecta prædicat, quod ab eo avertat Deus, confusionem nostram se quæsiturum. Eapropter litteras quas pro pauperum oppressione dignatio paterna nuper destinavit, ita distulimus, ne exasperaretur principis animus, maxime quia de thesauro ecclesiæ consignando nihil egerat, et rerum nostrarum spoliatio celeri restitutione præventa est. Hæc omnia, pater sancte, idcirco vobis significare duximus, ut prudentia vestra in diebus vestris, cujus vitam et incolumitatem nobis et ecclesiæ Suæ Deus in tempora longiora conservet, justitiam nostram

1 Cor. xiii. 1.

Ps. cxxxviii. 8.

The most important part of the mandate is executed, but the churches and the xenia are not restored, nor the collegiate buildings demolished.

The clerks are threatening revenge, and the archbishop is said to be hostile.

S. Luke xxi. 15.

The late letter of the pope has not been presented to the king, as the estates have been restored, and the enrolment of the treasure has not been followed up.

No. dxv.

instructior operetur et pacem, qui offensam hominum propter hoc solum incurrimus, quia injuste prægravati appellavimus et invocavimus nomen vestrum. Pia vota promoveat Altissimus, pater sanctissime. A.D. 1199. Between Jan. 27 and March 13.

DXXII. Innocentio summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis. After April 6.

Pref. to *Sanctus* in the Ordinary of the Mass. Sanctitati vestræ, sicut dignum et justum est nos semper et ubique gratias agere pro universis beneficiis paupertati nostræ collatis, ita quantas possumus sine fine referimus in fide non ficta, ex devotione intima et affectione sincera. Cum enim navicula nostra fluctibus jactata et fere operta, cui debeat quod in tot procellis non est eversa et submersa, nisi gratiæ vestræ, quæ profugos miserata excepit, maris elationibus mirabilis se objecit, et navigium misericors continet anchora spei nostræ quæ non confundit? Cæterum, ut de his taceamus, quorum tamen immemores nunquam erimus, statum nostrum qui erat cum harum bajulus exiret a nobis, paternitati vestræ significamus. Nuper enim, et hoc jam tertio, rebus omnibus, rege quidem jubente, sed aliis procurantibus, spoliati, destitutionem nostram vobis demandare curavimus. Nunc autem, ut sciatis, quia in morte principis nostri restituti sumus, hoc quoque vobis præsentium significatione mandamus, rogantes attentius et supplicantes obnixe, quatenus pro amore Dei et honore sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, cui, Deo auctore, præsidetis, huic morbo, si placet, aliquod velitis remedium providere. Quid enim turpius, quam ad motus singulos pauperum bona rapere, ecclesiam tam famosam et celebrem ludibrio exponere et Crucifixi patrimonium confiscare? Verum hoc, sicut et alia quæ de justitia nostra et de judicio vestro restant facienda, videlicet de domibus clericorum in omni adhuc integritate manentibus, de ecclesiis et exeniis et marisco restituendis, clementiæ vestræ ac curæ committimus, non dubitantes quin in finem diligatis quos tam paterna et pura diligentia confovistis, immo et solius Dei intuitu, amore materno amplexati estis. Super omnia vero unam petimus et hanc requirimus, ut nunquam auctoritatem præstetis vel assensum, ut canonia quam dominus et pater noster adhuc, sicut ipse palam asserit, ædificare intendit, ubicunque locorum quocunque modo consurgat. Magis autem operam det, ut illa quam regendam suscepit, ex magna parte diruta et retecta, rimosa et ruinis proxima, reparetur, et ibi expensas faciat unde accipit quod expendat. Nihil enim ejus honori magis conferre credimus vel saluti, quam ut ecclesia quam regere

Rom. v. 5.

S. John xiii. 1.

Ps. xxvii. 4.

The convent are always and every- fo. 128 r°. where grateful to the pope.

They inform him that upon the death of king Richard, April 6, their estates were restored to them.

They beg him to enforce the mandate in respect to the xenia and the churches, and compel the archbishop to assist in the rebuilding of the cathedral.

A.D. 1199. After April 6.

habet, in statum semper meliorem proficiat, et in diebus ejus tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus sumat incrementum. Petitiones itaque quas in manu domini prioris sive fratrum porrigimus benignitati vestræ, placeat exaudire, et quantum cum Deo potestis effectu prosequente complere, scientes quia quicquid agant adversarii, quæcunque loquantur, in umbra alarum vestrarum sperabimus, donec transeat adversitas, nec dimittemus vos, donec benedictionem hæreditate possi- deamus. Ps. lvii. 1. Gen. xxxii. 26.

After May 19.

DXXIII. Innocentio summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent after twelve years' suffering, do not yet see the way to hope.

Inter undas et scopulos procellosis turbinibus exagitatis, cum id solum soleat superesse consolationis, quod finem aliquando habitura sit rabies procellarum, et navis, licet lacerata, post naufragium tamen sereniori aura aspirante, reversura ad portum; id nobis jam plusquam per duodennium continuis tempestatibus fatigatis et afflictis, spem omnem videtur præcludere tranquillitatis, quod de die in diem tempestates quæ in nos sæviunt suscipiunt incrementum, et eo periculosius incurrimus scopulis allisi naufragium, quo vicinius videbamur accessisse ad portum. Pater reverende, vobis et ecclesiæ Romanæ, in cujus conspectu stamus, immo cui stamus aut cadimus, quæ nos in Christo genuit et hucusque enutrivit, et utinam in tempore senectutis non deserat, cum virtus nostra defecerit, statum nostrum, si tamen statum dixerim destitutionem, significare dignum duximus, ante omnia gratias ex opere et animo sanctitati vestræ referentes, quod calamitatibus nostris et miseriis paterno compatientes affectu, patri nostro domino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo toties missis apicibus, præcepistis, ut a vexatione nostra desisteret, ablata restitueret, circa statum nostrum nihil, occasione causæ inter nos habitæ, immutaret. Mandatum siquidem vestrum suscepit, cui etsi in parte aliqua paruit, in iis tamen quæ adhuc restant facienda non solum parere dissimulavit, verum etiam nuper contra ejusdem mandati tenorem, post appellationem etiam ad vos interpositam, multa subito immutavit. Cum enim possessionibus universis jam tertio spoliati, nec adhuc obeunte rege Ricardo, restituti, verum in adventu novi principis essemus ad eas uti moris tunc demum admissi; cum jam nihil formidaremus sinistrum, nihil post tot turbines et tempestates præstolaremur de cætero nisi serenum, ne vel modicum, qui jam pene exspiravimus, respiraremus, venit dominus noster Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et solito amplius manum suam aggravavit, et, cum nondum juxta mandatum vestrum nobis restituisset ablata, adjecit ut Rom. xiv. 4. Ps. lxxi. 8.

The archbishop has not fulfilled the whole mandate, and has lately proceeded to further aggressions.

They were restored to their possessions at the accession of the new prince; but immediately the arch-

fo. 128 v°.

et auferret non quidem de novo sed ab antiquis temporibus inconcusse possessa. Sic igitur quædam immutando, quædam subtrahendo, quædam penitus auferendo, iterato nos ad pedes sanctitatis vestræ compellit recurrere, et gravamina nobis de novo illata, per fratres nostros exponere, quoniam epistolaris modestia nequaquam eas sufficeret ad unguem explanare. Unum autem est quod omnes uno ore oramus et obsecramus in Domino Jesu, ut quemadmodum cœpistis, et scitis quomodo vos oporteat in hujusmodi ambulare, ita ambuletis ut abundetis magis, scientes quod non solum temporalem vobis, sed æternam cedet ad gloriam, si ecclesia Cantuariensis toties afflicta tantis calamitatibus, et tot ærumnis circumdata, per vos fuerit in pristinum tranquillitatis et pacis statum restituta.

After May 19. bishop came and deprived them of still more than before, for which they ask the pope's aid.

1 Thess. iv. 1.

DXXIV. Sedis apostolicæ cardinalibus Conventus Cantuariensis.

After May 19.

Præclarum divini muneris probatur indicium et manifestum gratiæ documentum, cum ad famam nominis respondet exhibitio veritatis, et id opere perficitur quod ore celebri prædicatur. Justitiæ vestræ constantiam et perpetuam æquitatem universus orbis magna laude prosequitur, nos autem eam sæpius experti cum magna gratiarum complectimur devotione. A vestro enim judicio nullus redit juris solatio vacuus, nisi qui a justitia causæ fuerit alienus. Nulli enim displicet vestra censura, nisi quem premit causa. Et quod summæ gloriæ est, sicut cunctis sedis dignitate præcellitis, sic executione juris eminetis universis; quod in prosecutione causæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ dudum nuperque orbi Latino satis innotuit, cum secundum legem sanctam non attendistis ad vultum potentis, sed pro Christi pauperibus, quibus merita causæ justæ non deerant, sententiam emisistis. Qua non modice consolati ad tempus respiravimus, apostolicum illud replicantes, "spes non con- "fundit." Sperabamus namque quod sedis apostolicæ jussioni exsecutoris voluntas se devota plenaque submitteret. Sed proh dolor! Subito, Salomonis illud incidimus, "Risus dolore "miscebitur." Eversa enim capella, quæ juxta spem partis adversæ majori ecclesiæ construendæ locum erat quandoque datura, universa ædificia et omnes apparatus quorum inibi ob principale contentio sæva et spes improba clericorum effecerat, in sua integritate consistunt; ut videlicet nacta temporis opportunitate, clerici contra quos agitur, in cleri cœtum facillime convenient, quia jam parata sunt omnia. Et, quod gratia superna non sinat, fient novissima nostra, Cantuariensis scilicet ecclesiæ, pejora prioribus. Præterea non sunt

The convent praise the justice of the cardinals, especially as exhibited in the case of the church of Canterbury.

Rom. v. 5.

Prov. xiv. 13.

The archbishop has pulled down his chapel, but not the collegiate buildings.

S. Luke xiv. 17.

S. Matt. xii. 45.

A.D. 1199. After May 19. They have been thrice despoiled since the first mandate was issued.

ecclesiæ nobis spoliatis restitutæ, non exenia reddita, non aliquid denique, exceptis capellæ parietibus, quos coacta necessitas elisit, de mandato apostolico completum. Ad hæc post emissionem primi mandati apostolici, jam tertio omnibus rebus spoliati sumus, satis inde dolente rege cum ageret in extremis. Quosdam etiam fratrum nostrorum, qui pro ecclesiæ suæ libertate loqui sunt ausi, tanto rigore disciplinæ constrinxit, ut claustra monasterii egredi prohiberet, non exceptis causæ hujus articulis. Quod juris ordo non habere dinoscitur, quia contra eum causa agitur, et appellationis interposito remedio, quoad causam et omnia quæ causam contingunt, ab ejus sumus jurisdictione tempore pendentis litis exempti. Mariscum etiam, qui, jure antiquitatis et consuetudine longæva, ecclesiæ nostræ manerio tanquam secundarium suo principali cohærebat, licet principali forte plus valeat, non invocato publici juris auxilio, nobis etiam conquerentibus, per suos officiales invadere non veritus est. His accessit, quod inter maxima ecclesiæ dispendia computamus, quod post decessum Ricardi regis attentavit. Curiam nostram, qua habita cætera jura personarum ac possessionum conservantur illæsa, et qua sublata omnia nobis jura terrena tolluntur, non exspectato ullo juris ordine, non est cunctatus nobis auferre. Curiam autem nostram dicimus; liberam judicandi facultatem, ut cum causa aliqua inter homines nostros, sive scripto regio, sive alia quacunque ex causa, fuerit exorta, sive adipiscendæ sive recuperandæ rei vel possessionis causa, auctoritate nostri judicii lis ipsa terminetur, et calumniantium iniquitatibus expulsis, jus suum unicuique tribuatur. Hoc tantum juris privilegium, contra antiquam ecclesiæ nostræ consuetudinem, dominus archiepiscopus sibi usurpare non dubitavit, ut hominum nostrorum dominiis ablatis nobis, ditioni suæ cuncta subjiceret. Sic itaque circumflantibus undique procellis, possessionum jure destituimur, et de consequenti, dignitatibus, et ecclesiæ nostræ libertate, quam beatus martyr Thomas mortis ac sanguinis sui pretio comparavit, spoliari vehementer expavescimus. In tantis ergo rerum periculis succurrere dignemini, parentes filiis, ut gladius qui Cantuariensis ecclesiæ cervici jam imminet, gladio vestro retroactus elangueat.

Now the archbishop has seized on their marsh of Appledore; and has closed their court of justice.

He wants to subject all their homagers to himself.

fo. 129 r°.

A.D. 1199. May 19.

DXXV. Innocentius summus pontifex Lincolniensi et Eliensi episcopis, et abbati Sancti Eadmundi.

The pope remarks the length and importance of the suit

Inter venerabilem fratrem nostrum archiepiscopum et prædecessores ejus ex una parte, ac dilectos filios priores et monachos Cantuarienses ex altera, super quibusdam capellis

quas ipsi archiepiscopi erigere laborarunt in præjudicium partis alterius, sicut monachi proponebant, jam dudum grandis et gravis quæstio pullulavit, pro qua prædecessores nostros et nos ipsos sæpius oportuit apostolicas litteras destinare. Verum cum in ipso negotio auctoritate litterarum nostrarum usque adeo processum sit, ut capella de Lamhee diruta sit penitus et consumpta, præfatus archiepiscopus prædecessorum suorum volens laudabile propositum adimplere, capellam ad honorem gloriosorum martyrum Stephani et Thomæ, in qua canonicos præbendarios instituerat, de novo fundare volebat, de nostra licentia speciali; quod sibi per nuncios et procuratores suos de communi jure competere asserebat, contradictione partis alterius non obstante; cujus indemnitati per sufficientem et idoneam cautionem poterat provideri: sed neque per demolitionem capellæ præfatæ de Lamhee suum dicebat desiderium retardandum, cujus opus ea potissimum ratione fuerat condemnatum,[1] quod post nunciationem novi operis, inhibitionem prædecessorum nostrorum, et appellationem ad sedem apostolicam interpositam, fuerat attentatum. Cæterum pro monachis fuit propositum ex adverso, quod cum mandatum nostrum ad ipsum archiepiscopum et vos directum, circa exeniorum, ecclesiarum et aliorum restitutionem adhuc non fuerit adimpletum, nec sopitum scandalum ex ea causa subortum, nec constaret adhuc de præjudicio in posterum auferendo, eadem contradictionis causa durante, non erat præfati archiepiscopi petitio admittenda. Cum autem hæc et similia fuissent utrimque in nostro auditorio allegata, nos volentes utrique partium pastorali sollicitudine providere, de communi fratrum nostrorum consilio causam eandem sub ea forma vobis duximus committendam, ut ante omnia inter ipsos amicabiliter componere laboretis. Quod si forte desuper datum non fuerit, vos facta prius restitutione plenaria monachis memoratis, eorum quæ ob hanc causam fuere subtracta, inquiratis super his quæ præmisimus, remoto appellationis obstaculo, plenius veritatem; et si de partium voluntate processerit, ad diffinitivam sententiam procedatis, facientes quod decreveritis, per censuram ecclesiasticam, a partibus irrevocabiliter observari. Alioquin gesta omnia in scriptis fideliter redigentes, ad nos ea sub vestrarum litterarum testimonio transmittatis, diem assignantes partibus competentem, quo recepturæ sententiam nostro se conspectui repræsentent: ad quem si qua earum venire contempserit, nos nihilominus in causa ipsa, quantum de jure poterimus, procedemus. Ad hæc volumus et mandamus, ut ad locum ipsum pariter accedentes, super statu Cantuariensis ecclesiæ tam

A.D. 1199. May 19. between the archbishop and convent. The chapel at Lambeth is demolished, and the archbishop has asked licence to build a collegiate church.

The monks maintain that the licence must not be granted until the whole of the late mandate is fulfilled.

The pope commissions the bishops and abbot (1) to endeavour to make peace between the parties; (2) if that fail, to enforce the restoration of the estates seized on account of the chapel, and to take cognizance of the whole cause; (3), to visit the convent, and report on its condition to the pope.

[1] *condemnatum*] attemptatum, MS.

A.D. 1199. May 19. Two of the three to be a quorum.

interiori quam exteriori inquiratis, appellatione remota, plenius veritatem, et quicquid super eis inveneritis, nobis fideliter intimetis, ut per relationem vestram certiores effecti, quod statuendum fuerit, statuamus. Nullis litteris obstantibus præter assensum partium a sede apostolica impetratis. Quod si omnes his exsequendis nequiveritis interesse, duo vestrum ea nihilominus exsequantur. Datum Laterani, xiiii. kalendas Junii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

May 19.

DXXVI. Innocentius papa omnibus ecclesiasticis et sæcularibus fidelibus.

The pope commends the convent and church of Canterbury to the good offices of the faithful.

Quanto venerabilis martyr Thomas modernis temporibus contra versutias antiqui hostis, qui ecclesiam Dei impugnare non cessat, gloriosius triumphavit, et Cantuariensem ecclesiam reddidit pretioso sui corporis sanguine decoratam, tanto nos qui, licet immeriti, universali ecclesiæ præsidemus, oportet sollicitius præcavere, ut jura Cantuariensis, et fratrum qui jugiter in ea obsequiis divinis insistunt, ad gloriam ejusdem martyris digna laudum præconia decantantes, illibata studeamus et integra conservare. Ideoque universitatem vestram rogamus atque monemus, per apostolica scripta mandantes, quatenus ob reverentiam Dei et ejusdem martyris, prædictos fratres et eorum ecclesiam habeatis propensius commendatos, eis jura sua illæsa servantes; nec aliquis vestrum contra privilegium vel indulgentias quæ illis ab apostolica sede fuerunt indulta, aliquid attentare præsumat. Datum Laterani, xiiii. kalendas Junii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

May 23.

DXXVII. Innocentius papa.

fo. 129 v°. The pope charges the justiciars (?) to do justice in all things to the monks of Canterbury.

Cum ex nuncupatione vocabuli quod ex officio vobis imponitur, et ipsius officii debito, universis et singulis teneamini justitiam exhibere, si de salute vestra curatis, si Deum, a Quo procedit omnis justitia, Qui omnem repellit injustitiam, vultis habere propitium, personas religiosas, quæ divinis obsequiis mancipatæ Deo jugiter famulantur, studebitis specialiter et præcipue confovere. Ideoque prudentiam vestram rogamus, monemus, et in Domino attentius exhortamur, in remissionem vobis peccaminum injungentes, quatenus dilectos filios priorem et monachos Cantuariensis ecclesiæ protegere contra malignorum insolentiam, et defensare curetis, eis libertates et alia jura sua, quantum ad officium vestrum pertinet, illibata servantes, nec permittatis illos vel eorum homines alicujus indebita vexatione gravari. Datum Laterani, x. kalendas Junii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

DXXVIII. Innocentius papa Lincolniensi et Eliensi episcopis, et abbati Sancti Eadmundi.

A.D. 1199. Sept. 11.

Quantas tribulationes et angustias Cantuariensis ecclesia sustinuerit hactenus, occasione discordiæ quam inimicus homo inter venerabilem fratrem nostrum archiepiscopum et dilectos filios monachos Cantuarienses, a multis retro temporibus seminavit, discretionem vestram non credimus ignorare. Cumque per auxilium gratiæ Divinæ nostræque sollicitudinis, inimicitiarum materia pro parte maxima de medio sit sublata, tam ei quam ipsis summopere est cavendum, ne per controversias recidivas nova quæratur occasio litigandi, ut labor noster jam præteritus tanquam inutilis appareat in futuro. Sane conquesti sunt nobis prædicti monachi quod, postquam eorum nuncii cum commissoriis litteris super diversis articulis quibus se querebantur a prædicto archiepiscopo contra justitiam prægravari, a nostra præsentia recesserunt, ipse eos lite pendente novis damnis et injuriis affecit, post appellationes factas ad apostolicam sedem et prohibitiones ex parte nostra interpositas; mariscum de Apeldre, oblationes majoris altaris, curiam suam et alia multa eis auferens, quæ nullus prædecessorum suorum hactenus in eorum præjudicium attentavit, et quibusdam monachis, magis idoneis ad negotia ecclesiæ pertractanda, inhibuisse dicitur egressum pariter et regressum. Volentes igitur, sicut tenemur ex debito sollicitudinis pastoralis, sua jura omnibus conservare, ipsi archiepiscopo præcipiendo mandavimus, ut quæ præmissa sunt, si verum est quod asseritur, per se ipsum studeat emendare; conventum Cantuariensem, dignitates, libertates et possessiones ipsius, in eo statu dimittens, in quo fuisse tempore appellationis interpositæ perhibentur, quod super his de ipso non remaneat præfatis monachis justa materia conquerendi. Quocirca discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus jam dicto archiepiscopo in executione mandati nostri cessante, per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione remota, faciatis restitui monachis universa, quæ lite pendente constiterit esse subtracta. Quod si omnes his exsequendis, etc. Datum Laterani, iii. idus Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

S. Matt. xiii. 28.

The pope is fearful that all his pains may be useless.

Since the issuing of the last commission (May 19), the archbishop has seized the marsh of Appledore, and the oblations of high altar, and has closed the court of justice.

The pope charges the bishops and abbot to compel the archbishop to redress.

In eundem modum Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. "Quantas tribulationes et angustias," etc., *ut supra.*

A.D. 1199. Sept. 11.

DXXIX. Innocentius papa Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.

The pope informs the archbishop that the monks have complained that in the solemn processions at Canterbury, he is attended by crowds of secular clerks and others, to the disquiet of the convent and injury of religion.

Cum bona sint coram Deo et hominibus, secundum apostolum, providenda, episcopis, qui successores apostolorum existunt, et lux mundi, et sal terræ Veritatis testimonio perhibentur, est summopere attendendum ut via regia incedentes, nec declinantes ad dexteram vel sinistram, neque conscientiam propter famam, neque famam pro conscientia derelinquant, sed sic inter ea irreprehensibiliter gradiantur, quod nec impii apud Deum Qui videt in corde, nec crudeles apud homines qui vident in facie, judicentur. Sane conquerentibus dilectis filiis monachis Cantuariensibus, nostris est auribus intimatum, quod te præsente in processionibus quæ in ecclesia ipsa solemniter celebrantur, quandoque præcedunt, quandoque sequuntur clerici sæculares inter te ipsosque monachos, quasi separantes caput a membris; eorundem insuper stalla in choro contra consuetudinem coarctantes. Ex hoc autem dignitati Cantuariensis ecclesiæ plurimum detrahitur et honori, et scandalum, sicut dicitur, generatur in cordibus infirmorum, ac quies Deo famulantium perturbatur, et devotio deperit popularis, dum in eodem collegio diversæ professionis et habitus cernuntur homines sociari, quorum alii vestiuntur vilibus, alii pretiosis, quidam velatis incedunt capitibus, alii denudatis. Cum igitur incongruum sit, ut in uno et eodem officio professio dispar existat, fraternitati tuæ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus circa ea quæ præmisimus corrigenda, sollicitudinem adhibeas pastoralem; et ut scandalum tollatur de medio, propter quod multa sunt sæpius omittenda, sicut jam alia vice discretioni tuæ recolimus intimasse; atque in Cantuariensi ecclesia regimini tuo commissa, quæ celebrem locum obtinet inter ecclesias Anglicanas, nihil reprehensione dignum occurrat, unde ad alias religionis et honestatis exemplum convenit derivari. Tunc enim melius, sicut tua fraternitas non ignorat, subditos tuos corrigere poteris, et ad frugem perducere meliorem, cum in capite nihil inventum fuerit quod merito debeat reprehendi. Datum Laterani, iii. idus Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

2 Cor. viii. 21.

S. Matt. v. 13, 14.

Num. xx. 17.

fo. 130 r°.

He charges him to avoid offence in this matter.

No. cccxcviii.

A.D. 1200. After January 26. (See No. dxxxiii.)

DXXX. Innocentio papæ Lincolniensis et Eliensis episcopi, et abbas Sancti Eadmundi.

The judge delegates lay before

Litteras vestræ sanctitatis accepimus in hunc modum; "Inno- "centius episcopus, etc." Partibus igitur in nostra præsentia constitutis, proposuit archiepiscopus, jus sibi esse, invitis

No. dxxv.

monachis, ædificare capellam, et in ea clericos præbendarios instituere. Monachi e contra objecerunt exceptionem spoliationis, dicentes quod ante litis ingressum omnium ablatorum eis erat de jure communi restitutio facienda. Verum ex parte archiepiscopi dicebatur, omnia illa capitula quæ loquuntur de restitutione spoliatorum in causis duntaxat criminalibus locum habere, cum hinc duplex sit odium, accusantis scilicet et spoliantis, et inde duplex favor, accusati scilicet et spoliati, quod ad civiles quæstiones non pertinet. Pars vero monachorum allegationem istam arguebat, dicens quia, cum quæstio criminis proponatur, licet sit motæ posterius et quæstio spoliationis præjudicet criminali, merito quæstio spoliationis debet cæteris anteponi. Procedebat et aliter archiepiscopus ex illis verbis rescripti, scilicet *restitutione prius facta monachis eorum quæ ob hanc causam fuere subtracta*, asserens aliorum ablatorum prætextu non debere principale negotium retardari, ex quo voluntatis vestræ manifesta sumi poterat conjectura. Per illa siquidem verba modus videtur adjectus, et quasi taxationis vicem obtinent. Si enim voluntatis vestræ fuisset omnia prius ablata restitui, non erat difficile, aut clausulam illam omittere, aut expressim mandare de omnibus. Allegabat præterea de consensu monachorum, quia si eo tempore quo litteræ dabantur, communiter contradicere noluerunt, nulla eis superest ulterius contradicendi licentia. Si vero tunc reclamaverunt, neque clementiæ vestræ verbum illud placuit immutare, videtur quia ex certa sententia de aliis volueritis prohibere. Ideoque dicebat dictus archiepiscopus non licere nobis mandati vestri fines excedere, cum debeant diligenter a quolibet mandatorio custodiri. His allegationibus monachi respondent, dicentes per illa verba nihil esse in communi detractum. Nam etsi competat judici delegato præfixam sibi formam servare, nihilominus tamen debet omnes rationabiles exceptiones admittere, nisi in litteris commissionis contrarium exprimatur, quod hic factum non est; nec debet rescriptum principis ad cujusquam injuriam retorqueri, nisi hoc princeps expresserit. Ideo autem verba illa dicebant fuisse apposita, vel quia credebatis occasione capellæ monachos spoliatos, vel ut fieret de his mentio, in quibus gravius deliquerat spoliator. Ideoque *præsertim* subaudiendum est. Dicebant etiam non posse eis imputari consensum, ex eo quod non contradixerunt: non enim contradicere debuerunt, cum verba illa nullum eis præjudicium generarent, immo et si nocerent, non tamen poterant vestram celsitudinem prohibere, ne formam poneretis in litteris secundum arbitrium vestræ voluntatis. Non enim consentire videtur qui vetare non potest, et velle non creditur, qui obsequitur imperio patris vel domini. Item. Si

A.D. 1200. After January 26. The pope the arguments of the parties on the question of restitution to be made before the question of the new chapel can be entered on.

A.D. 1200. After January 26. The parties not being able to agree on the meaning of the mandate, the judges heard witnesses, and concluded that it was not proved that anything had been taken from the convent on account of the new chapel. They refer the case to the pope.

fuerint in jure periti monachi qui litteras receperunt, non videntur consensisse, quia sciebant jus suum ubique durare: si juris ignari, quod et eis nihil tam contrarium est consensui, quam error qui detegit imperitiam. His et aliis multis hinc inde propositis, mandati vestri formam sequentes, diximus nos velle super iis probationes admittere quæ dicebantur ob hanc causam fuisse subtracta, omittentes ad præsens verborum illorum interpretationem sine partium præjudicio. Productis autem testibus ex utraque parte, facta præterea disputatione et conclusione, interlocuti fuimus, non videri nobis plene probatum quod aliqua subtracta fuerint occasione capellæ; verum quia vestræ mansuetudinis est beneficii vestri modum æstimare, et per interpretationem vestram verborum obscuritatem planius aperire, causam ipsam, sicut instructa est, ad celsitudinem vestram referimus, cupientes tam super quæstione juris de restitutione spoliatorum, quam super interpretationem verborum vestrorum a sanctitate vestra plenius edoceri.

A.D. 1199. July or August.

DXXXI. Lincolniensis et Eliensis episcopi, et abbas Sancti Eadmundi, Conventui Cantuariensi.

fo. 130 v°. The judge delegates summon the convent to Westminster on Sept. 30, to make peace with the archbishop; in case of failure, to make answer to the archbishop on the 1st of October.

Mandatum domini papæ suscepimus in hæc verba; "Inno- No. dxxv. "centius episcopus, etc.; Inter venerabilem fratrem nostrum "archiepiscopum," etc.; *ut supra*. Volentes igitur in executione mandati apostolici secundum ejus tenorem procedere, prout decet, vobis ejusdem mandati auctoritate mandamus, quatenus in crastino festivitatis Sancti Michaelis, in capella beatæ Katerinæ apud Westmonasterium, vestri nobis copiam exhibeatis, ut inter memoratum venerabilem patrem nostrum archiepiscopum vestrum et vos, secundum apostolici mandati tenorem, de pace tractare valeamus. Quod si desuper datum non fuerit, ut vos ad pacis et concordiæ reducamus unitatem, die proximo sequenti, scilicet proxima sexta feria post idem festum Sancti Michaelis, coram nobis ibidem sufficienter instructi compareatis, præfato domino archiepiscopo vestro, secundum tenorem mandati apostolici responsuri, et juri parituri. Valete.

A.D. 1199. October or November. The judge delegates intend to visit Canterbury on

DXXXII. Idem episcopi delegati Conventui Cantuariensi.

Super causa quæ vertitur inter venerabilem patrem nostrum Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, ex una parte, et vos ex altera, quæ nobis est apostolica auctoritate commissa; cum eodem archiepiscopo nos noveritis ad pacem inter vos

reformandam diligentem habuisse tractatum, ita quod communi deliberatione providimus, quod in octavis beati Martini, ad monasterium vestrum accedemus, et ibidem inter eundem archiepiscopum, qui præsens esse tunc in eodem loco proposuit, et vos, Domino concedente, firmam pacem, si fieri poterit, faciemus. Et si concordia inter vos aliqua fuerit occasione impedita, juxta mandatum apostolicum, de interiori et exteriori statu monasterii vestri diligenter inquiremus. Nihilominus autem volumus diem quem inter vos super eodem negotio, pro proxima die Sabbati post festum Sanctæ Katerinæ, apud Westmonasterium constituimus, observari. Valete.

A.D. 1199. Oct. or Nov. the octave of S. Martin (Nov. 18).

The convent are to appear at Westminster on Nov. 27.

DXXXIII. Idem episcopi delegati Conventui Cantuariensi.

After Nov. 27.

Quia die quam venerabili patri nostro Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et vobis, pro causa quam idem archiepiscopus auctoritate litterarum domini papæ adversus vos instituit, constitueramus, scilicet Sabbato proximo post festum Sanctæ Katerinæ, nec per vos, nec per sufficientem procuratorem, coram nobis in loco comparuistis constituto; vobis auctoritate qua fungimur alium diem, scilicet crastinum Conversionis Sancti Pauli, constituimus, mandantes et injungentes quatenus eodem die, in capella beatæ Katerinæ apud Westmonasterium, per vos vel per sufficientem procuratorem, coram nobis appareatis, dicto domino archiepiscopo secundum formam mandati apostolici alias vobis editi, super jure reædificandi capellam canonicorum præbendariorum responsuri, et juri parituri. Et quia jam tertio vocati estis pro eadem causa a nobis, prædictum diem vobis constituimus peremptorium, mandantes ut sufficienter instructi veniatis: alioquin nos secundum quod ratio exegerit, nihilominus in causa procedemus. Valete.

The convent not having appeared on Nov. 27, the delegates fix Jan. 26 as the peremptory day for hearing the cause.

DXXXIV. Innocentio summo pontifici Conventus Cantuariensis.

After Nov. 18.

Magno munere misericordiæ Dei Cantuariensis ecclesiæ multiplicata fuerunt gaudia, cum sanctæ pietatis vestræ studio perniciosa seditionis et scandali materia, capella videlicet de Lambee, quæ contra Cantuariensem ecclesiam superbam cervicem erexerat, justitia triumphante, deleta est. Bellum igitur quod quieti nostræ zelus et contentio virorum sæcularium excitaverat, dextera Domini pugnante, et sollicitudine clementiæ vestræ justitiam exsequente, feliciter confectum erat. Sedato autem scandalo et seditione pacata, novo rursus dolore per-

The convent had trusted that by the efforts of the pope their troubles were ended.

A.D. 1199. After Nov. 18. Their troubles are renewed.

cellimur. Nam pacem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ post tempora longa divinitus reformatam, iterum humanæ laudis amor et mundi gloria inquietat. In exitium nostrum nova excogitantur consilia, et machinationum artes variæ exquiruntur, quibus inveniendis dies sæpe jejuni ducuntur in vesperam, noctes transiguntur insomnes. Sane juxta formam commissionis judices delegati Cantuariam convenerunt, ut de statu interiori et exteriori requirerent; et ante omnia de pace reformanda tractare cœperunt, sed viam pacis et semitam simplicis veritatis et puræ, calliditas argumentosa contempsit. Nam ex parte adversa forma pacis oblata ita specie pietatis erat obtecta, ut simplicioribus et vulgo videretur favorabilis, acutius tamen intuentibus, juris scilicet prudentibus, qui rerum fines ponderant, perniciosissima probaretur. Ad hoc enim tendebat oratio, ut de bonis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, absque omni contradictione, nobilissimam fundare posset ecclesiam, et universum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ statum, contemptis beati Gregorii constitutionibus et Sancti Augustini Anglorum apostoli traditionibus, quibus Cantuariensis ecclesia ab initio coaluit, pro libitu suo universa innovando disponeret: quod nullus antecessorum suorum unquam attentavit, in quibus exstiterunt multi viri sapientia clari, et religione præcipui. Nec enim facile credendum est, ut vel sancto Thoma sanctior, vel beato Anselmo esse possit eruditior. Novissime autem per tres datos judices nos cœpit coarctari, ut de ecclesia ædificanda, et de integritate status Cantuariensis ecclesiæ evertenda vel non evertenda, cartas et privilegia Romanorum pontificum et regum Angliæ, libertates ecclesiæ et possessionum portionem quæ nos contingit, firmatam sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ privilegiis, et archiepiscoporum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ cartis, omnia postremo interiora et exteriora, quæ nos quocunque contingunt titulo, voluntatis suæ dispositioni traderemus, quatenus sub hujus honoris impensi prætextu, nobiscum agere misericorditer dignaretur. Hæc autem omnia non per species enumerando, sed sub genere comprehendit, nihil ex omnibus exprimens, nihil excludens. Specialiter namque postulata deterrerent, et animos audientium prorsus averterent. Nos vero ex præteritis futura metientes, verius esse credidimus sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ privilegiis incumbere, et antiquitatis jura pro posse nostro sub vestræ pietatis moderamine conservare, quam omnia in incertum eventum committere. Unde etiam abbas Sancti Eadmundi, unus scilicet cognitorum, conjudicibus suis ait, "Frustra jacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum." Cæterum, ex parte nostra ista sunt oblata. Omnia damna nobis ob hanc causam illata, trium videlicet annorum redditus universos, et omnes expensas quas ob litem injuste suscitatam facere com-

The delegates have visited Canterbury.

The enemy demanded leave to

fo. 131 r°.

build a great church, and and to have the entire administration of the property of the convent.

He then demanded that the convent should throw themselves on his mercy.

The abbot of S. Edmund's quoted Proverbs.

Prov. i. 17.

pulsi sumus, et fructus ecclesiarum medio tempore perceptos, videlicet ecclesiæ de Muneketune, et ecclesiæ de Estreia, et de Mapeham et de Einesford, quibus absque juris ordine spoliati sumus, et fructus exeniorum nostrorum, domino archiepiscopo remittere voluimus; quorum omnium summa xv. millia librarum sterlingorum excedit largiter. Præterea ad honorem domini archiepiscopi concessimus, ut detentores prædictarum ecclesiarum eas in vita sua tenerent, sub annua pensione nobis persolvenda, ad arbitrium datorum judicum moderanda, ita ut singulis detentorum decedentibus, ad nos reverterentur ecclesiæ. Ad hæc, exenia nostra quæ injuste detinet, domino Huberto archiepiscopo in vita sua concessimus, ita tamen ut ab ædificanda ecclesia nova omnino desisteret, et antiquitatis statum ecclesiæ nostræ non turbaret, data solemni litterarum cautione, vestra etiam confirmatione subsequente, sed et datorum judicum procedente testimonio. Ad hoc etiam domino archiepiscopo ab lite cessante, promisimus, quod ecclesiam Cantuariensem, juxta formam novi operis inchoati, adjuvante Domino, consummatam et perfectam redderemus, cum instantia hoc solum petentes ab eo in munere, ut sopitis jurgiis quæ ab eo et antecessore suo Baldewino suscitata sunt, quiete vivere valeamus, ipso episcopalem sollicitudinem exsequente, quæ totum virum desiderat, nobis autem regulari disciplinæ et divinis officiis jugiter insistentibus. Postremo unum adjecimus, quod tamen secreto clementiæ vestræ auribus intimamus. Concessimus ei ut in loco non suspecto conventualem fundaret ecclesiam, et canonicos regulares albos introduceret, numero non excedente vel excessuro conventum, hoc est, duodecim canonicos. Quod cum dominus archiepiscopus a tribus datis judicibus accepisset, non est dignatus referre responsum. Unde, clementissime domine, satis liquet intelligenti, quod religiosa intentio non est quæ religionem et conventum respuit regularem. Præterea sæculari potestate, contra vestri tenorem mandati, in quibusdam articulis videtur abuti. Nam cum, vocantibus judicibus, prior noster cum quibusdam fratribus Londonias adesset, advenerunt tres viri laici a justitiario domini regis missi, qui primo judicibus a vobis delegatis, secundo priori nostro et fratribus qui cum eo aderant, ex parte justitiarii regis inhibuerunt, ne vel illi audirent, vel nos movere querelam coram eis præsumeremus, super jure vel advocatione ecclesiarum, quarum restitutionem auctoritate vestra rite petimus. Affirmant namque quod in curia domini regis debeant ista peti, cum marisco et aliis, quæ ipsi viri directi expresserunt: hoc nimirum summopere domino archiepiscopo procurante, ut si velimus jus nostrum apostolica auctoritate prosequi, domini regis iram in nos provocemus; si

A.D. 1199. After Nov. 18.

The convent offered to resign the mesne profits of the churches; to suffer the intruders to hold them for life; to allow the archbishop to keep the xenia for his life; and that they would complete the rebuilding of the cathedral.

Lastly, they offered to let him build a college of Præmonstratensian canons.

The archbishop is exerting his secular power against them; and they are forbidden to demand the advowsons of their churches except in the royal courts.

fo. 131 v°.

A.D. 1199. After Nov. 18.

vero ex timore regio tacuerimus, liberum habeat ingressum ad suam voluntatem exsequendam, nullo invento obstaculo vel modico, quin statim prima fronte super jure reædificandæ capellæ, immo celeberrimæ ecclesiæ construendæ, quæstio ventiletur. Cujus constructio si processerit, constructionem quam reverentissimi patres et viri apostolicæ sanctitatis, Gregorius et Augustinus, Deo Omnipotente auctore, construxerunt, scilicet Cantuariensem ecclesiam, proculdubio subvertet. Unde ad clementiam vestram et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ matris nostræ viscera convolamus, obsecrantes quatenus ædificatio illa quam post prædecessores vestros in vobis Spiritus Sanctus exstruxit, protestantibus hoc testibus ordinatis a Deo, martyribus videlicet et confessoribus, quibus Cantuariensi ecclesiæ præsidentibus, ac demum virtute meritorum ad cœlorum regna translatis, eadem ecclesia mirabiliter illustrata præradiat, ædificatio illa, constructio vestra, inconcussa in sua dignitate et libertate permaneat; et antiquorum probatissimorum patrum statuta, quibus Cantuariensis ecclesia per Dei gratiam honorata consistit, nulla possint inquietione convelli, nulla novitate mutari. Sufficiat domino archiepiscopo suis æquari decessoribus, nec suis appetat major esse prioribus. Multum enim proprio detrahit merito, qui illicito crescere quærit augmento. Duret per tempora longa, et universam ecclesiam sua luce collustret sancta paternitas vestra.

The foundation of S. Augustine and S. Gregory is in peril.

They beg the pope to intervene again.

After Nov. 18.

DXXXV. Ostiensi episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

Madet adhuc area Cantuariensis ecclesiæ neomartyris nostri Thomæ sanguine purpurata, nec verentur aut erubescunt, quantum in ipsis est, ipsius titulum passionis evacuare. Licet enim ipse pro tuendis ecclesiæ suæ libertatibus, et revocandis quas sibi laica potestas usurpaverat, post injurias, damna, longum exilium, litis suæ sententiam necis acerbitate diffinitivam excepit in capite, et suæ dignitatis privilegium cerebro suo conscripserat in ecclesiæ, quam sic redimi posse putavit, pavimento, jam sentit in filiis suas injurias innovari, et causam, pro qua fideliter usque ad mortem certavit, in litem de novo revocari. Nec enim potest verus Christi discipulus suorum injurias non sentire, qui per omnia, quantum permisit humanæ fragilitatis conditio, Christum fuit imitatus, Qui secundo Romam venit cum Petro crucifigi. Eousque siquidem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ tempestas invaluit, ut dignitates, libertates, consuetudines ab ecclesia Romana semper approbatas, largitione regum adeptas, concessione Cantuariensium archipræsulum plusquam quingentis annis conservatas, confirmatione Romano-

The persecutions of the martyr are renewed in the troubles of the convent.

S. Ambrose; *Conc. de Basilicis non tradendis hæreticis.*

rum pontificum ne aliquo tempore immutarentur roboratas, non jam timeat mutilari. Id enim dominus archiepiscopus summo intendit desiderio, ut antiquum ecclesiæ statum subvertat, et de omnibus, non habito ad cartas nostras vel privilegia respectu, pro libitu disponat. Canoniam quoque, totius scandali materiam et causam, toties a curia Romana condemnatam, priori loco reædificare totis viribus, non sine omnium admiratione, elaborat. Moveant igitur vestræ pietatis affectum, vestræ filiæ specialis lacrymosa suspiria : erigite virtutis vestræ brachium ad ejus defensionem, ne sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ planta tam nobilis, sub vestræ protectionis alis, quasi robur infructuosum eradicetur. Degustamus residuum passionis nostri martyris in pœna, sed nobis reservatur fructus meritorum in victoria. Unde, licet innumeris injuriis affecti, remedium angustiarum nobis reputamus, quod vobis reservatur tam gloriosi certaminis consummatio.

A.D. 1199. After Nov. 18.

The archbishop is trying to get the administration into his own hands.

They entreat the aid of the bishop of Ostia.

DXXXVI. P. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI CONVENTUS CANTUARIENSIS.

After Nov. 18.

Inter fluctus tempestatum ibi frequentius est animarum periculum, ubi mali studium simulata pietate vestitur. Error enim eo citius trahet ad lapsum quos virtutum mater discretio non erudivit ad providendum. Verum ventilata jam acrius nostræ tribulationis materia, eousque vigor veritatis producit in lucem, ut quod hactenus potuit favore pietatis approbari, suæ veritatis evidentia debeat aures pias deterrere. Salva igitur omnium pace dixerimus, libertates quas Cantuariensis ecclesia sanctorum martyrum et confessorum meritis, et maxime gloriosa sanguinis beati Thomæ martyris effusione, obtinuit, et ad hæc tempora pacifice possedit, dominus archiepiscopus eam, quasi aliena detinentem, illis penitus spoliavit. Quæ si hæc retinendo deliquit, ipse martyr hujus auctor peccati necesse convincitur, qui libertates ecclesiæ suæ nolens dari in direptionem, sed pro eis legitime certans, pavimentum ecclesiæ suo sanguine rubricavit, ne sponsam suam quam accepit ingenuam, redigi permitteret in servitutem. Cujus nos sequentes in hoc vestigia, quia cum dispendio libertatis ecclesiæ nostræ nolumus nostra tempora prosperari, nova sustinemus et excogitata genera malorum. Licet enim dominus noster archiepiscopus in capellæ opera, dictante æquitate, non possit procedere, ad hoc tamen irrevocabiliter nititur, exigens una sibi domus nostræ [interius et exterius] dispositionem, per nos jam ducentis annis administratam. Pietatem igitur vestram diligenter exoramus, ut quoniam satis perpendistis quod dominus archiepiscopus non faciat ad pacem, vos pro nobis defensionis clypeum opponere dignemini; ut quod

The convent inform cardinal Peter of the designs of the archbishop.

fo. 132 r°.

A.D. 1199. After Nov. 18. They beg for aid.

gloriosus martyr noster Thomas sanguinis sui expensa comparavit, vos illud illibatum conservando, et ab eo gratiam, et in eo gloriam percipere mereamini.

After Nov. 18.

DXXXVII. Albanensi[1] episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

The convent inform the bishop of Albano that since the prior's return, the delegates have heard the cause.

Benedictus Deus in sæcula, Qui accensam lucernam nolens cohibere sub modio, vos super candelabrum, non fumigans sed coruscans, stabilivit, judicare in justitia et arguere pro mansuetis terræ; quem tam felicibus ditatum auspiciis, dotatum charismatibus, docuit prona libertate mœstorum studere solatio, tribulatorum refrigerio, et pro justitia laborantium suffragio. Clementiæ igitur vestræ innotescat venerationi, quod postquam prior noster a præsentia vestra cum apostolicæ commissionis litteris abscessit, novis injuriis et damnis, quæ nunquam prius a quoquam hominum in ecclesiæ nostræ sunt attentata gravamen, nos multipliciter esse affectos. Expectavimus tamen pacem et non venit, quæsivimus bona et ecce turbatio. Convenientibus enim nobis coram datis mediatoribus, satis cum omnimoda humilitate de jure nostro, quantum salva indemnitate et libertate ecclesiæ possemus, nos relaxaturos spopondimus. Post varias tandem quæstiones et consultationes, postulavit dominus archiepiscopus causam suæ penitus misericordiæ committi. Quod quam perniciosum esset adversarii se committere fidei, satis arguti judicis prudentia præmetitur; traditis discriminis incerto libertatibus et privilegiis ecclesiæ, ut quæ tot Romanorum pontificum, regum et archipræsulum illustribus prædita est prærogativis, ad cujusdam mortalis nutum, sub servitutis gemeret ignominia, maxime cum totis nitatur viribus, ut capella illa jam diruta resurgat, non tantum Cantuariensis sed et totius Anglicanæ ecclesiæ inimica, et ut domus nostræ ordinatione suæ tradita dispositioni, dum res nostræ alterius dispensantur administratione, unde ecclesiæ libertates tueamur, et injurias prosequamur, nostrarum possessionum privati potestate, non habeamus. Amodo ergo vobis, in quo zelus ecclesiasticæ censuræ propensius vigere dinoscitur, reservatur hujus contentionis decisio, pacis reformatio, quæ utrique sollicitius pensanda est, quod simultas pietatis obtenta velamine, sub commercio boni, offensionem machinatur scandali. Sanctitatem ergo vestram et cordis devotione et corporis humiliatione proni exoramus, ut Cantuariensis ecclesiæ tribulationes,

S. Matt. v. 15.

Is. xi. 4.

Jer. xiv. 19.

The archbishop demands that the monks shall throw themselves on his mercy, which would be ruinous and disgraceful.

[1] John, created cardinal of S. Clement in 1188, to whom the letters ccccxlvii. and ccccliii. are addressed, became bishop of Albano in 1199.

Ps. cxv. 1. miserias, et ærumnas, non nobis sed nomini vestro dantes gloriam, intuitu Dei et beati martyris Thomæ, qui libertates ejus conscripsit et rubricavit cerebri sui cruore, insidias malignantium reprimere dignemini, quia nisi vestrum maturius subvenerit patrocinium, facile expugnabitur, quod a tam potentibus impetitur. A.D. 1199. After Nov. 18. They trust in the cardinals.

DXXXVIII. [Gratiano cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.]

After Nov. 18.

Ps. lxxxvii. 2. Merito de vobis dicta sunt gloriosa, a quo tot gratiarum ubertim emanant stillicidia, fragrant virtutis odorum balsama, quæ plurimum persensit Cantuariensis ecclesia, quam tam assiduis tribulationum elisam insultibus, nominis vestri crebrius consolati estis participio. Hoc autem ad præsens tanto a vobis ardentius sicut et affectat, quanto eam arctius perurgens necessitas illud a pietate vestra mendicare compellit. Postquam igitur, reverende domine, juxta formam commissionis apostolicæ coram mediatoribus nostris convenimus, post querelas et gravamina utrinque proposita, ad ultimum postulavit dominus archiepiscopus causam ecclesiæ suæ resignari, cum domus nostræ dispositione, jam ducentis annis et eo amplius penes nos habita. Sed quam absonum hoc fuerit, quam absurdum, prudentioris censuræ satis clarescit examini. Quis enim nisi mentis inops, adversarii sui se credit arbitrio? Difficile est enim ibi invenire consilia pacis, ubi incendia pullulavere contentionis, vel inde sperare litis discidium, unde sumpsit exordium; maxime cum omni nitatur studio, ut illa capella in Romanæ opprobrium et Cantuariensis ecclesiæ præjudicium denuo reædificetur, tradita sibi interiori et exteriori ecclesiæ nostræ administratione. Quæ etiam archiepiscoporum oppressiones, quæ regum insollertiæ, quæ multimodorum novitates et varietates malorum comitantur, subtilius discutienti apparet. Quia igitur amodo coram religionis vestræ præsentia jus nostrum prosequi compellimur, cui universalis sollicitudo incumbit ecclesiæ, clementiam vestram affectuosa cordis devotione deposcimus, ut intuitu Dei et beati martyris Thomæ, qui vos ob amorem justitiæ gratiæ filium nuncupavit, in Cantuariensis ecclesiæ libertatem nihil attentari permittatis, ut quam ipse sanguinis sui commercio a cujuslibet servilis ignominiæ stigmate liberavit, ne martyrii ejus tituli evacuentur, et effusi cruor cerebri clamet contra vos, violari non sustineatis. Eo autem adversariorum molimina vobis subtilius sunt pensanda, quod sub falsæ pietatis fucis, veritatis notitiam decolorant. Date igitur gratiarum munera, dissolvite litis vincula, astringite pacis fœdera.

The convent inform cardinal Gratian that they have appeared before the delegates; and the archbishop has demanded that they shall throw themselves on his mercy.

He is trying to rebuild the cursed chapel.

2 Cor. xi. 28. They remind Gratian of the love of S. Thomas. fo. 132 v°.

Hymn. ad Vesp. fer. vi.

A.D. 1199. After Nov. 18.

DXXXIX. [Cuidam Cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.]

The convent inform the cardinal that the archbishop now demands that they shall throw themselves on his mercy.

Difficile spes periculis emitur, et indecenter pax libertatis dispendio comparatur. Speravimus siquidem pacem ut veniret, et sublatis veteris discordiæ zizaniis, caput corpori cohæreret in id ipsum; sed longa retro series, ut jam dicere compellamur, "Venerunt filii usque ad partum, sed vires non habet parturiens." 2 Kings xix. 3. Non enim jam satis est tot tribulationum insultibus, tot modorum varietatibus in Cantuariensis ecclesiæ studuisse præjudicium et discrimen, sed novellis et subitaneis adinventionibus ejus excidium machinari. Postulamur enim a domino nostro archiepiscopo, post tot laborum tædia, tot malorum pericula, causam nostram et ecclesiæ misericordiæ suæ commendare. Nec datur nobis pax, nisi servitutis ignominiæ nævo maculetur, quam, emergente primo præsente tumultu, facile obtinuissemus, "si bene libertas unquam pro pace daretur." Quod autem tota Anglia de religione Romanæ curiæ miratur, super commissione de jure reædificandæ capellæ, quam dictante æquitate sententia diffinitiva damnavit, eam ipse denuo in eodem loco de canonicis præbendariis reparare elaborat, et ecclesiæ statum triginta archiepiscoporum temporibus observatum et approbatum pervertere, traditis una ecclesiæ rebus interius et exterius suæ voluntati et moderationi. Quod quam miserabile esset, satis prudens arbiter dinoscit, cum ad hoc consequens sit, decedente quolibet archiepiscopo, nostra omnia ad regiæ potestatis redire ditionem; cui deinceps in libertate eligendi pontificis nequaquam nobis esset libertas refragandi. Quam rediviva igitur, quam violenta dolorum et laborum nostrorum resurgat materia, satis ex his vestra potest perpendere discretio, quæ profecto quanto subtilius et diligentius discutitur, tanto magis formidolosa et dolo infecta apparet. Sanctitatis igitur vestræ clementiam proni deposcimus, quatenus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ tam diuturnam miserantes tribulationem, ejus indemnitati et libertati conservandæ suffragii vestri desiderabile præmium impendere dignemini; ne prævaleant ei qui sagittant in occulto Ps. lxiv. 4. immaculatam, et simplicitatem nostram, quæ infirma est viribus, invalida ingenio, dispar scientia, dissimilis potentia, consueta benignitate promovere velitis.

All England is astonished at the delegation.

Lucan, *Pharsalia*, iv. 227.

To yield to the archbishop would be to put the church at the king's mercy.

After Nov. 18.

DXL. [Cuidam Cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.]

The disappointment felt by the convent.

Recrudescunt in nobis vulnera tribulationis, quæ per vestram diligentiam sperabamus fuisse curata. Immo et nova nobis infligunt, quæ nunquam putavimus a quoquam hominum excogitari. Contemptis enim irreverenter sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ privilegiis, et ecclesiæ nostræ consuetudinibus, a sanctis

patribus nostris institutis, et a quingentis annis ad hæc tempora regulariter observatis, conatur dominus archiepiscopus contra privilegia nostra novas institutiones, non ad ecclesiæ utilitatem, sed subversionem, statuere. Et, quod nos urget acrius, in contentionem juris ecclesiæ nostræ libertates evocantur, pro quibus gloriosus martyr Thomas occubuit. Qui videns ecclesiasticæ libertatis dignitatem infirmari, studuit eam in statum debitum revocare, et in ejus confirmationem caput proprium allegavit. Accedit adhuc ad dolorum nostrorum cumulum, quod capellam de Lamhee, totius dissensionis et scandali materiam, auctoritate sedis Romanæ toties condemnatam, priori loco nititur reædificare, et lites redivivas suscitare. Ne nos ergo per consensum mali puram, quam in hac causa, Deo teste, servamus conscientiam, offuscemus, manifesto ecclesiæ nostræ periculo consentire non possumus, sed de Dei misericordia et ecclesiæ Romanæ justitia præsumentes, potius elegimus calicem tribulationis pro justitia, quantum Dominus permiserit, degustare, quam cauteriata conscientia præsentis vitæ prosperitatem continuare. Paternitatis itaque vestræ pedibus advoluti, supplicamus quatenus exsurgatis in adjutorium pauperum et oppressorum, et Cantuariensem ecclesiam, ne in opprobrium tradatur et derisum, clementiori oculo respicite.

A.D. 1199. After Nov. 18.

The archbishop is labouring to destroy all their privileges,

and to restore the condemned church at Lambeth.

1 Tim. iv. 2.

In eundem modum omnibus cardinalibus.

DXLI. [Cuidam Cardinali Conventus Cantuariensis.]

After Nov. 18.

Nunquam invenitur pacis securitas,
Ubi perit conscientiæ puritas.

The convent have been persecuted for twelve years.

Unde et in Petri navicula, Domino dormiente, tempestas invaluit ad exercitium navigantium, ut eliminata per timorem torporis ignavia, lumine puriori ad portus tenderent quietem. Nos igitur hujus exempli doctrina eruditi, quos jam per duodenne spatium annorum exercuit violentia, vexavit injuria, circumvenire studuit astutia, novis lacessiti molestiis, et injuriis indecenter affecti, præ malorum multitudine, do-

fo. 133 r°.[1]

[1] On this page there are two notes in a hand of the end of the 13th century. At the top: "Tertio "folio incipiunt pertinentia ad ne- "gotium, et in quarto folio pro- "cessus totius negotii." Accordingly, on folio 135 v°, the documents relating to the arbitration of the Lambeth business begin, and at folio 136 v° the legal argument. The note at the bottom of the page is: "Bene serventur quaterni isti, "et salvo reportentur Cantuariam, "sunt etenim xiiii. folia." Only eight folios now remain. It is clear from this that the latter portion of the book has been detached, and only partially restored to the Convent Library.

A.D. 1199. After Nov. 18. The archbishop now asserts that the possessions of the convent were fraudulently obtained from the kings and nobles: they are forbidden to apply for justice except in the king's court.

lorum acerbitate, et malitiæ evidentia fere deficientes, ad matrem nostram sanctam Romanam ecclesiam ex more recurrimus, ut nostrorum ei malorum causa et materia reseratis, sic saltem ad filiorum solamen, brachium suæ virtutis exponat. Innotescat igitur vestræ paternitati, dominum archiepiscopum nostrum ad hoc totis viribus elaborare, ut libertatibus quibus nos de novo spoliavit, Cantuariensis ecclesia perpetuo privetur. Unde et palam, quod tamen verecundi dicimus, asserit, regi fuisse fraudulenter subtracta, quæ toti regno constat ab ecclesia Cantuariensi de regum et magnatum terræ donatione per quingentos annos fuisse possessa. Interdicto præterea publico regia auctoritate nobis facto, ne litem super damnis et gravaminibus quæ sub appellatione, et etiam post litteras commissionis apostolicæ, sustinuimus, extra curiam ejusdem moveamus, non ad pacem sed omnium malorum occasionem, capellæ videlicet reædificationem compellimur et compellamur. Sanctitatem igitur vestram humiliter deposcimus, quatenus filiæ vestræ Cantuariensi ecclesiæ jam imminentem attendentes subversionem, quanto instantius in ejus insistitur excidium, tanto ei benignius, intuitu Dei et beati martyris Thomæ, consilii subsidium, auxilii præmium impendere dignemini. Valete.

After Nov. 18. The convent trust in Master Hugo.

DXLII. Magistro H. advocato suo Conventus Cantuariensis.

Universalis ecclesiæ claritati licet prudentiæ vestræ sollicitudo et inviolabilis justitiæ cultus excellenter proficiant et prospiciant singulariter, tamen Cantuariensem ecclesiam uberiore mensura, fœcundiore copia, quasi imber temporaneus, et quasi roris stillæ super gramina, irroraverunt. Quæ quamvis violentioribus continuæ tribulationis quatiatur procellis, in odore unguentorum vestrorum currens, ad clementiæ vestræ respectum sedulo dependet intuitu, spirat et suspirat affectu. Hosea vi. 3. Deut. xxxii. 2. Cant. i. 3.

Since the prior returned, the delegates have visited Canterbury; and the archbishop has demanded that the monks shall throw themselves on his mercy.

Postquam igitur, reverende domine, a præsentia vestra prior noster recessit, convenientes juxta formam commissionis coram datis mediatoribus, propositis utrobique diversis querelis et gravaminibus, ad ultimum postulavit dominus archiepiscopus, ut accedentes ad pedes ejus, causam penitus misericordiæ suæ resignaremus. Nos autem hujus sermonis venena et decipulas perpendentes, persensimus non esse bonum. Non enim sine injuria adversarii consiliis adquiescitur, nec tute res committitur, ubi discrimen metuitur. Nam quod improbe in Romanæ ecclesiæ ludibrium præsumitur, post tantas Cantuariensis ecclesiæ tribulationes et ærumnas, etiam nunc dominus archiepiscopus ad illius capellæ toties damnatæ irrevocabili intentione elaborat reparationem, tradita una sibi, non obstan-

tibus libertatibus vel privilegiis, interius et exterius ecclesiæ dispositione. Quia igitur discretionis vestræ examini amodo reservatur negotii nostri progressus, pietatis vestræ viscera, et cordium medullitus suspiriis, et corporum humiliatione, flagitamus, ne in Cantuariensis ecclesiæ præjudicium, licet tam pertinaciter et improbe in ejus insistant subversionem, non permittatis aliquid prævalere. Totius enim injustitiæ nulla capitalior est, quam eorum qui, cum maxime decipiunt, hoc agunt ut boni esse videantur. Venena enim non dantur, nisi melle circumlita, et illa pernicies acerbius grassatur, quæ sub boni prætextu astutius potest subreptare. Vestræ igitur nos funditus committentes miserationi, rogamus, ut intuitu Dei et beati martyris Thomæ, quem tutelæ vestræ statuistis advocatum, libertates nostras, quas ipse sanguine suo sanxit, non permittatis exinaniri. Quia nisi nobis reliqueritis benedictionem, derelinquetur Cantuariensis ecclesia sicut umbraculum in vinea, et sicut tugurium in cucumerario. Valete.

A.D. 1199. After Nov. 18.

He demands also the entire administration of the convent.

They commend themselves to the kindness of Hugo.

Is. i. 8.

DXLIII. Veronensi [1] episcopo Conventus Cantuariensis.

After Nov. 18.

Gaudemus in Christo, et gratias agimus Domino gratiæ ipsius, quia inter multos quos in ecclesiam Cantuariensem contulit honores, hanc etiam præstitit eminentiam, ut ei vestram dignaretur præbere præsentiam. Nam personam vestram videre, religionis exemplum et certam veritatis formam est tenere. Cujus omnia verba quæ nobis dixit et scripsit, ita in nostro sensu superni amoris melle condita sapuerunt, ut non per linguam carnis, sed per Ipsum Spiritum cuncta viderentur esse prolata: calamo cum carmine ex abundantia cordis tinxerant, quod nobis tanto caritatis ardore refundebant. Hinc ergo cunctis poterit esse perspicuum, quantum pretiosum Christi martyrem Thomam diligitis, qui tanto venerationis officio ecclesiam in qua passus est et ejus filios amatis. Hac igitur ratione ducti, fiduciam magnam accepimus defendendæ per vos Cantuariensis ecclesiæ libertatis, dignitatis et pacis. Sane, ut ecclesiæ nostræ tanto patrono et fratri conjunctissimo familiariter aliquid et aperte loquamur, duo sunt ad quæ domini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi adversus nos et ecclesiam Cantuariensem principaliter tendit intentio, videlicet ut de rebus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ nobilissimam fundare possit ecclesiam, sexaginta vel septuaginta canonicorum præbendariorum, quam nomine capellam fallaci facit nuncupari. Alterum est, quod statum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, omnia antiquitatis jura et consuetudines ad libitum suum innovando, molitur, illud de-

The convent rejoice in their personal knowledge of the bishop of Verona.

They explain the designs of the archbishop.

fo. 133 v°

[1] Cardinal Adelard, bishop of Verona, 1188–1211.

A.D. 1199. After Nov. 18. He wants to get the sole administration of their church into his hands.

poscens a nobis, ut omnia statuta majorum archiepiscoporum, indulgentias sedis apostolicæ et privilegia, et cartas regum Angliæ, quibus in libertatibus et jure tanta ecclesia, tamque præclara, a suis initiis fundata est, voluntatis suæ dispositioni traderemus, ut pro libitu suo nova scita tanquam meliora procedant, antiqua quasi inutilia, convulsa depereant. Nec est contentus ordinatione monasticæ disciplinæ, quam in prædicta ecclesia beatissimi patres Gregorius et Augustinus ordinaverunt, qui etiam a Deo commendati sunt et honorati, sed alio intellectu et ordine regulam Sancti Benedicti æstimat exponendam, quasi viro apostolicæ eruditionis Gregorio possit esse doctior, aut merito sanctitatis Anglorum apostolo Augustino clarior. Et quidem de ædificanda ecclesia tam nobili de rebus alterius ecclesiæ, bene novit eruditio vestra quid jura præscribunt, quia non licet archiepiscopo vel episcopo, sine consensu cleri vel ecclesiæ suæ, de rebus ecclesiæ sibi commissæ aliquid magnum ordinare, innovare, alienare vel mutare. Nulla etiam ecclesia locupletari debet cum alterius jactura. Quanta etiam inde scandala provenerint, et nova multiplicentur in dies, orbis Latinus agnovit et Anglia congemuit. De eo vero quod statum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ contendit evertere, et omnia in novam formam et sibi placitam transformare, quam sit rationi contrarium, omnis qui audit, advertit. Rationis namque ordo deposcit, ut qui statuta sua a suis successoribus vult observari, ipse prædecessorum suorum statuta inviolabiliter faciat custodiri.

No bishop can undertake any important work without the assent of his church.

DXLIV. De omnibus ecclesiis.

A.D. 1199. Aug. 21. The pope commands the archbishop to restore to the convent the churches upon their manors, or to satisfy them on the subject.

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Huberto, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ex conquestione dilectorum filiorum prioris et monachorum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ nobis innotuit, quod tu ecclesias de maneriis ipsorum, quæ quondam a regibus Angliæ cum terris et aliis pertinentiis suis, et a cæteris fidelibus ipsis monachis pia devotione collata fuerunt, sicut in eorum scriptis authenticis plenius continetur, et etiam per privilegia sedis apostolicæ confirmata, in grave illorum præjudicium detines et resignare contemnis. Volentes igitur eisdem monachis in suo jure, sicut tenemur, adesse, fraternitatem tuam rogamus atque monemus, per apostolica scripta præcipiendo, mandantes, quatenus prædictas ecclesias cum pertinentiis suis, conquerentibus restituere non omittas, vel talem eisdem satisfactionem impendas, quod propter hoc justa non remaneat materia conquerendi. Datum Laterani, xii. kalendas Septembris, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

DXLV. Litteræ revocatoriæ super causa judicibus commissa.

A.D. 1200. May 21.

Jam toties nos oportuit super negotio Cantuariensis ecclesiæ mandata mandatis, et litteras litteris inculcare, ut vix quæstionis hujusmodi, non tam inveteratæ quam veteris, audiamus absque rubore fieri mentionem. Cum ergo monachi Cantuarienses, sicut accepimus, ad defensionem partis suæ sufficientes et idoneos advocatos contra venerabilem fratrem nostrum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum nequeant in Anglicana provincia invenire, et archiepiscopus ipse, quemadmodum nobis suis litteris intimavit, mallet etiam causam in nostra præsentia, quam in Anglia ventilari, si copia ibidem testium abundaret, et paratus sit libenter excipere quod per sententiam statuemus; nolentes ut lites quibus finem imponi cupimus, fiant nostris temporibus immortales, eidem archiepiscopo præcipiendo mandavimus, ut nisi a vobis super eodem negotio delegatis, in eadem sit causa juxta nostri tenorem mandati processum, litteris ad vos obtentis vel aliis non obstantibus, usque ad festum Beati Martini proximo affuturum, per se ipsum vel per sufficientem et idoneum responsalem, omni contradictione, excusatione et appellatione cessantibus, nostro se conspectui repræsentet, super iis quæ adversus eum monachi duxerint proponenda; ut super restitutionibus ecclesiarum de Muneketuna, de Aestria, de Aeinesford et de Mapeham cum pertinentiis suis, et super donationibus aliarum quæ sunt per eorum maneria constitutæ; super exeniis etiam, curia et marisco et aliis post appellationes ad sedem apostolicam factas, tam nostro quam prædecessorum nostrorum tempore ablatis, exhibiturus eis justitiæ complementum: et si quid contra eos habuerit quæstionis, ab ipsis nihilominus justitiam recepturus, ut sopita inter archiepiscopum et monachos materia litigandi, et ipse illos tanquam filios diligat et honoret, et ipsi ei tanquam patri et pastori animarum suarum reverenter et filialiter obsequantur: scituri pro certo, quod cum præmissum diem peremptorium assignemus, si qua partium ad terminum ipsum, sicut præmissum est, contempserit præsentare, nos nihilominus in eodem negotio quantum de jure poterimus, procedemus. Ut autem in hac parte tam archiepiscopi quam monachorum parcatur laboribus et expensis, juxta postulationem ipsius archiepiscopi, receptionem testium vobis duximus committendam, nobis cæteris reservatis. Quocirca discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus testes quos utraque partium duxerit producendos, fideliter recipere procuretis, et examinare prudenter, et depositiones eorum in scriptis redactas, vestris

The pope cannot hear of the cause of the convent without a blush.

Both parties are willing to have it settled at Rome.

If the delegates cannot decide, the archbishop is to appear in person or by proxy on the feast of S. Martin next ensuing: to do and to receive justice.

If either party be absent, the pope will proceed to a sentence notwithstanding.

fo. 134 r°.

The delegates are to hear evidence,

A.D. 1200. May 21. and transmit it under seal to the pope.

sigillis inclusas nobis mittentes, proximum festum beati Martini peremptorium terminum partibus assignetis, ad quem recepturæ, Domino volente, sententiam, nostro se conspectui repræsentent. Volumus autem ut in Cantuariensi ecclesia fiat testium receptio, cum alius locus non possit partibus competentior assignari. Quod si omnes, *etc.* Datum Laterani xii. kalendas Junii, pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

In eundem modum Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, "Jam toties," etc., *ut supra.*

DXLVI. Domino papæ Conventus Cantuariensis.

Between July and October.

The convent are compelled to act somewhat inconsistently by the inconsistent tactics of the enemy.

Quia juxta temporum varietates et rerum vicissitudines, humanæ consuetudinis est hominum vicissim variare necessitates, secundum diversitatem vexationum nostrarum, quarum facies sæpe et subito in diversa mutatur, majestati vestræ et varia scribere, et ab eadem compellimur pro temporum qualitate diversa postulare. Sane cum sanctitati vestræ nuper scripserimus prout rei veritas tunc temporis se habuit, quod in partibus nostris, scilicet, defensionis copiam sufficientem invenire non potuimus, ideoque litteras revocatorias nobis indulgeri petivimus: dum igitur eas aliquamdiu expectavimus, venerunt ex insperato, causa visitandi martyrem nostrum, scholares quidam de partibus transmarinis: qui videntes angustias animæ nostræ, et martyris intuitu miseriarum nostrarum miserti, pro eo facti sunt oratores, quem supplices venerant adorare. Cumque diutius et diebus multis coram judicibus delegatis fuisset de negotio disputatum, tandem litteræ illæ revocatoriæ supervenerunt, quibus ideo usi non sumus, quia jam secundum tenorem priorum litterarum adeo fuerat processum, quod jam facta erat productio testium super spoliatione nostra, et disputatio et conclusio, solaque instabat sententia de restitutione ecclesiarum et exeniorum nobis facienda vel deneganda. Quia ergo in litteris posterioribus continebatur clausula illa, scilicet, *si nondum est secundum tenorem mandati nostri in causa processum,* et quia sperabamus quod nobis esset restitutio facienda per priores litteras, cum sufficienter probata esset possessio et spoliatio; per secundas autem litteras, [si] fuissent exhibitæ, res nimiam dilationem capiebat, et quia non erat in posterioribus litteris de cogendis testibus, sine quorum coactione in aliis quæstionibus, de curia scilicet et marisco, sufficientem testium copiam non possemus habere, ideo periculosum visum est nobis et damnosum per litteras illas procedere. Unde consultius æstimavimus eas penes nos retinere, quam in damnum et detrimentum nostrum ostendere. Quicquid igitur sanctitati vestræ

Certain scholars from abroad have interceded for them.

They have not produced the letters revoking the delegation, because the delegates have already heard evidence, and the convent hope for a favourable sentence.

a quocunque hominum fuerit suggestum, coram Eo loquimur et testificamur. Qui perdet omnes qui loquuntur mendacium, et testem falsum non relinquet impunitum, iste fuit negotii progressus, quem retulimus; hæc est rei veritas, quam vobis scripsimus. Hæc est conscientiæ nostræ puritas, quam sanctitati vestræ significamus. Cæterum, quia judices delegati diem nobis de reformanda pace, feriam quintam ante festum Sanctorum Symonis et Judæ constituerunt, ita quod si ad diem illam pax non provenerit, relationem ad vos fieri decreverunt, sanctitati vestræ supplicamus et obsecramus in Domino Jesu, quatenus interim si quis a vobis aliquid petierit, quod causæ nostræ præjudicium possit generare, serenitati vestræ placeat illud differre, donec litteras judicum et nostras inde receperitis, et de negotii progressu veritatem plenius audiatis. Vitam et incolumitatem vestram conservet Omnipotens Dominus, ut quemadmodum cœpistis, ita et ambuletis, et laboranti ecclesiæ paternæ consolationis dexteram porrigatis.

Ps. v. 6.
Prov. xix. 5.

A.D. 1200. Between July and October.

The delegates have fixed Oct. 26 for the final hearing of the case. They beg the pope to do nothing until he has heard from them again.

DXLVII. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.

About Oct. 26.

Ita convenit inter dominum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et conventum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, salva in omnibus sedis apostolicæ reverentia: scilicet quod de quæstionibus inter eos motis, scilicet de capella erigenda vel non erigenda apud Lamhee, et de quatuor ecclesiis, videlicet de Muneketuna, de Aestria, de Mapeham, et de Aeinesfordia; et de exeniis quorundam maneriorum conventus, et de mariscis, et de quibusdam piscariis et moris, compromiserunt in tres judices a domino papa delegatos, scilicet dominum Lincolniensem, dominum Eliensem, et dominum abbatem Sancti Eadmundi; aut si dominus Lincolniensis interesse non poterit, in decanum Lincolniensem, magistrum Rogerum; promittentes quod ipsi eorum arbitrio stabunt, plenam potestatem eis committentes, ut de prædictis quæstionibus secundum voluntatem suam inter eos amicabiliter componant; et quod ab ipsis arbitris provisum fuerit, firmiter observabunt. In hujus rei testimonium et robur firmitatis, utraque pars sigillum suum huic scripto fecit apponi. His testibus, domino episcopo Rofensi, et domino Wigorniensi; abbatibus etiam de Abbendune, de la Hyde, de Waltham, et Aeinesham, de Certeseia, de Bello, de Boxeleia; H. Cantuariensi, G. Cameracensi, R. Norhamtunensi, W. Roffensi, et W. Glocestrensi archidiaconis, et multis aliis, in capitulo Cantuariensi præsentibus, ubi hæc coram priore et conventu agebantur.

The archbishop and the convent choose the bishop of Ely, the dean of Lincoln, and the abbot of S. Edmund's, as arbitrators on the questions mooted between them.

A.D. 1200. Nov. 6.

DXLVIII. In Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.[1]

The arbitrators decide, that the archbishop may build at Lambeth, not on the forbidden site, a church of Præmonstratensian canons, and endow it with a hundred pounds a year, from the revenues of the see, the churches of the convent excepted. He is not to ordain, consecrate, or hold councils in it.

fo. 134 v°.

Eustachius Elyensis episcopus, et Samson abbas Sancti Eadmundi, Rogerus decanus Lincolniensis loco domini Hugonis Lincolniensis episcopi constitutus, electi arbitri a domino archiepiscopo Huberto et priore et conventu Cantuariensis ecclesiæ juxta formam compromissi, pro bono pacis et tranquillitatis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, providimus et ordinavimus; ut si placet domino Cantuariensi ædificare ecclesiam apud Lamhee, hoc modo fiat: ædificet ubi voluerit in area illa, dummodo non super fundamenta operis illius, quod auctoritate domini papæ dirutum est. Instituantur in ecclesia illa canonici ordinis Præmonstratensis, ita quod non sint plures quam viginti, nec pauciores quam tredecim. Hanc ecclesiam poterit ditare dominus archiepiscopus usque ad quantitatem centum librarum annuarum, de ecclesiis ad ipsum pertinentibus, vel de aliis bonis quæ possidet nomine Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, exceptis ecclesiis de Muneketuna, de Aeistria, de Ainesford, de Mapeham, et ecclesiis quæ sunt in maneriis monachorum, et exceptis aliis rebus, quæ coram nobis in quæstionem deductæ sunt. Erit autem ecclesia ista mediocris, juxta præfatum numerum personarum, et prædictam dotem modificata, habito respectu ad morem et mediocritatem ædificandi ecclesiam, quibus utuntur canonici ejusdem ordinis. Sane ad tollendam omnem materiam suspicionis et scandali, pro bono pacis et tranquillitatis perpetuæ providimus, ut in ecclesia illa archiepiscopi ordines, aut concilia, aut consecrationes episcoporum aut benedictiones abbatum non celebrent, aut chrisma conficiant. Nec hoc in derogationem dignitatis archiepiscopalis aut juris ordinatum est, sed pro commodo tranquillæ pacis, præsertim cum secundum auctoritatem canonum in quibusdam cœnobiis missæ publicæ non sunt celebrandæ, ne turbetur quies religiosorum. Nec[1] faciant archiepiscopi congregationem canonicorum sæcularium et dotent de bonis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, sine assensu conventus, aut sanioris aut majoris partis conventus. Ad robur et firmitatem status istius in perpetuum observandi, dominus archiepiscopus litteris suis patentibus approbabit hoc arbitrium nostrum, et conventus similiter. Procurabunt etiam dominus archiepiscopus et conventus, bona fide et sine omni malo ingenio, apud dominum papam et apud dominum regem, ut et ipsi hoc ipsum confir-

II. Decr. xviii. q. ii. c. 6.

He is not to build or endow a secular college.

Both parties are to confirm this sentence by letters patent;

[1] Marginal note in the thirteenth century hand: "Not. expressum "contra petitionem archiepiscopi, "cum in præcedentibus sit expressum quid in loco prædicto "possit construi, et hoc de alio "loco sit intelligendum."

ment. Procurabunt etiam cum omni diligentia, bona fide, apud suffraganeos Cantuariensis ecclesiæ et majora collegia Cantuariensis provinciæ, quod sigilla sua huic arbitrio apponent. His fideliter peractis et efficaciter procuratis, procedat res sicut præordinatum est. De ecclesiis autem ita disposuimus, quod clerici qui eas tenent, habeant eas quoad vixerint, scilicet Symon Wellensis archidiaconus ecclesiam de Muneketun, sub annua pensione decem aureorum: magister Radulfus de Sancto Martino ecclesiam de Aestria, cum annua pensione sex aureorum: Virgilius ecclesiam de Mapeham, sub annua pensione unius aurei, eleemosynariæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, solvendorum: dominus archiepiscopus Johannes quondam Lugdunensis ecclesiam de Aeinesford tenebit pacifice quoad vixerit. Post mortem vero Symonis, in ecclesia de Muneketune, percipiet sumptibus suis et laboribus præfata eleemosynaria, nomine beneficii, medietatem decimarum et aliorum pertinentium excepto altaragio. Reliqua vero medietas cum altaragio remanebit in donatione domini archiepiscopi et suorum successorum. In ecclesia de Æistreia sic fiet post mortem Radulfi. Virgilio autem decedente, præfata eleemosynaria percipiet sumptibus suis et laboribus in ecclesia de Mapeham, nomine beneficii, tertiam partem decimarum et aliorum pertinentium, excepto altaragio, quod cum residuo remanebit in donatione domini archiepiscopi et suorum successorum. In ecclesia de Einesford, post obitum jam dicti Lugdunensis archiepiscopi similiter fiet. Nomine vero altaragii intelligimus omnia mobilia ecclesiæ legata, et oblationes omnes, et decimationes præter decimas bladi, leguminis et fœni. Terras autem et terrarum redditus, et capellarum pensiones, ad altaragium dicimus non pertinere. Capellarum autem, cum vacaverint, super iis quæ eis vacantibus ad matricem ecclesiam pertinere noscuntur, talis fiat distributio, qualis et aliorum pertinentium dictarum ecclesiarum, cum capellæ sint de pertinentiis earundem ecclesiarum. Quod autem dicimus de medietate vel de tertia decimarum prædictarum ecclesiarum, intelligimus de illis tantum quæ in contentionem coram nobis deductæ sunt, aliis in antiquo suo statu manentibus. Omnia vero quæ percipient monachi in prædictis ecclesiis, in usus pauperum expendantur, ita quod non minuantur aut subtrahantur ob hoc quæ prius assignata fuerant eleemosynariæ. De exeniis quorundam maneriorum conventus ita disposuimus, ut dominus archiepiscopus Hubertus sit in possessione eorum quoad vixerit, salvo in omnibus jure monachorum post ejus obitum, si quod habent, in petitorio seu possessorio, super eisdem exeniis, nisi communi consensu aliter inter se interim statuerint. De mariscis et moris et piscariis sic erit: eligantur

A.D. 1200. Nov. 6. and to obtain the confirmation of the king, the pope and the bishops.

The rectors of the alienated churches are to retain them for life on certain conditions; and after their death the patronage is to be divided between the convent and the archbishop.

The xenia are to remain with the archbishop for life.

A.D. 1200. Nov. 6.

fo. 135 r°.

The question of the marshes, moors and fisheries is to be decided by a jury.

de communi assensu viri boni et fide digni, duodecim aut plures, qui veritatem super his melius noverunt, et fidelius voluerint testimonium perhibere veritati; et jurati dicant, ad quam potius partium, prædicta de jure pertineant, et stetur dicto omnium aut majoris partis. Dominus archiepiscopus præcipiet illis sub interminatione anathematis, ut verum dicant bona fide et sine acceptione personæ. Hæc autem arbitrati sumus, salva in omnibus apostolicæ sedis auctoritate et reverentia. Factum est autem hoc arbitrium anno Incarnationis Dominicæ M°.CC°.; anno pontificatus domini Innocentii tertii, summi pontificis, tertio; regni regis Johannis secundo, viii°. idus Novembris, apud Westmonasterium.

After Nov. 16.

DXLIX. Innocentio summo pontifici, E. Eliensis episcopus, et abbas Sancti Ædmundi et Rogerus decanus Lincolniensis.

The arbitrators transmit the final award to the pope, and pray him to confirm it.

Cum jam inter venerabilem patrem archiepiscopum, et priorem et monachos Cantuarienses, super capella de Lamhee ædificanda vel non, exeniis etiam et quibusdam aliis, felicis memoriæ Hugonis quondam Lincolniensi episcopo, necnon et mihi Eliensis ecclesiæ ministro humili, et mihi abbati Sancti Ædmundi a vestra sanctitate commissa fuisset; in ipsa fuit cum omni diligentia ac devotione, cum multorum discretorum virorum deliberatione consilii, quatenus decuit, juxta mandatum vestræ sublimitatis processum. Tandem vero post multas utriusque partis rationes et allegationes, præfati archiepiscopus et monachi in nos tres, super prædictis omnibus quæ in contentione venerant, compromittere decreverunt. Nos vero perpetuam pacem ac tranquillitatem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ æstuanti desiderantes affectu, Dei timore præ oculis habito, prout melius scivimus ac potuimus, sicut in tenore scripti nostri, quod vestræ paternitati transmittimus, continetur superius, super iis quæ præmisimus diligentius arbitrati; clementiæ vestræ devotissime supplicantes, quatenus, si placet, secundum quod vestræ circumspectionis prudentia viderit expedire, prædictum arbitrium, ad sedandam discordiam et pacem perpetuam observandam, dignemini confirmare. Conservet vos Deus ecclesiæ Suæ sanctæ per tempora longiora.

After Nov. 16.

DL. Innocentio summo pontifici Hubertus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis.

The archbishop informs the pope that

Cum cognitionem causæ quæ inter me et dilectos filios priorem et monachos ecclesiæ Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariensis, super capella de Lamhee reædificanda, vertebatur, venerabilibus

fratribus Hugoni bonæ memoriæ Lincolniensi et Eustachio Eliensi episcopis, et Samsoni abbati Sancti Eadmundi, vestra sanctitas delegasset; nos potius quæ pacis sunt quam quæ belli affectantes, ante omnia juxta quod præceperatis sæpius de concordia tractavimus, nec profecimus, pacem quæsivimus et non invenimus. Judices quoque vestri, adjunctis sibi episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, virisque religiosis et Deum timentibus, sæpius cum multa sollicitudine et diligentia juxta mandati vestri formam ad idem laborantes, se voti sui finem quem voluerunt non esse assecutos doluerunt. Forsitan autem hoc ea accidit ratione, quia utraque pars proposito suo eo fortius et vehementius inhæsit, quoniam causam justissimam fovere et Deo se obsequium in hoc præstare credebat. Ego autem dum propositum antecessoris mei, quod variis necessitatibus impeditum est compleri, exequi volens cum indemnitate Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, cui divina miseratione præsum, in honore scilicet beatorum martyrum Stephani et Thomæ erigere studui; illi autem dum prædictæ ecclesiæ nostræ Cantuariensis jura servare, ejusque indemnitati prospicere laboraverunt, timentes, ut reor, ubi non erat timor: studiis quidem ducebamur dissimilibus et diversis, sed zelo non dissimili. Deinde cum diu funem traxissemus contentiosum, tandem placuit Altissimo, labores ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis misericorditer respicienti, nubilum jurgiorum nostrorum serenare, litibusque nostris finem imponere.

Ps. cxviii. 23. A Domino factum est istud, et fuit mirabile in oculis multorum. Ubi enim omnes de concordia tractantes defecerant, ubi fortius ad conflictum nos accinxeramus, ex insperato factus est repente de cœlo sermo pacis, adveniente Spiritu Sancto, ut inter nos pacem mitteret, gladium tolleret. De communi itaque consensu in judices vestros, Deo disponente, [com]promisimus, quod tam super capella de Lamhee, quam super aliis articulis in litigium coram eis deductis, eorum staremus arbitrio, salva in omnibus apostolicæ sedis auctoritate et reverentia. Ipsi autem in hunc modum sunt arbitrati: "In nomine Patris et Filii " et Spiritus Sancti, Amen, etc.," *ut supra*. Vestræ igitur supplico sanctitati, ut, pro pace et tranquillitate Cantuariensis ecclesiæ in posterum servanda, præmissum arbitrium confirmare dignetur.

A.D. 1200. After Nov. 16. his commission was not successful in settling the case.

Each party held his own cause to be most worthy.

By Divine grace the quarrel is settled.

Both parties joined in choosing the delegates for arbitrators.

He transmits the final award.

DLI. INNOCENTIO SUMMO PONTIFICI CONVENTUS CANTUARIENSIS. After Nov. 16.

Cum causæ cognitionem quæ vertebatur inter dominum et patrem nostrum Hubertum, Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, et nos, super capella de Lamhee reædificanda, viris venerabilibus Hugoni bonæ memoriæ Lincolniensi, et Eustachio Eliensi epi-

The convent inform the pope that his commission was not able to

A.D. 1200. After Nov. 16. settle the case. fo. 135 v°.

scopis, et Samsoni abbati Sancti Æadmundi, vestra sanctitas delegasset; nos a claustri silentio simplices et juris ignari ad litem evocati, grave pondus belli imbecilles et inviti diu sustinuimus. Verum quia pacem, quam a sæculi tumultu fugientes quæsivimus, super omnia affectavimus, juxta sanctitatis vestræ mandatum cum omni diligentia quæ pacis sunt semper quæsivimus, nec tamen profecimus, licet ad hoc quoque multi viri et magni, tam sæculares quam religiosi, nobis collaborarent; quam tamen non impedivit partium obstinata voluntas, sed zelus justitiæ, quam utraque partium se fovere credebat. Dominus enim noster archiepiscopus, diligenter exequi volens quod ad honorem beatorum martyrum Stephani et Thomæ facere disposuerat, nec satis perpendens scandalum pusillorum quod inde imminebat, gratissimum in hoc se præstare Deo fortasse obsequium; nos autem, præter scandalum infirmorum quod imminebat in prædictæ ecclesiæ erectione, Cantuariensis ecclesiæ ruinam indubitanter prævidentes, præelegimus potius pro matris nostræ liberatione occumbere, quam illius subversioni consentire. Deinde post modestæ contentionis dissensiones, placuit Altissimo Cantuariensis ecclesiæ bellum plusquam civile, in sinceræ dilectionis affectum convertere, et amaram jurgiorum contentionem in dulce pacis studium commutare. A Domino siquidem factum istud, quod et ideo est mirabile, quod ante videbatur impossibile. Pium itaque propositum utriusque partis sic dignata est Divina clementia remunerare, ut si partium pius error a tramite rectitudinis educebat, tolleretur, et ad contrarios fines tendentes, ad eundem gaudentes faceret pervenire. Ut enim post longum et frequentem tractatum de concordia nulla spes pacis jam restabat, et se solito fortius partes ad conflictum accingerent, factus est repente sermo pacis, et contrariarum voluntatum mutatio, ab Eo in Cujus manu corda sunt regum et pontificum, ut in spiritu lenitatis Dominus pacem inter nos mitteret, et gladium amoveret. De communi itaque consensu in judices vestros nos, Deo disponente, compromisimus, quod tam super capella de Lamhee, quam super aliis articulis in litigium coram eis deductis, eorum staremus arbitrio, salva in omnibus apostolicæ sedis auctoritate et reverentia. Ipsi autem in hunc modum sunt arbitrati: "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus "Sancti," etc.; *ut supra*. Vestræ igitur supplicamus sanctitati, quanta possumus devotione, ut, pro pace et tranquillitate Cantuariensis ecclesiæ in posterum servanda, præmissum arbitrium confirmare dignetur.

By Divine grace the quarrel is ended.

Ps. cxviii. 23.

Prov. xxi. 1.

The delegates were chosen to arbitrate.

The convent transmit the final award.

DLII. Arbitrium et confirmatio ejus.[1]

A.D. 1201. June 30.

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri archiepiscopo, et dilectis filiis priori et capitulo Cantuariensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quod misericors et miserator Dominus cum iratus fuerit misericordiæ recordetur, per ea quæ circa Cantuariensem ecclesiam contigisse nuper accepimus, et gaudemus, colligitur evidenter. Ad cujus tranquillitatem et pacem pius Dominus benigne respiciens, ne tentaretur super id quod posset portare, per veterem sed inveteratam diebus nostris querelam, pro qua tollenda de medio tam prædecessorum nostrorum quam nostra rescripta sæpius emanarunt, ad unitatem spiritus et vinculum pacis reduxit demum animos dissidentes, propulsata plusquam fraterna discordia, et optata pace pariter reformata. Sane, sicut venerabilis frater Eustachius Eliensis episcopus, et dilecti filii abbas Sancti Eadmundi et decanus Lincolniensis, suis nobis litteris intimarunt, cum causam quæ inter vos super erigenda capella vel non erigenda apud Lamhee, aliisque capitulis vertebatur in scripto nostro plenius designatis, eidem episcopo et abbati, et bonæ memoriæ Hugoni Lincolniensi episcopo, duxerimus committendam; ipsi juxta mandatum nostrum in ea quatenus decuit, cum omni diligentia processerunt: tandem vero, post multas rationes et allegationes utrinque productas, placuit vobis, salva in omnibus sedis apostolicæ reverentia, super motis hinc inde quæstionibus subponere vos arbitrio prædictorum, ita quod si præfatus Lincolniensis interesse non posset, dictus decanus defectum suppleret ipsius; collata eis potestate plenaria de mutuis quæstionibus juxta voluntatem suam inter vos amicabiliter componendi: convenit insuper inter vos, sub cautione scripturæ nobis exhibitæ, sigillis vestris etiam roboratæ, quod ipsorum arbitrium firmiter servaretis. Et quoniam ipsi, tanquam viri timorem Dei habentes præ oculis, perpetuam pacem et quietem præfatæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ ferventi desiderabant affectu, prout sciverunt et etiam potuerunt, super iis quæ in contentionem venerant, arbitrati fuere, sicut in eorum rescripto nobis transmisso plenius continetur: quod de verbo ad verbum præsentibus litteris

Ps. cxi. 4. Hab. iii. 2.

1 Cor. x. 13.

Eph. iv. 3.

The pope recognizes the help of Divine grace in the settlement of the quarrel.

He has received the details of the arbitrators from the delegates, and reviews them.

[1] Marginal note in the same hand: "Rescriptum istarum [*i.e.*, "the preceding] litterarum est in "tertio quaterno quarti libri registri "domini Innocentii papæ tertii; et "rescriptum subsequentium, videlicet confirmationis arbitrii et "litterarum executionis arbitrii, "quas bullatas habemus." The fourth book of Innocent's Register is supposed to have perished.

A.D. 1201. June 30.

fecimus annotari, ne qua super his ambiguitas in posterum oriatur. "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, "Amen. Eustachius Eliensis episcopus, Samson abbas Sancti "Eadmundi, Rogerus decanus Lincolniensis, loco domini Lin- "colniensis episcopi constitutus, electi arbitri," etc.; *ut supra*,[1] No. dxlviii. Cæterum quia præfati arbitri et vos per nuncios et litteras vestras a nobis præmissum confirmari arbitrium instanter et suppliciter postulastis, ne videremur rectis dispositionibus aliquid difficultatis afferre, de communi fratrum consilio, ad honorem Dei, et profectum et perpetuam pacem sæpedictæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, illud quemadmodum provide factum est, ut utrinque sponte receptum, auctoritate apostolica confirmamus, et præsentis scripti patrocinio communimus; perpetuum silentium partibus et eorum successoribus imponentes super quæstionibus præsenti arbitrio terminatis, sub interminatione anathematis districtius inhibentes, ne vos vel successores vestri contra illud ullis unquam temporibus veniatis. Nulli ergo omnino hominum licitum sit hanc nostræ paginam confirmationis et inhibitionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum Ejus, se noverit incursurum. Datum Laterani, pridie kal. Julii, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

fo. 136 r°.

He confirms the final award.

A.D. 1201. June 2.

DLIII. Litteræ Innocentii papæ ad prædictos arbitros de executione arbitrii præfati.

The pope recognizes the help of Divine grace in the settlement of the quarrel.

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Eliensi episcopo, et dilectis filiis abbati Sancti Eadmundi et decano Lincolniensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quod misericors et miserator Dominus cum iratus fuerit misericordiæ recordetur, per ea quæ circa Cantuariensem ecclesiam contigisse nuper accepimus et gaudemus, colligitur evidenter. Ad cujus tranquillitatem et pacem pius Dominus benigne respiciens, ne tentaretur supra id quod possit portare per veterem sed inveteratam diebus nostris querelam, pro qua tollenda de medio tam prædecessorum nostrorum quam nostra rescripta sæpius emanaverunt, ad unitatem spiritus et vinculum pacis reduxit demum animos dissidentes, propulsata plusquam fraterna discordia, et optata pace pariter reformata. Sane, sicut vos vestris nobis litteris intimastis, cum causam quæ inter

Ps. cxi. 4. Hab. iii. 2.

1 Cor. x. 13.

Eph. iv. 3.

[1] Marginal note in the same hand as above: "ut supra, proximo folio, "c. Eustachius."

venerabilem fratrem nostrum archiepiscopum ex una parte, et dilectos filios priorem et capitulum Cantuariæ ex altera, super erigenda capella vel non erigenda apud Lambee, aliisque capitulis vertebatur in rescripto vestro plenius designatis, vobis frater Eliensis, et dilecte fili abbas Sancti Eadmundi, ac bonæ memoriæ Hugoni Lincolniensi episcopo, duxerimus committendam; vos juxta mandatum nostrum in ea, quatenus decuit, cum omni diligentia processistis. Tandem vero, post multas rationes et allegationes utrinque productas, placuit eis, salva in omnibus sedis apostolicæ reverentia, super motis hinc inde quæstionibus subponere se arbitrio vestro, ita quod si præfatus Lincolniensis interesse non posset, tu fili decane, defectum suppleres ipsius, collata vobis plenaria potestate de mutuis quæstionibus juxta voluntatem vestram inter eos amicabiliter componendi. Convenit insuper inter eos, sub cautione scripturæ nobis exhibitæ, sigillis eorum etiam roboratæ, quod firmiter arbitrium vestrum servarent. Et quoniam vos, tanquam viri timorem Dei habentes præ oculis, perpetuam pacem et quietem præfatæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ ferventi desiderabatis affectu, prout melius scivistis et etiam potuistis, super iis quæ in contentionem venerant, fuistis pariter arbitrati, sicut in vestro rescripto nobis transmisso plenius continetur. Cæterum quia vos et præfati archiepiscopus, prior, et capitulum Cantuariæ, per nuncios et litteras suas, a nobis præmissum confirmari arbitrium instanter et suppliciter postularunt, ne videremur rectis dispositionibus aliquid difficultatis afferre, de communi fratrum consilio, ad honorem Dei, et profectum et perpetuam pacem et quietem sæpedictæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, illud quemadmodum provide factum est et utrinque sponte receptum, auctoritate apostolica duximus confirmandum, et ipsum jussimus scripti nostri patrocinio communiri, perpetuum silentium partibus et earum successoribus imponentes super quæstionibus præmisso arbitrio terminatis, et sub interminatione anathematis districtius inhibentes, ne ipsi vel successores eorum contra illud ullis unquam temporibus venire præsumant. Ideoque discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus præfatam arbitrium, sicut provide factum est, et in authentico exinde a vobis confecto et nobis et vobis exhibito prospeximus contineri, faciatis a partibus, auctoritate nostra suffulti, per censuram ecclesiasticam, remoto appellationis obstaculo, inviolabiliter observari. Quod si non omnes his exequendis potueritis interesse, tu, frater episcope, cum eorum altero ea nihilominus exequaris. Datum Laterani, iv. nonas Junii, pontificatus nostri anno quarto; et fiat pax.

A.D. 1201. June 2.

He reviews the circumstances of the arbitration.

He confirms the final award;

and orders the arbitrators to enforce execution.

A.D. 1201. August 8.

DLIV. [Innocentius papa Huberto Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo.]

The pope empowers the archbishop to grant tithes to whom he pleases, saving the rights of the church of Canterbury.

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum a nobis petitur quod justum est et honestum, tam vigor æquitatis, quam ordo exigit rationis, ut id per sollicitudinem officii nostri ad debitum perducatur effectum. Eapropter, venerabilis in Christo frater, tuis justis postulationibus grato concurrentes assensu, ut decimas de terris ad tuam jurisdictionem utroque jure spectantibus, quas propriis sumptibus excolis loco vel locis quibus volueris, possis auctoritate nostra conferre; dummodo per hoc Cantuariensis ecclesia contra statuta canonum non lædatur; fraternitati tuæ præsenti pagina indulgemus. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ concessionis et confirmationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum Ejus, se noverit incursurum. Datum Segniæ, vi. idus Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

fo. 136 v°.

A.D. 1188.

DLV. [Incipit processus negotii super demolitione capellæ de Lamehe.[1]]

The statement of the wrongs of the convent laid before pope Clement III.: the alienation of the xenia, the churches of the almonry, and the manors; the foundation of the rival church.

Cum Cantuariensis ecclesia inter omnes Angliæ præfulgeret ecclesias, atque in sanguine beati Thomæ nuper fuisset exaltata; suadente diabolo, ab archipræsule suo, a quo debebat ab aliorum injuriis defendi, atrociter cœpit vexari. In primis itaque promotionis suæ initiis, subrependo quasi, xenia monachis deputata sibi usurpavit: deinde ecclesias quasdam a suo prædecessore ad refectionem pauperum monasterio concessas, atque monachorum maneria violenter invasit. Demum versutia serpentis iniqui, quod est gravius, ad subversionem monasterii, sub tacita veritate, ut posset capellam beatorum martyrum Stephani et Thomæ construere, ab apostolica sede impetravit; recedensque a loco prioris ædificii, propius matricem ecclesiam maximæ staturæ fundare cœpit, in qua ultra sexaginta canonicos instituit, de majoribus clericis Angliæ, suffraganeosque suos in ea præbendarios constituere satagit. Videntes ergo illud prior et Cantuarienses monachi, quod hæc et alia in destructionem tam nobilis et famosæ moliretur ecclesiæ, Divino Spiritu repleti, et maxime vigilantia beati martyris excitati,

[1] In margin in a hand of the thirteenth century. It is rather the case of the convent against archbishop Baldwin and the Hakington College; but the arguments are generally applicable to both cases.

antequam prædictum opus inchoaretur, opus interdixerunt, ad supremam appellaverunt sedem, et iterato eam innovaverunt; monasterium, res ipsius, prioratum et personas in protectione domini papæ ponentes, atque iter ad curiam veniendi arripuerunt. Archipræsul vero magis insolescens, quosdam suspendit, quosdam ab officiis suis deposuit, et maximas injurias intulit. Prior itaque ac monachi quidam in Curia existentes, post multos judiciorum strepitus, ab Urbano felicis memoriæ litteras impetravit. Mortuo Urbano, crevit monachorum injuria, præsulisque insolentia: plenissime rebus suis spoliati sunt sub Gregorio. Mortuo vero Gregorio, iterato sub Clemente domus eorum destructæ. Laici in eorum cellariis inducti sunt, ita quod monachi non habent unde vivant, nisi a laicis recipiant, a quibus recipere nec volunt nec debent. Heu quantus dolor! quanta miseria! quam laudabilis ecclesia ad nihilum redigitur! Doleat Romana ecclesia, ad cujus æmulationem prædicta perpetrantur, totusque mundus clamet de tam nefando scelere.

A.D. 1188. The appeal of the prior, and the violent conduct of Baldwin.

Ad honorem igitur beati martyris, sto pro Cantuariensibus monachis, circa duo principaliter insistens: scilicet, jam dicti sacrilegi operis destructionem, et ablatorum omnium plenissimam restitutionem.

The advocate demands first the destruction of the new church, and secondly, restitution.

1. Quod igitur opus jam dictum debeat dirui, hæc videntur inducere; operis illicita constructio, juris antiquioris ecclesiæ diminutio, nimia scandali et seditionis occasio, præmissa nunciatio, et subsecuta provocatio.

I. Quod igitur illicite factum debeat dirui, exemplum non indiget, verum tamen argumentum habetur, ut Cod. De legibus et constitutionibus; *Non dubium:* et Cod. Ut nemo Privatus titulos, l. ult.: et I. Decr. Dist. *Vides:* et Dist. lxv. c. ii. et iii.; et Caus. xvii. quæst. ii. c. i.

Codex, i. xiv. 5. Codex, ii. xvi. 2. I. Decr. dist. x. c. 10. II. Decr. c. xvii.

Quod autem illicite constructum sit, in primis illa ratione probatur quod in novis oratoriis construendis debet esse utilitas evidens, sicut in cæteris rebus. Argumentum, ut Digest. De constitutionibus principum, l. *In rebus:* et in Decreto, Dist. xxiii. *Communis filius*, et Dist. xxx. c. *Hæc scripsimus.*

The new church ought to be destroyed as unlawful and useless.

Dig. i. iv. 2. I. Decr. dist. xxiii. c. 10. Dist. xxx. c. 16.

At in isto oratorio nulla utilitas vertitur. Non enim est ibi utilitas Beatæ Trinitatis, id est, Cantuariensis ecclesiæ; et hoc patet. Neque archiepiscopi, quia viciniorem habet ecclesiam suam; nec populorum, quia civibus sufficiunt civitatis ecclesiæ, quæ viciniores sunt. Exteris autem non est utilitas, immo inutilitas, quia remotior eis ædificatur ista ecclesia, quam prior esset. Patet ergo, quod nulla est ibi utilitas, nisi forte quis dicat ibi verti lucrum pecuniarum: ut I. Decr. De consecratione, Dist. i. c. *Siquis basilicam.*

III. Decr. Dist. i. c. 9.

Sed ipsi dicunt, sufficit quia fit ad honorem beati Thomæ:— ad quod respondeo; Immo dehonestatur, quia ubi requiescit

A.D. 1188. The new church is unlawful and useless.

sanctum corpus ejus, habet proprium et speciale opus; nec est adeo glōriosum in toto mundo: et per istud opus intendit archiepiscopus illud primum obfuscare. Supervacuum itaque opus quantum ad omnia prædicta. Est ergo destruendum: nam et altaria superflua destruuntur, ut I. Decreti, De consecratione, Dist. i. c. *Ecclesiæ*. III. Decr. Dist. i. c. 18.

No bishop can alienate without the consent of his church.

Item, probo alia ratione, quod per tale oratorium alienatur prædium ecclesiasticum, in quo construitur. Non ergo potest fieri sine consensu et præsentia clericorum, qui in eadem ecclesia deserviunt, omnium vel majoris partis. R. ut i. Authenticorum, De alienandis aut permutandis rebus eccl., §. *Nos igitur:* et in Decr. Caus. xii. q. ii. c. *Alienationes, Sine exceptione.* Auth. Coll. ii. tit. i. 1. II. Decr. c. xii. q. ii. c. 37 et 52.

This case is not one of the exceptions to that rule.

Sed objicit adversa pars illud capitulum quod est in Causa xii. q. ii. *Bonæ rei.* Ad quod dicimus, illud partem nostram omnino juvare, et adversariorum confundere. Loquitur enim in duobus casibus specialiter; i. e. cum vult construere oratorium religionis episcopus, id est, monasterium, vel cum pro suis sepulturis eam magnificare voluerit, et tunc alii quinquagesimam, alii centesimam dare poterit. Quod igitur in illis duobus casibus specialiter permittitur, in aliis prohibetur. R. ut Digest., De conditionibus et demonstrationibus, l. *Cum ita*, et Digest., De appellationibus, l. *Cum in una:* et Digest. De contrahenda emptione, l. *Cum servo:* et I. Decr. Dist. xxv. *Qualis:* et Caus. xvi. q. i. c. *Hinc est.* Cum ergo archipræsul neque consensu clericorum suorum, i. e. monachorum, qui vicem obtinent clericorum, neque domum ædificet religiosam, neque suæ sepulturæ causa, patet quod omnino prohiberi debet. II. Decr. c. xii. q. ii. c. 74. Dig. xxxv. i. 63. Dig. xlix. i. 17. Dig. xviii. i. 63. I. Decr. Dist. xxv. c. 4. II. Decr. c. xvi. q. i. c. 39.

The archbishop being a monk has no property out of which to endow a church.

Item alio modo probatur hoc idem. Quicunque vult ædificare ecclesiam in sua proprietate, non aliter potest, nisi dotem sufficientem et ad luminaria et ad ministros ecclesiæ conferat: ut I. Decr. Caus. xvi. q. ult. c. *Piæ:* et De consecratione, Dist. i. *Nemo ecclesiam.* Cum ergo archipræsul præsens nullam habeat proprietatem, cum sit monachus, non potest aliquod prædictorum facere, igitur nec ecclesiam ædificare. Sed etsi concedatur, quod possit in prædio ecclesiæ, nonnisi centesimam dare potest, cum non ædificet monasterium, ut in superiori capitulo, *Bonæ rei,* dictum est. At per centesimam quomodo posset tantæ ecclesiæ luminaria præstare, ac septuaginta vel pluribus canonicis, et tam maximis, necessaria subministrare. Vix medietas sufficeret, immo nec archiepiscopalis redditus totus. Patet ergo ex supradictis, hujus operis illicitam esse constructionem, igitur funditus destruendam. II. Decr. c. xvi. q. vii. c. 26. III. Decr. Dist. i. c. 9. II. Decr. c. xii. q. ii. 74.

The licence of Urban was obtained by fraud.

Sed objiciunt concessionem apostolicam. Ad quod respondeo, non obstare, quia per subreptionem impetrata fuit, tacita veritate, de loci vicinitate: item, de loci mutatione, putavit enim

apostolicus in eodem loco ædificare ubi prius. Item de capella concessit; hic autem domum quasi matricem constituit. Quæ enim capella erat septuaginta canonicorum vel plurium? Liquet igitur aperte concessionem illam non opitulari; tum quia per mendacium, id est, tacita veritate de vicinitate et mutatione loci:—R. ut Cod. De diversis rescriptis, l. ult., et Cod. Si contra jus vel utilitatem publicam, l. ii. et l. *Etsi legibus*:—tum quia fines concessionis egressus est, quia tantum de capella concessit. R. ut Cod. De procuratoribus, *Si procurator ad unam:* et Digest. Mandati, *Diligenter:* et Digest. De exercitoria, l. i. Igitur non est verisimile Romanum pontificem talem et tantam ecclesiam et tam matrici ecclesiæ propinquam velle ut ædificetur concedere.

A.D. 1188. The pretended chapel is a church of seventy canons.

Codex i. xxiii. Codex i. xxii. 2 et 5. Codex ii. xiii. 10. Digest. xvii. i. 5. Digest. xiv. i.

II. Secundo loco, allegamus opus debere destrui, quia fit cum diminutione juris prioris ecclesiæ. Nempe diminuitur in oblationibus. Quod enim per populorum concursum matrici consuevit conferri ecclesiæ, huic operi occasione fraternitatis et remissionis peccatorum confertur. Item; jam dictæ ecclesiæ, quibus Cantuariensis est privata ecclesia, clericis hic institutis assignatæ sunt. Patet igitur tale opus cum diminutione prioris ecclesiæ ædificari: igitur dirui debet, quia non debet taliter fieri. R. ut in Decr. Caus. xvi. q. i. c. *Nullus*. Nimirum alteri per alteram non debet iniqua conditio inferri. R. ut Digest. De regulis juris, *Non debet alteri*. Item; ita licitum est cuiquam in suo facere vel ædificare, ne usus incommodetur alterius. R. ut Digest. De regulis juris, l. *Domum;* et Digest. De damno infecto, *Qui vias;* et Digest. Si servitus Vindicetur, *Sicut*, § *Distant*. Quamvis enim in proprio sit cuiquam permissum ædificare, tamen sic, id est, incommodo alterius non permittitur. Quiddam enim simpliciter permittitur, quod ratione adjuncti prohibetur. R. ut Digest. De postulando, l. et § ; et Digest. De condictione ob turpem causam, l. ii.; et in Decr. Caus. xxiii. qu. i. c. *Militare;* et Dist. xli. c. iiii. et iii.; et Caus. xii. qu. i. c. *Habebat*. Quinimmo etsi concedat imperator vel pontifex quid fieri, ut sine injuria alterius fiat concessisse videtur, nisi specialiter contrarium dixerit; ut Cod. De emancipationibus liberorum, *Nec avus;* et Digest. Ad Trebellianum, *Sed cum ab hærede;* et Digest. Ne quid in loco publico, l. ii. § *Si quis a principe;* et Caus. xi. qu. i. c. *Pervenit;* et Caus xxv. q. ii. *De Ecclesiasticis*.

The new church is injurious to the old, and therefore should be destroyed.

II. Decr. xvi. i. 1. Dig. l. xvii. 74. Dig. l. xvii. 61. Dig. xxxix. ii. 31. Dig. viii. v. 8. § 2. Dig. iii. i. Dig. xii. v. 2. II. Decr. xxiii. i. 5. I. Decr. xli. 4. 5. II. Decr. xii. i. 17. Codex viii. xlix. 4. Dig. xxxvi. i. 12. Dig. xliii. viii. 2. § 16. II. Decr. xi. i. 39. II. Decr. xxv. ii. 8.

Si enim non potest hæc ecclesia surgere quin gravetur altera, melius est hanc non consurgere quam alteram gravari. R. ut. Caus. xiiii. qu. v. *Denique*. Non vult enim Deus tale lucrum cum tali damno compensari, scilicet ubi malum fit ut bonum consequatur. Ubi enim una ecclesia spoliatur ut altera surgat. Nimirum sub prætextu liciti, non est committendum

II. Decr. xiv. v. 10.

A.D. 1188. illicitum. R. ut Caus. i. qu. i. *Non est putanda*; et Caus. xxxiiii. q. i. *Forte, Quod Deo;* et Causæ ejusdem, qu. iiii. c. penult. et ult.; et Caus. xiiii. qu. v. c. i. Cum igitur spoliata sit Beatæ Trinitatis ecclesia, ut probatum est, ut hæc consurgat, patet potius archipræsulem iniquitatem iniquitati addidisse, quam se in aliquo justificasse. II. Decr. i. i. 27. II. Decr. xxxiii. v. 4. II. Decr. xiv. v. 1.

Item. Episcopus rebus ecclesiæ non tanquam propriis, sed tanquam commendatis uti debet, ut ex iis cuiquam largiendi non habeat potestatem: ut Caus. xii. qu. i. c. *Episcopi*, et in consequentibus capitulis; et ejusdem Causæ, qu. ii. c. *Non habenti; Placuit; Sine exceptione;* et maxime talis episcopus, qui cum sit monachus, nihil habet unde possit quod impendit de ecclesia ecclesiæ resarcire de propriis. Quinimmo expressum loquitur Decretum in hoc casu, ut non possit episcopus de rebus ecclesiæ suæ conferre in monasterium etiam quod ædificavit; et, si fecerit, debet revocari, nisi apostolica firmet auctoritas; ut Caus. xii. qu. ult. c. *Quia Johannes.* Unde dicunt plurimi supradictum capitulum *Bonæ rei*, in Causa eadem positum esse correctum. II. Decr. xii. i. 19. II. Decr. xii. ii. 50–52. II. Decr. xii. v. 3. II. Decr. xii. ii. 74.

The new church is a cause of scandal;

III. Tertio loco allegamus, pro nobis facit nimia scandali et seditionis occasio. Scandalizatur enim in hoc facto Cantuariensis ecclesia, quinimmo tota Anglia; et, quod est gravius, etiam Romana ecclesia. Quot enim scandala, injurias, compassiones, pro maledicto isto opere passus fuerit, patiaturque quotidie prior et Cantuarienses fratres, non ignorat sanctitas vestra. Item pro facto hoc etiam abbates quidam, qui mandatum apostolicum fuerant executi, scandalizati fuerunt enormiter; quantumque fere a duobus annis retro gemitibus et ululatibus fratrum Cantuariensium sit Romana repleta ecclesia, mundus totus cognovit. Cum ergo tot scandala seditionesque ortæ sint, orianturque quotidie pro sæpedicto opere, si custos, ut deberet, archiepiscopus esset religionis et honestatis, quamvis bonum esset quod faceret, ab eo tamen fuerat abstinendum. R. ut Digest. Ad legem Corneliam de sicariis, l. plr.; et Caus. ii. qu. v. c. *Omnibus vobis etiam factum;* et Dist. xii. *Illa autem.* Nimirum per vitationem scandali licitum dicitur quod aliter non liceret, et e contrario; ut Dist. l. *De his vero;* et Dist. li. *Aliquantos;* et Dist. lxiii. *Quia sancta;* et Dist. lxxxii. *Presbyter;* et Caus. xviii. qu. ii. *Diffinimus.* Dig. xlviii. viii. II. Decr. ii. v. 19. I. Decr. xii. 11. I. Decr. l. 34. I. Decr. li. 1. I. Decr. lxiii. 28. I. Decr. lxxxii. 5. II. Decr. xviii. ii. 21.

fo. 137 v°.

and of contention.

Item. Quia seditionis et discordiæ materiam præstat, diruendum est funditus. R. Digest. De operibus publicis, l. *Opus novum.* Prohibetur enim plurimum aliquid fieri, quamvis in se bonum sit, propter malum quod inde tenetur vel potest contingere. R. ut Institut. De vi bonorum raptorum, § *Sed ne dum;* et Digest. De locis et itineribus publicis. l. i.; et Digest. De his qui effuderint et dejecerint, *Si vero,* § *Prætor;* Dig. l. x. 3. Inst. iv. ii. 1. Dig. xliii. vii. 1. Dig. ix. iii. 5 § 6.

I. Decr. xxxvii. 15. et Dist. xxxvii. *Ideo prohibetur.* Quinimmo plerumque regimine et bene etiam factum destruitur, si occasionem mali præbeat ex post facto. Ut Dist. lxiii. *Quia sancta* § 1. Ex his ergo liquet aperte quod propter materiam scandali et seditionis etiam illicite factum toleratur, et licite factum destruitur. Unde patet dictum opus unde tot scandala oriuntur fore demoliendum. A.D. 1188.

I. Decr. lxiii. 28 § 1.

IV. Quarto allegamus, quod solum sufficeret novi operis nunciatio. Quod enim post nunciationem factum est, antequam nunciatio remittatur vel pro remissa habeatur, demoliendum est omnino, etiamsi ille qui fecit, jus habeat ædificandi. Ut Digest. De operis novi nunciatione, l. *Prætor* in prin.; et idem titulus, *Ait Prætor;* et Digest. Ne quid in loco publico, l. ult; et Digest. Quod vi aut clam, l. i. Nimirum nunciatio plerumque illicitum facit quod aliter liceret; ut Digest. De edendo; *Quædam,* § *Nihil;* et Digest. Mandati, *Si hominem;* et Digest. De institoria, l. *Cuicumque,* § *Non tamen.* It has been proceeded with after denunciation and prohibition,

Dig. xxxix. i. 20 § 3. Dig. xliii. viii. 7. Dig. xliii. xxiv. 1. Dig. ii. xiii. 9 § 1. Dig. xvii. i. 30. Dig. xiv. iii. 5 § 11.

Quinimmo post denunciationem si faciat, dolo facere intelligitur, ut Digest. Quæ in fraudem creditorum, *Ait Prætor,* § *Si quis:* et Digest. De legatis præstandis bonorum possessione contra tabulas petita, l. *Virilis; Item veniunt,* § *Petitam;* et Cod. De rei vindicatione, *Si fundum.* Liquet igitur aperte opus factum post denunciationem destruendum esse. Non obstat quod beatissimæ recordationis papa Urbanus composuit, scilicet, opus hoc non posse dirui vel debere quasi sacrum. Nondum enim sacrum est antequam consecretur, et hoc a diffinitione. Sacer enim locus est qui rite per pontifices Deo consecratus est: ut Digest. De rerum divisione, l. *In tantum;* § *Sacræ;* et l. *Sacra;* et I. Institut. De rerum divisione, § *Nullius.* and it possesses no consecrated character so as to bar the prohibition.

Dig. xlii. viii. 10 § 3. Dig. xxxvii. v. 8. Dig. v. iii. 20 § 11. Codex, iii. xxxii. 17. Dig. i. viii. 6 § 3. Dig. i. viii. 9. Inst. ii. i. 7.

Item aliter probo. Semel ecclesia consecrata, iterato consecrari non debet, nisi ex causa; ut De consecratione. *Dist.* I. *Ecclesiis semel.* At hæc si posset dici ecclesia, deberet consecrari, ergo sacra vel consecrata non est. Quod consecranda non sit, clamant hæc omnia capitula De cons. dist. . At ipse respondet, licet non sit opus consecratum illa principali consecratione quæ desiderat chrismatis unctionem, tamen consecratum est illa prima sacratione quæ fit per crucis, ut sic loquar, fictionem, locique ambitionem. Ad quod respondeo, non dici ob hoc locum sacrum, sed etsi diceretur, tamen hæc sacratio non impedit destructionem si causa sit destruendi. R. ut Dist. dicta, c. i., etc. *Ecclesiæ vel altaria.*

III. Decr. i. 20.

III. Decr. i. 18.

V. Quinto loco ad causam martyris in argumentum accedit clypeus appellationis, quo quicunque oppressus se operuit, amplius feriri non poterit. Nam post appellationem interpositam nihil novi faciendum est. V. Digest. Nihil innovari appellatione interposita l. i.; et Digest. De appellationibus recipiendis The church has been proceeded with after appeal.

Digest. xlix. vii. i. Dig. xlix. v. 6.

A.D. 1188.

vel non. l. *Sciendum est;* et Cod. De appellationibus, l. iii.; et Digest. De appellationibus, l. *Constitutiones;* et Cod. Quorum appellationes non recipiuntur, l. *Ab executione;* et Digest. Qui satisdare cogantur, l. penult., § penult.; et in Decreto, Caus. ii. qu. vi. c. *Ad Romanam.* Cod. vii. lxii. 3. Dig. xlix. i. 16. Cod. vii. lxv. 5. Dig. ii. viii. II. Dec. ii. vi. 6.

Whatever 'innovation' is made after appeal is unlawful and should be annulled.

Immo si quid novi factum fuerit, irritari debet et destrui, ut Causa eadem, quæstio eadem, c. *Quoties episcopi.* Quod enim post appellationem fit ad Romanam ecclesiam, in contemptum sedis Romanæ factum videtur. Unde in statum pristinum factum debet deduci, ut Causa eadem, quæstio eadem, *Arguta.* Item canones et leges prohibent post appellationem aliquid novi fieri, ut dictum est. Ergo si factum fuerit, debet destrui et vitiari, ut Cod. De legibus et constitutionibus, *Non dubium;* et Cod. De rebus alienis non alienandis, l. ult.; et Cod. De pactis, l. *Pacta;* et in Decreto, Dist. x. *Vides;* et Dist. lxii. c. ii. et iii.; et Dist. xvii. c. ii.; et Dist. lxvii. *Subdiaconus;* et Dist. lxii. c. i. et ult.; et Dist. xxiii. *Quorundam.* Nulli enim fas esse debet velle vel posse apostolicis contraire decretis, *etc.* Ex his ergo liquido apparet, tale opus, quia contra Deum et Romanam ecclesiam factum convincitur, funditus diruendum ut memoria ejus pereat in æternum. Ib. 16. Ib. 13. Cod. i. xiv. 5. Cod. iv. li. Cod. ii. iii. 6. I. Decr. x. 10. I. Decr. lxxvii. 4. I. Decr. xxiii. 14.

The advocate proceeds to the second point, viz., restitution.

2. De secundo igitur articulo, id est de restitutione ablatorum, *etc.*, quia multiplex spoliatio facta est, et de multis et variis rebus, pariaque jura sunt constituta in omnibus, generaliter de restitutione tractemus. Dicimus ergo Cantuariensem ecclesiam, quam hic Cantuariensium collegium monachorum intelligo, plenissime omnium ablatorum restitutionem desiderare posse. Nimirum legibus et canonibus aperte convincitur restitutionem dandam quibuslibet exspoliatis: ut Cod. De unde vi, *Memineri*nt, et *Si quis in tantam;* et Cod. Finium regundorum, *Si constiterit;* et Cod. De agricolis et censitis, *Si coloni;* et Cod. Ubi causa status agi debeat, l. i.; et I. Decreti, Causa iii. q. ii., omnia capitula illius quæstionis; et Causa iii. qu. i., omnia capitula illius quæstionis. Et quia hæc quæstio per se patet, sufficiant hæc. Quod autem nuper factum est, ut laici clericis, et maxime viris præferantur religiosis, et oblationibus quas solis clericis accipere licet, quam sit absurdum nulli non patet. R. ut Causa xii. qu. i. c. *Quia sacerdotes;* et Causa xvii. qu. iv. c. i., et c. *Pervenit;* et c. *Si quis deinceps*, et in sequentibus capitulis. Scimus inermes homines non posse cum armatis rite pugnare, sic nec illi qui ejecti vel bonis suis sunt spoliati, cum illis qui in suo statu stant, et suis fruuntur amicis; et absque bonis litigare non possunt, nec sæculi quoque leges hæc sæcularibus fieri permittunt, sed prius ejectos vel oppressos aut exspoliatos cum omnibus suis restitui jubent, et postea suo tempore, sicut lex eorum Cod. viii. iv. 6. Ib. iv. 7. Cod. iii. xxxix. 4. Cod. xi. xlvii. 14. Cod. iii. xxii. 1. II. Decr. x. i. 13. xvi. vii. 3. xvii. iv. 22.

fo. 138 r°.

continet, ad placitum venire præcipiunt, nec ulla carceris custodia appellantem arceri permittunt. A.D. 1188.

Constat rescriptum cassum censeri debere, si constat eum tunc temporis quando impetravit fuisse excommunicatum. Excommunicatus enim est infamis, ut CAUSA iv. qu. i. ii., vi. qu. i. *Illi.* Infamis autem nullum civile officium gerere potest, nam nec testis esse potest, ut ii. qu. vii. *Testes:* nec accusator, ut ii. qu. i. *Prohibentur:* nec advocatus, ut. v. qu. iii. *Quia:* nec cognitor, ut xxiv. qu. i. *Miramur:* nec procurator, ut iii. q. vii. *Infamis.* Digest. DE POSTULANDO, l. *Infamia;* xxxii. qu. v. *Præceptum.* At hoc perpetuum est. Si quid ergo per tales agatur, ipso jure irritum censetur, ut xxv. qu. ii. *Imperiali;* DIST. x. *Vides;* Cod. DE LEGIBUS, *Non dubium.* Immo hoc præsertim verum est de procuratore infami, a quo si quid agitur, irritum censetur, ut Cod. DE PROCURATORIBUS, *Licet.*

It is contested that no rescript can be valid if obtained by a person excommunicate.

II. Dec. vi. i. 3.
ii. vii. 39.
ii. i. 14.
v. iii. 3.
xxiv. i. 37.
iii. vii. 1.
Dig. iii. ii. 1.
II. Decr. xxxii. v. 21.
xxv. ii. 13.
I. Dec. x. 10.
Cod. i. xiv. 5.

Sed objicietur quoniam ibi agitur de falso procuratore, de quo aliud juris est, qui mandatum habet, et aliud de infami qui mandatum non habet. Non valet objectio. Nam æque sicut falsus nullus, ita infamis nullus; quia non refert an inidoneus an nullus, ut vii. qu. i. *Falsus* in fine; xii. qu. ii. *Non liceat alicui:* xxxv. qu. vii. c. i. Immo de excommunicato planum est, quia quicquid ab eo agitur nullius momenti esse censetur, ut iii. qu. iv. *Conspiratores in nullius;* qu. v. *Canonica, Similiter;* xxiv., qu. i. *Audivimus, Miramur, Ait Cœlestinus papa; Aperte inquit,* per minus legitimum siquidem procuratorem nemini potest fieri præjudicium. R. Digest. NE DE STATU DEFUNCTORUM APPELLETUR. Non obstat quod ab initio objecta non fuerit hæc exceptio; licet enim sit dilatoria, tamen quia procuratoria, etiam post litem contestatam latamque sententiam potest sibi locum vendicare, ut Cod. DE PROCURATORIBUS, l. *Licet.* R. Cod. DE JURIS ET FACTI IGNORANTIA, l. i.: et hoc quidem jus perpetuum est. Unde in illo temporis lapsu potuit suo defectui destitui; ut Cod. DE DIVERSIS RESCRIPTIS, l. *Falso.* In iis enim quæ juris subnixa sunt perpetuitate non obest taciturnitas; ad instar conditoris qui videt pignus suum distrahi et tacet, cui non præjudicatur, quia scit jus suum ubique durare; ut Digest. QUIBUS MODIS PIGNUS VEL HYPOTHECA, l. *Sicut,* § *Non videtur;* xxxv. qu. iii. § *Sed idem;* viii. qu. i. *Audacter.* Taciturnitas enim in iis quæ contra juris ordinem fiunt, nemini præjudicat, quia nec expressus consensus. R. Cod. DE JURISDICTIONE OMNIUM JUDICUM, *Privatorum;* Cod. DE JUREJURANDO PROPTER CALUMNIAM, l. ii.; Digest. DE DONATIONIBUS INTER VIRUM ET UXOREM, l. iii. § *Sciendum;* iii. qu. iii. c. *Spatium etiam offeratur, etc.* Et hoc quidem de procuratore sine exceptione est verum, ut Digest. DE POSTU-

Objections to this, and their answers.

Cod. ii. xiii. 24.
II. Decr. xii. ii. 48.
xxxv. vii. 1.
iii. iv. 5.
iii. v. 6, 10.
xxiv. i. 4, 35, 36, 37.
Dig. xl. xv.
Cod. ii. xiii. 24.
Cod. i. xviii.
Cod. i. xxiii. 2.
Dig. xx. vi. 8 § 15.
II. Dec. xxxv. iii. 20 § 1; viii. i. 18.
Cod. iii. xiii. 3.
Cod. ii. lix. 2.
Dig. xxiv. i. 3 § 10.
II. Dec. iii. iii. 4.
Dig. iii. i. 7.

A.D. 1188. Answers to the objections as to the validity of the rescript obtained by an excommunicated person.

LANDO, l. *Quos prohibet.* Item cum tripliciter rescriptum dicatur, vel quia continetur mendacium in narratione juris vel facti sive fraude tacendi, ut xxv. qu. ii. *Præscriptione,* II. Dec. xxv. ii. 16 § 1. constat hoc mendacio esse subnixum, utpote fraude tacendi impetratum. Debuit enim dixisse cujus esset conditionis: unde merito cum ita non fecerit, rescriptum ab eo impetratum nullius erit momenti, ut xxv. qu. ii. *Et si legibus.* Sed 16 § 3. non impedit quod idoneus æstimabatur, errore namque comperto non solet aliquem ignorantia relevare; ut xxxiv., *Cum* II. Dec. xxxiv. i. 1, 5. *per bellicam cladem; Si virgo nesciens.* Sed nec etiam obstat quod procurator sit mortuus, quasi non possit ei excommunicatio objici. Constat enim quod excommunicatus sit hæreticus, ut iv. qu. i. c. ii. Sic ergo constat excommunicationem esse hæresim, atque pro hæresi potest quis post mortem notari, ut xxiv. qu. i. *Sane profertur.* Sic ergo et pro excommunica- II. Dec. xxiv. ii. 6. tione. Immo nulla est objectio, nec enim ad hoc objicitur ut ejus memoria damnetur, ut in Ex DELICTIS DEFUNCTORUM. Porro. Codex iv. xvii. Sed in modum exceptionis civiliter excommunicatione objecta et probata ejus rescriptum cassetur, quod licite fit: alioquin nec testimonium post mortem posset objici falsum fuisse, vel corruptum quod falsum est, ut Cod. De FALSIS, l. *Querela;* Code ix. xxii. 12. xxxv. qu. ix., *Quod quis commisit.* Sed nec impedit quod II. Dec. xxxv. ix. 3. quasi delictum unius personæ non debet redundare in præjudicium totius ecclesiæ. Hic enim videtur esse delictum ab universitate quæ sibi talem præfecit procuratorem, quem ignorare nullo modo potuit, a proprio pastore excommunicatum. R. xii. q. ii. *Qui et humanis;* xxiii. qu. i. *Paratus* di. et dicitis. II. Dec. xii. ii. 24. Merito ergo quod ab universitate delinquitur in præjudicium xxiii. i. 2. universitatis retorquetur; ut xxv. qu. ii. *Ita nos Scillaceenorum.* xxv. ii. 25.

Statement of the convent as to the excommunication of prior Honorius.

fo. 138 v°.

Monachi autem post factam nunciationem et appellationem priorem suum procuratorem constituunt, qui curiam Romanam petit, ubi negotium contra responsales ipsius archiepiscopi a jam dicto priore est intentatum. Tandem impetrat rescriptum sub hac forma, ut quicquid post appellationem factum est irritetur; quo impetrato, moritur prior. Redeunt fratres. Objicit archiepiscopus priorem tempore appellationis fuisse excommunicatum, talemque curiam adisse rescriptumque impetrasse, ut ita rescriptum quassetur. Quare cum longo tempore apud curiam Romanam ventilato negotio non sit objecta hæc exceptio, amodo sit admittenda, et utrum ea admissa et probata cassum rescriptum debeat censeri. Constat rescriptum obtentu hujus exceptionis cassum censeri non debere: tum quia exceptio ex se nulla est, tum etsi aliqua dici potest, lapsu tamen temporis debito suo effectu est destituta. Et quidem ex se nulla est. Infamis enim novo jure a procuratione non repellitur; ut Inst. De EXCEPTIONIBUS T. ult.; Inst. iv. xiii. 11.

A.D. 1188. Prior Honorius was not disqualified by the excommunication from acting on behalf of the convent.

præsertim cum suam suæque ecclesiæ injuriam fuerit prosecutus, quo casu sine exceptione quilibet infames admittuntur; II. Dec. ii. i. 14. ut II. q. i., l. *Prohibentur*. Cum igitur ibi dicatur indistincte quamlibet admittendam, nec hæc persona excipi debuit, xv. iii. 4. nisi aliqua auctoritate expressim excipienda monstraretur. R. xxvii. ii. 18. xv. qu. iii., *Cum autem*, etiam *extra D. Spiritus* c. *lex divinæ*. Immo etsi ratione personæ forte non deberet admitti, tamen II. Dec. iii. vii. 1. ratione officii in quo agebat non potuit repelli; ut III. qu. vii. Dig. ii. iv. 16. c. *Tria*; De in jus vocando, l. *Quæsitum;* Digest. De inoffi- Dig. v. ii. 30. ciosis testamentis, l. *Adversus;* Dist. xiiii. *Præcipimus;* Dist. xiiii. *Valde*. Esto etiam quod tunc potuerit repelli, modo Cod. vii. xxi. 3. tamen hoc sibi non potest objici, ut Cod. De statu defunc- II. Dec. xxxiii. ii. 8. torum, l. *Quamvis;* xxxiii. qu. ii. *Admonere te;* xxiii. Dist. I. Dec. xxiii. 14. *Quorundam;* et cui communicavit vivo, communicare debet et II. Dec. xxiv. ii. 3. mortuo, ut xxiiii. qu. ii. *Sane quod super*. Nec si persona tunc temporis fuerit illegitima cum impetravit, ideo rescriptum illegitimum censeri debet, nec enim quærendum est qualis fuerit qui impetravit, sed quale illud sit quod impetratur, ut Cod. i. 19. Cod. De precibus imperatori offerendis, l. *Universis*:—quia II. Dec. ii. vii. 36. non quæritur a quo sed quid dicatur. R. II. qu. vii. *Queritur* I. Dec. ix. 5, and xix. 8, 9. *pater de malo filio;* Dist. ix. *Ego solis*. Dist. xix. *Anastasius*, etiam *Adeo autem quæritur, etc.* Sed non ideo reprobari debet rescriptum quod aliqua de circumstantiis sunt sub silentio Code i. xxii. prætermissa, ut Cod. Si contra jus, l. i. Nam etsi etiam in rescripto, quod magis est, mendacium reperiatur, nihilominus tamen auctoritate rescripti, etsi non secundum affirmationem II. Dec. xxv. ii. 16 § 3. deprecantis, ut xxv. qu. ii. *Et si legibus;* secundum tenorem Ib. § 1. veritatis datus judex cognoscere debet, ut xxv. qu. ii. *Præscriptione*. Item: esto quod ex se aliqua fuerit hæc exceptio, temporis tamen lapsu suo effectu destituta. Constat enim hanc exceptionem dilatoriam esse, unde ab initio litis opponi debuit, II. Dec. iv. i. 1 et iii. iii. 4 § 7. præsertim cum talis sit; ut IIII. qu. i. c. i.; III. qu. iii. *Exceptio fori;* Cod. De probationibus, l. *Exceptionem;* Cod. De Cod. iv. xix. 19. procuratoribus, l. *Ita demum*. Cum igitur ab initio objecta Cod. ii. xiii. 13. non fuerit, ex post facto objici non potest, ut Cod. De ex- Cod. viii. xxxvi. 12. ceptionibus, l. *Si quis advocatus;* Cod. Ut lite pendente, l. Cod. i. xxi. 3. *Qui licitam, Quod miramur*. Cum enim eo tempore quo debuit non repulerit, præsumitur ejus procurationem approbasse, unde II. Dec. ii. vi. 29 § 1. 10. eum de cætero reprobare non potuit; ut ar. optim. II. qu. vi. *Biduum, Etiam illud videamus*, et cujus secundus Ulpianus. Ex quo enim tempore debito eum non repulit, videtur eum in judicio confirmasse. Sic enim simulatione quando tollitur injuriarum Inst. iv. 4. actio, ut Institut. De injuriis, in fine. Sic et accusatio, ut Cod. ix. i. 7. Cod. Qui accusare non possunt, l. *Si ea quæ;* optimum argu- Dig. l. i. 2. mentum, Ad municipalem, l. *Quoties;* Digest. De lege Julia Dig. xlviii. v. 13. de adulteriis, l. *Si uxor*. Sed nec obviat lex, Cod. De pro-

A.D. 1188. Prior Honorius's excommunication did not destroy the validity of the letters issued to him.

CURATORIBUS, *Licet:* nam ibi loquitur de eo qui mandatum non habuit, et ita de falso procuratore: et aliud est esse falsum procuratorem, aliud verum, licet illegitimum. Falsus enim nullus est, illegitimus autem non potest dici nullus. Ar. I. qu. i. *Quem quidem;* qu. vii. *Maximum;* II. qu. i. *Inprimis;* DE CONSECRATIONE, Dist. iiii. *Nullus.* Item illo tempore quo impetravit rescriptum, vitari tanquam excommunicatus non potuit, utpote cujus excommunicatio nondum fuit legitime publicata, ut legitur, xi. qu. iii. *Curæ sit omnibus episcopis;* xxiiii. qu. i. *Si quis de potentibus:* in eadem causa ex responso circa treugas; ante legitimam vero publicationem ut excommunicatus non potuit repelli, ut xi. qu. iii. *Curæ sit;* Dist. lxxii. *Proposuisti.* Adhuc ergo ab ecclesia tolerabatur, sic ergo quod tunc egit non debet retractari. Sic ergo sibi imputet archiepiscopus quod debito modo excommunicationem non publicavit, cujus prætextu suam exceptionem inutiliter objicit, præsertim quia ibi admiserit eum agentem. Qua ergo ratione vult in præsenti eum repellere, cum si quis aliquem in uno judicio admiserit, etiam in alio, nedum in eodem, admittere teneatur? R. Cod. DE SENTENTIIS ET INTERLOCUTIONIBUS, l. *Cum Papinianus;* Digest. DE JUDICIIS, l. *Qui non cogitur;* Cod. DE JUDICIIS, l. *Nulli prorsus;* Cod. DE TESTIBUS, *Si quis usus;* IIII. qu. iii. *Item in criminali causa,* circa finem. Immo id solum sufficit, quod tunc temporis communi opinione legitimus æstimabatur, ut in Instit. DE TESTAMENTIS ORDINANDIS, l. *Sed cum aliquis.* Cod. DE TESTAMENTIS, l. i. AD SENATUSCONSULTUM MACEDONIANUM, *Zenodorus.* Optim. R. Digest. DE OFFICIO PRÆTORUM, l. *Barbarius.* Ibi enim circa finem legis redditur ratio quare decreta Barbarii, qui, cum credebatur liber, condidit rata materie in ;[1] videlicet quia auctore populo Romano eadem ediderat, qui si novisset servum eum potuisset fecisse liberum; a simili, quia iste egit coram papa, qui si novisset illegitimum posset fecisse legitimum, ab eo acta rata deberent manere.

Cod. ii. xiii. 24. II. Dec. vii. 19; II. ii. i. 7. III. Dec. iv. 40. II. Dec. xi. iii. 20. xxiv. iii. 21, 25. xi. iii. 20. I. Dec. lxxii 2 Cod. vii. xlv. 14. Dig. v. i. 22. Cod. iii. i. 10. Cod. iv. xx. 17. Inst. ii. x. 7. Cod. iv. xxviii. 2. Dig. i. xiv. 3.

fo. 139 r°.

A.D. 1197. Nov. 16.

DLVI. HÆC SUNT CAPITULA QUÆ OBTULIT HUBERTUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS CONVENTUI CANTUARIENSI PRO CANONIA DE LAMHEE.

Terms of consent proposed by Hubert.

Hæc[2] sunt quæ dominus archiepiscopus Hubertus Cantuariensis statuit ad honorem Dei et Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, et pacem perpetuam firmandam inter priorem et conventum Can-

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[1] Blank in MS.

[2] This document is given by Gervase, c. 1598, as the schedule offered to the convent by the abbots of Reading, Chertsey, and Waltham, 16 Nov. 1197.

tuariensem et canonicos de Lamhee. Scilicet, quod cuicunque dominus archiepiscopus dederit præbendam vel dignitatem in ecclesia de Lambee, jurabit super majus altare Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, quod nec per se nec per alium vendicabit sibi vel ecclesiæ de Lamhee, jus in electione Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, nec alii[1] in hoc consentiet, aut auxilium, aut consilium præstabit, aut cum aliquo stabit in hac[2] causa in præjudicium Cantuariensis ecclesiæ. A.D. 1197. Nov. 16. Every canon of Lambeth shall swear that he will claim no vote in the election of archbishop:

Jurabit etiam quod translationi sedis, vel beati martyris Thomæ, aut aliarum relliquiarum illius ecclesiæ, in præjudicium ejus non consentiet: immo si aliqua persona ecclesiastica vel sæcularis hæc transferre attentaret, ipse consilio et auxilio resisteret, et contra omnes cum monachis Cantuariensibus staret. that he will not consent to the translation of the see, or of S. Thomas;

Illud quoque juramentum adjiciet,[3] quod nunquam per se vel per alium procurabit, nec alicui procuranti consentiet, quod chrisma sanctum conficiatur ab archiepiscopo in ecclesia de Lamhee, vel quod justæ et antiquæ dignitates et libertates Cantuariensis ecclesiæ in aliquo minuantur. that he will not contrive to have the chrism consecrated at Lambeth;

Erit præterea in juramento, quod hujus obligationis absolutionem nec per se nec per alium quæret, et si forte quæsita fuerit ab aliquo, non utetur ea, immo si aliquis ea vellet uti, ipse utenti se fideliter opponet. nor try to elude the force of this oath.

Et sciendum quia nullus cui archiepiscopus dederit præbendam vel dignitatem in ecclesia de Lamhee, poterit installari, nisi in propria persona, nec aliquod beneficium percipiet de præbenda illa ante installationem suam. Et postquam installatus fuerit, sine omni dilatione iter arripiet Cantuariam ad omnia prædicta juranda super majus altare Cantuariensis ecclesiæ. Quod si facere contempserit, sine appellationis obstaculo præbenda illa privetur, et alteri ibidem[4] conferatur. No canon shall receive any money until he has been installed, and all shall take this oath before installation.

Et ut pax et dilectio firmior sit inter eos, provisum est quod prior Cantuariensis habeat præbendam unam in ecclesia de Lamhee, et primum stallum ex altera parte chori et capituli, et intersit consiliis et secretis capituli, et utatur habitu clericali quamdiu fuerit in Lamhensi ecclesia, sicut fit in aliis ecclesiis in quibus abbates sunt canonici. The prior of Canterbury shall be first canon of Lambeth.

Hæc omnia summus pontifex et dominus archiepiscopus, sub anathematis sententia confirmabunt, et omnes illos qui hæc attentaverint violare, excommunicationis vinculo innodabunt. Ille etiam qui canonicis ecclesiæ de Lamhee præerit, consensu The archbishop will secure the pope's confirmation.

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[1] *alii*] alicui, G.

[2] *hac*] om. G.

[3] *juramentum adjiciet*] adjiciet juramento, G.

[4] *ibidem*] libere, G.

A.D. 1197. Nov. 16. Sentence of confirmation to be renewed annually in chapter.

capituli, hanc sententiam semel singulis annis publice et solemniter, cum omnibus sacerdotibus ejusdem capituli, renovabit.

The archbishop will get the consent of the king and of the pope.

Dominus etiam archiepiscopus procurabit quod hæc constitutio a domino rege confirmetur, et quod summus pontifex statuet ut omnes successores archiepiscopi, in receptatione pallii, apponant juramento suo, quod hoc statutum fideliter et firmiter observabunt.

A.D. 1198.

DLVII. Allegationes Conventus Cantuariensis contra præcedentia capitula.

Arguments of the convent against the above proposals.

A tempore Theobaldi archiepiscopi, qui primo mutuo postulavit quasdam ecclesias ad opus clericorum, ita ut personis decedentibus ad nos reverteretur earum donatio, duravit lis de ecclesiis inter archiepiscopum et conventum. Conventus enim usque ad tempus Theobaldi ecclesias de maneriis suis conferebat, sicut archiepiscopus suas. Beatus Thomas componere voluit de ecclesiis cum conventu, sed exilio suspensus et morte præventus non potuit. Ricardus archiepiscopus ab Alexandro papa consecratus, præceptum et postea litteras, quas habemus adhuc, ut componeret, accepit, qui tamen quasdam in usus pauperum contulit et confirmavit; quas longo tempore possedit ecclesia. A Baldewino archiepiscopo Alanus prior apud Tenham omnes repetiit, tempore quo canonicos cœpit instituere. Cum igitur lis nondum decisa sit inter nos et archiepiscopum de ecclesiis, quomodo potest vel ipse de iis canonicos fundare, vel nos hujusmodi fundationi consentire?

They have been long engaged in a suit with the archbishops about the churches, which is not decided.

Causa in curia Romana ventilata est; opus de consilio fratrum temporibus Urbani, Clementis et Cœlestini damnatum; et clerici a juramento Baldewino præstito absoluti. Quod ergo de consilio et judicio curiæ pro ecclesia ista factum est in irritum revocare, et in contrarium assensum præbere, tutum non videtur, et sana conscientia faciendum. Locus profanatus, litteræ in irritum revocatæ, institutio canonicorum tam apud Lamhee, quam apud Hakintune damnata, et ne procederet sæpe inhibita. Qua ergo temeritate possumus nos consentire fundationi, quam curia Romana inhibuit et damnavit?

They dare not contravene the papal decrees;

nor consent to enrich the clerks at their expense.

Ecclesias nobis ablatas ipsi detinent; nunquam possumus consentire, ut de spoliis ipsi ditentur nobis ablatis.

Propter hanc causam aversum est primo cor Baldewini archiepiscopi a nobis, propter hanc causam mortuus est Honorius prior, et fratres in curia Romana; propter hanc causam spoliati sumus omnibus possessionibus nostris multo tempore, et damna incomparabilia pertulimus, et consimilia aut graviora timemus.

Propter hanc causam jam incepit moveri dominus archiepiscopus adversum nos, cum nondum fabrica est incepta: quid fiet cum fuerit consummata? A.D. 1198. fo. 139 v°. They fear further proceedings from the archbishop.

Nulla fuit inter nos et archiepiscopos controversia nisi de ecclesiis usque modo. Quæ si propter hoc orta est, et eo tempore protracta, cum adhuc spes esset recuperandi, quomodo sopietur cum, fundato opere, spes omnis deperibit?

Hæc fundatio ab initio scandalorum fuit materia et perpetuæ discordiæ causa inter patrem et filios: quomodo ergo possunt filii consentire fundationi huic, quæ incentiva est discordiæ et materia invidiæ inter pastorem et gregem, inter filios et patrem? ubi inter caput et membra non est dilectio vel gratia, nedum dissensio et discordia, qualis erit utrorumque conscientia? This has been a constant cause of quarrels.

Tollatur quæstio ista de medio, et hæc tantum sola, et jam non erit altera; maneat ista, et erunt infinitæ, et quotidie pullulabunt et emergent ea sola permanente. Satius ergo esset illam solam tollere, cum qua omnes pariter deperirent, quam illam solam fovere quæ sola facit omnes emergere. If it were settled, all would be peace.

Rex Henricus, cum pro satisfactione martyrii Sancti Thomæ tres abbatias de novo fundare deberet, a quodam magno viro et admodum religioso dictum est ei, quod magis Deum placaret, si canonicos sæculares amoveret, et regulares introduceret, quam si de novo eos fundaret, quia in altero esset geminum sacrificium, in altero singulare. Unde et apud Waltham factum est quod vident adhuc oculi nostri. The reason why king Henry refounded Waltham Abbey.

Esto quod ecclesia de Lamhee subjecta sit ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, privilegiis et cartis regum et pontificum confirmata, quomodo non quæret exceptionem sicut ecclesiæ subscriptæ? Tempore Lamfranci de subjectione Eboracensi in curia Romana ventilata est causa, utroque archiepiscopo præsente, et postmodum in Anglia; obtinuitque Lamfrancus et primatum et subjectionem et professionem; factæque sunt inde in concilio generali cartæ et confirmationes, missæque per omnes matrices ecclesias Angliæ, in testimonium facti conservandæ. Quæ etiam adhuc hodie exstant, et nihilominus dissoluta sunt fœdera quæ putabantur insolubilia. The church of Lambeth would soon escape from the rule of Canterbury, as York has done.

Quomodo non vendicabunt sibi jus in electione archiepiscopi, cum de substantia illius ecclesiæ fuerint fundati, et ejusdem ecclesiæ jurati, et ipsi et episcopi unum habebunt capitulum, et unam communionem? cum celebraverint nuper electionem suam per se, cum dicerent, "Nostra est electio," cum nec adhuc essent confœderati, quanto magis cum fuerint radicati? Si hæc fiunt in viridi, quid fiet in arido? The canons cannot help claiming a voice in the elections.

Locus ille in sinu regio est, et affluentiæ populorum totius regni expositus, eruntque ibi canonici filii magnatum, et totius The canons will be such men as will

A.D. 1198. not endure to be subject to monks.

juris periti, genere nobiles, divitiis affluentes, cognati regum et pontificum, quidam ipsi regi adhærentes, quidam fisci negotio administrantes. Canonici episcoporum et conjurati eorum, et hi tanti et tales patientur se diu subjici monachis? filiis pauperum, viris illiteratis, pauperibus in expensis, simplicibus et idiotis? Absit, forte temporibus præsidentis simulabunt; sed eo ad patres suos apposito, nulla eos pactio vel juratio ulterius retinebit,

The oath will make them members of the church of Canterbury.

Jurabunt super altare Cantuariense: tanto validius allegabunt se esse de corpore ecclesiæ, utpote ipsi jurati et monachi professi, et ideo de jure debere eos et in electione et in aliis partem habere non minus in spiritualibus quam habent in temporalibus. Si dicatur eis, "Hoc abjurastis," dicent, "Coacti fuimus juramentum facere, et immo, dominus papa "absolvit nos."

If the prior is to be made a canon of Lambeth, in time a canon may be made prior; compare what was done at Sherborn.

Prior Cantuariensis habebit ibi stallum et præbendam, et intererit capitulo. Si iste archiepiscopus facit de priore monacho canonicum præbendarium installatum, incapitulatum, quare successor ejus non faciat de canonico præbendario priorem Cantuariensem, sicut et e converso? et ita paulatim poterunt clerici in ecclesiam Cantuariensem induci et monachi educi, vel ad minus damna innumerabilia pati. Teste abbate de Sireburne, qui pro mutatione sedis ad Saresberi ibi habuit præbendam. Tempore vero domini H. Saresberiensis episcopi, perquisitis a summo pontifice litteris, ut omnes qui haberent præbendas, facerent inibi residentiam, coactus est abbas, de ecclesiis ad victum monachorum pertinentibus, facere præbendam clerico qui faceret ibi residentiam pro eo.

The archbishop and bishops will certainly consecrate at Lambeth.

Quis prohibebit archiepiscopum, cum ecclesia illa talis fuerit facta, chrisma conficere, episcopos consecrare? Pauci admodum sunt in Anglia episcopi, qui in matrice ecclesia Cantuariensi sint consecrati; sed et dominus archiepiscopus nullum adhuc episcopum in Cantuariensi consecravit ecclesia, cum plures et ibi et alibi consecraverit. Et quia multi sunt qui dicant "Cantuariensis ecclesia in angulo terræ sita est, in ex-"tremis finibus regni, nimis sumptuosum et laboriosum est "frequenter ad eam accedere," melius videbitur alicui sedem transferre, quam ita tot et tantos vexare. Res ista futurum minatur periculum, scilicet, sedis translationem, quæ recte timeri potest; nam raro invenitur sedes archiepiscopalis in monasterio. Eapropter timendum est ne futuris sedes illuc transferatur, quia multi multoties ad hoc nisi sunt, et etiam temporibus beati martyris Thomæ. Vel si non transferatur, quod fiat ibi quasi secunda sedes, primæ parificanda, prout in præsenti videre est de domino Bathoniensi, qui jam ponit sedem suam Glastoniæ, impetrato a summo pontifice, ne ulterius abbas

Even the see may be removed, as fo. 140 r°. at Glastonbury and Coventry, and the monks displaced.

constituatur. Nonne de facili et eadem facilitate qua prohibitus est ibi abbas in perpetuum fieri, poterunt et monachi sicut et abbas in perpetuum deponi? Teste Conventrensi ecclesia. Apud Conventrum dudum fuit abbatia, sed nuper sedes Cestrensis et Lichefeldensis illuc est translata, et in translatione illa factæ sunt cartæ et confirmationes regum et pontificum inter monachos et episcopum, protestantes jura monachorum, et quod nullam haberet episcopus in rebus eorum vel in eis, ob mutationem sedis, jurisdictionem. Quod qualiter observatum sit exempla manifesta declarant. A.D. 1198.

Item, cum contigerit sedem vacare, nonne volet rex pro libitu suo cui placuerit præbendas conferre vacantes? Si ergo eas de dono regio acceperint, pro monachis quid facerent? Ita paulatim a subjectione Cantuariensis ecclesiæ ecclesia illa resiliret, et consummationes inter eas qualescunque factas, decedente isto archiepiscopo, enervaret; sicut fecit ecclesia Eboracensis; et Dubilinensis etiam adhuc temporibus Lamfranci subjecta erat ecclesiæ Cantuariensi. The church will be in the king's hands when the see is vacant.

Jactura permaxima occasione hujus rei nobis imminet, nec tantum possessionum, sed et corporum, immo et animarum. Constat enim quod omnes animo contradicunt unanimiter, quidam autem senio fracti, quidam vero pusillanimes, et suæ imbecillitatis conscii, contra conscientiam præbebunt forte assensum; alii vero robustiores et corpore et spiritu non consentient contra conscientiam suam, immo recedent, malentes periclitari corpore: et sic destituetur ecclesia personis, et mater filiis. Gravi ergo periculo expositi sunt, et qui remanent læsa conscientia, et qui recedunt pro ecclesiæ causa. Qua vero conscientia potest quis vel hos vel illos velle cogere, vel etiam divini timoris oblitus sustinere, ut cogantur ad hæc ubi deperit conscientia? Si sana est cogentis conscientia et coactorum sauciata, nonne longe melius esset, ubi tot animarum imminet periculum, ut cogens a proposito suo desisteret, quam in ruinam tot animarum et corporum procederet, cum dicat scriptura, quod etiam a bono opere pro scandalo interdum cessandum sit, præsertim cum non unum solum vel duos, sed universos contingat negotium? Si igitur res procedat, quis dubitet subversionem ecclesiæ Cantuariensis imminere, cum Deus interius non habitet, propter impuritatem læsæ conscientiæ, et exterius res et possessiones dilapidentur ex personarum destitutione? Hæc igitur est via qua caritas in patrem et filios convertetur in odium, et dissensionis progressus suscipiet incrementum, et ita animæ quarum pretio nihil pretiosius est, ibunt in interitum, et erit irrecuperabile damnum. Moral evils that will follow the erection of the new church.

Item, cum prior Cantuariensis ibi fuerit canonicus, et de

A.D. 1198. The prior's being a canon, will open the way for the canons to take part in the election.

primis et præcipuis, cum ventum fuerit ad electionem archiepiscopi, prior eliget; sed quomodo? Non dicetur elegisse ut prior Cantuariensis, sed ut canonicus de Lamhee. Quod si de ipsa ecclesia et in ipsa ecclesia eligatur archiepiscopus per priorem canonicum, nonne vendicare poterunt sibi electionem, utpote de canonico suo et per canonicum suum factam? Item, cum prior fuerit canonicus præbendarius, nonne decano et præposito subjectus erit, et obedientiam cogetur exhibere, ratione beneficii, aut renunciare beneficio?

It will be dangerous to the archbishop himself.

Item, si controversia inter archiepiscopum et canonicum aliquem vel aliquos orta fuerit, sive excesserint contra eum, numquid satisfacient ei nisi in foro suo, id est, in capitulo proprio, eritque archiepiscopus eorum judicio cum collegiati fuerint obnoxius, quos antea potuit pro libitu suo sive deponere sive promovere? Sed et prius potuit uni plures ecclesias conferre, nunc ita arctatus erit quod non poterit nisi singulis, et hoc forsan de consensu capituli, quia illud de facili impetrabunt, singulas conferre.

If the king should expel the canons, the monks would have to provide for them.

Item, si rex, orta discordia inter eum et archiepiscopum, vel vacante sede, depositis clericis, canonicos regulares, vel monachos aut aliquam religionem ibi instituerit, nonne clerici repetent a monachis Cantuariensibus necessaria, tanquam ipsi qui de altario Cantuariensi sunt jurati, et intitulati? Villas ergo monachorum oportebit eis assignare, vel eis ex toto cedere.

The archbishop should take warning from the conduct of the canons of York.

Item, cum ibi tot et tanti fuerint clerici episcopis confœderati, litterarum scientia et nobilitate generis subnixi, nonne poterit de facili inter archiepiscopum et eos lis gravis et longa oboriri, et ipsi quærere emancipationem non solum a Cantuariensi ecclesia, sed etiam a Cantuariensi archiepiscopo in perpetuum, et ipsum ab eis et per eos graviter vexari? Teste Eboracensi Gaufrido, qui modo præsidet, a tenementis omnibus expulsus, cum sit etiam frater regis.

He will find that he is labouring not for himself, but for the king.

Item, frequens est inter regem et archiepiscopum Cantuariensem oriri discordias. Si forte orta fuerit, rex de facili in odium archiepiscopi, et ut quasi baculum conterat in quo confidit, clericos ejiciet, et religiosos quoslibet introducet, vel etiam clericorum culpis id exigentibus, et ita poterit Cantuariensis donationem ecclesiarum amittere, et laqueum sibi ipsi fabricare. Teste Willelmo archiepiscopo, qui fecit turrim Roffensem propriis sumptibus, sed factam rex ei abstulit.

fo. 140 v°.[1] The king may make

Si discordia orta fuerit inter regem et archiepiscopum, et

[1] The whole of the reverse of folio 140 has been defaced, and it is only with very great trouble that I have been able to recover the true reading. In one or two places I cannot be quite certain about the reading.

non possint in unum convenire, altero nolente subjici, altero nolente evinci, archiepiscopus se absentabit, et rex suum archiepiscopum, qui suo lateri adhærebit, et ad nutum obsequetur, in loco illo, quia aptus est, creabit et confirmabit. Teste rege Willelmo Apuliæ, qui archiepiscopum de Monte Regali extra muros Palermitanos constituit, suntque duo archiepiscopi, unus intra muros, et alter extra, ad jactum lapidis abinvicem separati. A.D. 1198. an archbishop of Lambeth.

Archiepiscopus qui successurus est forsitan de illa congregatione sumetur. Quis coget eum observare instituta et cartas prædecessoris sui, plusquam iste potest cogi ad observationem cartarum Ricardi et aliorum prædecessorum suorum? Nonne Ricardus archiepiscopus canonicus erat, electus, et in curia Romana a domino Alexandro consecratus, vir religiosus, primas Angliæ et apostolicæ sedis legatus, et catholicus decessit archiepiscopus, qui ecclesias quasdam in usus pauperum contulit, et cartis suis confirmavit? Alexander autem et Lucius papæ et alii cartas ejus confirmaverunt; quorum omnium cartas et confirmationes Baldewinus archiepiscopus, et iste post eum, pro nihilo, immo et manifeste, eis obviaverunt. Baldewinus archiepiscopus abstulit ecclesias et clericis contulit. Iste vero appræbendavit contra cartas et privilegia curiæ Romanæ. Quid ergo valent cartæ vel privilegia hodie? cum nemo alterius constitutiones, alterius cartas, nisi quoad libuerit observet; tot sunt privilegia in ecclesia Cantuariensi de ecclesia Eboracensi et Sancti Augustini, et cartæ quæ nihil valent. Nonne quotidie ea quæ præscriptione quingentorum annorum, et privilegiorum auctoritate, et longo usu roborata, firma et inconcussa manere debent, infirmantur, et in contrarium convertuntur? Nonne istud est verbum fere omnium principum et prælatorum, cum sermo de observandis cartis antecessorum suorum propositus fuerit "Antecessor meus in vita sua fecit "voluntatem suam, et ego faciam meam?" The next archbishop may refuse to observe the rules of the present one, who sets a bad example in violating the statutes of his predecessors.

Item, dicitur regem velle et plurimum niti ad hoc, ut opus procedat. Nec mirum, liquet enim quod si opus processerit, de cætero Cantuariensem archiepiscopum non timebit. Cum enim dominus Cantuariensis huic ecclesiæ contulerit quicquid conferre potest, ubicunque locorum, quidquid ei remanserit ad conferendum rex cum iratus fuerit adversus eum confiscabit; ecclesiam suam faciet capellam suam propriam, et ut ad eum, de suo warranto, intendant nullique pareant nisi regi. Sed et clerici libenter hoc volent, ut collum de sub jugo potestatis archiepiscopi excutiant. Exinde quid poterit archiepiscopus conferre nisi de mensa propria? The king may seize the whole.

Item. Esto quod archiepiscopus, invitis monachis, de ecclesiis suis et monachorum pariter, ipsis renitentibus nec consentien- The result will be to throw the

A.D. 1198. churches of the convent into the hands of Roman clerks.

tibus, fundaverit canoniam illam, regia usus potestate qua fungitur: monachi, accepto tempore opportuno, archiepiscopum trahent in causam super ecclesiis, curret lis Marte suo, evincent monachi adminiculante sibi jure suo; restituentur ecclesiæ monachis, quas, quia in usus proprios retinere non possunt, nec patientur quod ulterius loco illi conferantur, clericis Romanæ Curiæ et aliis qui eas in manu potenti et brachio extento possideant, et tueantur, conferent, et dominus papa confirmabit.

The answer of William, bishop of Ely, to those who advised him to build a college out of the improved estates of his church.

Vir juris peritus, et in iis quæ in posterum contingere poterunt valde providus, et in negotiis arduis consilio primus, Willelmus Eliensis episcopus, conventus est aliquando et plurimum sollicitatus a quibusdam magnis viris et bene litteratis, ut de terris quas, extirpatis silvis, convertebat in campos frugiferos et dabat monachis suis, similiterque de ecclesiis utrorumque, ecclesiam faceret præbendariorum in perpetuam regiminis sui memoriam. Quibus ipse statim respondit: "Sane, filii, hoc mecum cogitavi, et id etiam a quibuscunque "accepi. Sed absit ut aliquid faciam in diebus meis quod sit "materia discordiæ et causa scandali inter me et eos. Qui cum "essent viri religiosi, acciverunt me super se, clericum sæcu- "larem monachi, cum plures sedes ubi clerici sunt tunc tem- "poris vacarent, sed nulla me vocavit; quorum ergo saluti et "paci teneor prospicere, non eos turbare vel occasionem scan- "dali inter nos multiplicare. Reminiscor enim Baldewini bonæ "memoriæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, qualia suam et suorum, "immo et totius regni pacem turbavere." Et adjecit: "Non est "hodie certe aliquis qui possit providere, quantum mali, non "solum Cantuariensi ecclesiæ, sed et omnibus totius regni, ex illo "opere futuris temporibus possit accidere." Cui cum dicerent Baldewinum in eo minus sapienter egisse, quod tam prope ecclesiam suam et monachos operam incepisset, eum autem longe consultius posse facere, procul scilicet ab ecclesia Eliensi, videlicet apud Pilleham, quod est in Norwicensi episcopatu, vel apud Hathfelde, quod est in Londoniensi; respondit: "Certe "si de substantia Eliensis ecclesiæ ecclesia hujusmodi fundata "esset apud Carduil, aut in extremis finibus Cornubiæ, nunquam "pax fieret donec altera alteram subverteret. Sed nolo ego "quoad vixero hoc experiri, nec de consilio meo aliquis quem "diligam experietur."

Sufficit ratio [1]

[1] These are the catch-words for the beginning of folio 141, which, with the remaining five folios, is lost.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

DLVIII. Johanni Lugdunensi archiepiscopo, Alanus prior Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1186. Between February and June.

[Epp. Alani Theoksb. Ed. Giles, ep. xi.]

The prior entreats the archbishop of Lyons, by the memory of his education at Canterbury, not to lend himself to the designs of the enemies of the convent; nor to accept from the archbishop of Canterbury the church of Eynesford, which has only just been recovered by the church.

Johanni, Dei gratia, Lugdunensi archiepiscopo, Alanus, prior Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, salutem. Inter eos quos adhuc superstites filios enutrivit et exaltavit, Lugdunensem archiepiscopum præcipuum habet et reputat mater Britanniarum sancta Cantuariensis ecclesia. In suis quidem angustiis et perturbationibus, quibus continue affligi compellitur, hujus filii toties experta fidem, devotionem et efficacem industriam, de cætero habet certiorari talem et tantum filium immemorem esse non posse illius dulcedinis quam a maternis diutius suxit uberibus, inter quæ etiam a cunis coaluit. Absit igitur, absit a fide et devotione tanti alumni, qui se toties certis objecit periculis pro defensione matris suæ, ut vel suspicetur de eo quod velit partem ponere cum iis, qui ipsa a quibus egressi sunt materna perturbant viscera, præcipue ubi id permodica suadet occasio, quod etsi quoquo modo licuerit, minus tamen expedit, omnino autem non decet. Quamvis enim is apud quem summa rerum consistit, quasi licite, auctoritate qua præminet sub titulo adhuc ignoto, et a canonum forma aliquatenus alieno, possit non solum assignare, sed potius transferre beneficium Cantuariensis ecclesiæ ad episcopum alienæ provinciæ et minus egentem; id tamen viderit benigna filii discretio, utrum expediat in matris confusionem ecclesiam de Einisford tanto tempore injuste ablatam, et demum non sine multo labore et angustia, mediante justitia, evictam, a debito sui statu perturbari. Quam utique ecclesiam mater vestra monachorum deliciis non applicuit, sed usibus pauperum pio deputavit affectu. In subversione itaque pauperum Christi, quos ipsa suscepit alendos, si contigerit matrem filii improbitate, quod Deus avertat, acerbius molestari, ex hujusmodi arboris radice qualis poterit fructus

A.D. 1186. Between February and June.

exoriri, perpendet citius si advertere voluerit discreta filii devotio; cum ea sola proponitur causa, quare debeant pauperes Christi spoliari, quatenus præpotens filius matrem pertransiens, cum id evenerit, quod vix semel in ista ætate poterit contingere, proprium habeat domicilium, ubi forte non plus una nocte seorsim a matre caput inclinet. Et certe pia mater vestra nondum eousque vestram dilectionem emancipatam habet, quod nec velit nec debeat eam, quam admodum caram habet et acceptam, vestri reverentiam, in paratiores materni pectoris sinus recipere: cum suum sit votum et desiderium diem illum videre, quo vestri præsentia perfruens et consilio, possit ab his quibus arctatur angustiis aliquatenus respirare. Sane opinionem vestram quid deceat non minus inspiciendum, cum id quod vir tantæ auctoritatis posteris in exemplum reliquerit, de jure debeat ad consimilia vires resumere. Utrum vero deceat Lugdunensem archiepiscopum, Cantuariensis ecclesiæ filium et alumnum, pro tantillo beneficio et tali titulo vel intentione acquirendo, seu matri suæ seu Christi pauperibus et infirmis hujusmodi molestiam inferre, id videat et provideat vestræ sanctitatis prudentia, cujus interest et suam apud Deum conscientiam, et apud homines famam conservare illæsam. Plane nec id ignoramus sed plenius recognoscimus, quia et vobis et vestris meritis exigentibus constituimur debitores. Et licet hæc quæ ad præsens inter nos agitatur quæstio abierit in abyssum, non minus tamen tenemur his adesse quibus et vos tenemini, vel debito naturæ vel gratia obsequii. Idcirco ut in aliquo et affectui et operi vestro respondeamus, in proposito habemus alicui de vestris, sicut vobis placuerit, dare annuatim de thesauraria nostra centum solidos, donec eidem in æque valens vel amplius alias possimus providere. Quid autem super his vobis placuerit fieri, nobis significate.

The archbishop of Lyons does not require a house of his own in Kent, for he is always welcome at Canterbury.

If he will resign the living, the convent will pay to any of his clerks an annual pension of a hundred shillings.

DLIX. Idem eidem.

(Ibid., ep. xii.)

The prior professes his attachment to the archbishop of Lyons.

Johanni Lugdunensi archiepiscopo, A. prior Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, salutem. Si carissima mihi est vestræ sanctitatis reverentia, id agitur apud me in quo debitor sum vobis obligatus, qui pro ea quæ in vobis est sanctitate et gratia communiter cum cæteris, specialiter autem pro liberalitate illa quam apud vos egens et extraneus non modicam inveni, teneor pro viribus honori vestro debitum et devotum præstare obsequium. In quo quidem magis sollicitor si quo modo daretur opportunitas, ut juxta illum quem gero affectum possim benignitati

vestræ vel in aliquo respondere. Si quo minus autem id videatur factum quoad ecclesiam de Einisford, ignoscat filio, si placet, paternitas vestra, si tamen in hac parte debeam de jure argui negligentiæ, qui unus et solus sum inter multos, quorum sicut voluntas varia est et diversa, ita et sententia, maxime ubi juri et rationi videtur inniti quod intendunt. Loquor intelligenti quid sit multorum moribus deservire. Quid prætendunt quominus fieri debeat quod per vos ab iis repetitur, conventus nostri litterarum tenore inspecto, facilius poterit perpendi. Si vero parvitatis meæ consilium acceptaverit vestra prudentia, cum saniori dixerim conscientia, satius esse et honestius aut eo modo qui vobis significatur, aut alio probatiori si inveniri poterit, cum conventu nostro pacifice convenire, quam populo scandalum generari et matrem vestram plus quam creditur contristari. Insuper si verbis domini regis Angliæ creditur, in vita sua non sustinebit quod Lugdunensis archiepiscopus ecclesiam de Einesford quoquo modo possideat. Provideat igitur, si placet, discretio vestra, qualiter res ipsa planius et melius ad debitum possit finem pertingere, et quantum in me erit, nulla exsecutionis erit retractatio. Valete.

A.D. 1186. Between February and June.

He asks forgiveness if he cannot oblige him in the matter of Eynesford, and prays him to accept the conditions proposed by the convent.

DLX. Urbanus papa Baldewino archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.

A.D. 1186. October 1.

(MS. Lambeth 1212, fo. 240.)

Urbanus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, apostolicæ sedis legato, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Tanto fraternæ caritatis affectu personam et ecclesiam tibi commissam pro reverentia beati Thomæ martyris Christi diligimus, quod nihil quod alicui fratri nostro concedere debeamus tibi statuerimus denegandum; ideoque præsentium auctoritate fraternitati tuæ duximus indulgendum, ut quarta parte oblationum quæ ad relliquias beati martyris offeruntur, monachorum usibus concessa, quarta fabricis ecclesiæ deputata, quarta pauperibus erogata, aliam quartam liceat tibi in alia opera pro tuæ voluntatis arbitrio ordinare. Concedimus quoque tibi, ut antiqua ædificia in loco congruo apud Lambeia reædificandi, vel nova constituendi, sine alieni juris dispendio, sicut prædecessores tui a quadraginta retro annis habuisse noscuntur, liberam habeas facultatem. Datum Veronæ, kal. Octobr.

The pope grants to archbishop Baldwin the disposal of a fourth part of the oblations at the tomb of S. Thomas and power to build at Lambeth.

A.D. 1186. Oct. 1.

DLXI. Urbanus papa Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.

(R. de Diceto, 631.)

The pope gives archbishop Baldwin licence to build a church to SS. Thomas and Stephen; and regulates the disposal of the oblations.

Præsentium tibi auctoritate mandamus, quatenus ea quæ de jure ecclesiæ tuæ per prædecessorem tuum inveneris injuste subtracta legitime revoces, et in ipsius ecclesiæ utilitatem convertas. Nos enim quod in hac parte a te factum fuerit ratum habebimus, et faciemus, auctore Domino, inviolabiliter observari. Item tibi mandamus, ut liceat tibi ecclesiam in honore beatorum martyrum Stephani et Thomæ, sicut gloriosus martyr disposuerat in honore beati Stephani construere, tam in honorem Sancti Thomæ quam Sancti Stephani, et de idoneis ordinare personis, quibus beneficia quæ ad sustentationem eorum constitueris, debeas canonice assignare. Item fraternitati tuæ mandamus, ut quarta parte oblationum quæ ad relliquias beati martyris Thomæ offeruntur, monachorum usibus concessa, quarta fabricis ecclesiæ deputata, quarta pauperibus erogata, aliam quartam liceat tibi in alia opera bona pro tuæ voluntatis arbitrio ordinare. Datum Veronæ, kalendis Octobris.

A.D. 1189. Feb. 3.

DLXII. Henricus rex Angliæ Conventui Cantuariensi.

(Gervase, c. 1539.)

The king informs the convent, that having had an interview with the archbishop, he is sending the bishops of Ely and Rochester, Ranulf Glanvill and the deans of York and Lincoln, to persuade them to terms.

Henricus rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, toti conventui ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, salutem. Noveritis me moleste tulisse et ferre discordiam et dissensionem inter vos et archiepiscopum Cantuariensem: et idcirco ipsum archiepiscopum inde diligenter conveni, et inveni eum pro parte valde mitiorem et benigniorem quam fuerit; et quia nolo diutius sustinere, nec sustinendum est, quin inter vos concordia reformetur, ad eandem reformandam quantam operam et diligentiam potero adhibiturus sum. Et ideo venturi sunt ad vos Eliensis et Roffensis episcopi, et Randulfus de Glanvilla, et Eboracensis et Lincolniensis decani, quibus, sicut mihi ipsi, certam fidem habeatis super iis quæ vobis ex parte mea dixerint. Moneo autem vos affectuose, et deprecor diligenter, ut ad pacis reformationem animum vestrum inclinetis, cum dominus archiepiscopus, quamvis ipsius conditio melior sit quam fuerit, possit, ut intelligo, facilius induci quam potuit ad adquiescendum consilio meo et fidelium meorum super ipsa concordia et pace reformanda.

Consulo autem ut amodo non improbe agatis, sed bonum, quod præsto est nisi per vos steterit, benigne recipiatis. Et quidam ex vobis de melioribus et discretioribus conventus vestri, quos prædicti viri ad me venturos elegerint, veniant ad me cum prædictis episcopis et Randulfo de Glanvilla, et aliis qui ad nos venturi sunt, et cum litteris capituli vestri de ratihabitione super hoc, quod apud me ipsis præsentibus factum fuerit de prædicta pacis reformatione. Si vero omnes prænominati non venerint ad vos, iis tamen qui de prædictis venerint, certam fidem habeatis, et consilio illorum adquiescatis. Noveritis etiam pro certo quod parti illi quæ improbitati adhærebit in hac causa adversarius ero, et mitiori parti efficax auxilium præstare curabo. Teste Huberto decano Eboracensi, apud Cenomanniam.

A.D. 1189. Feb. 3. They are to send deputies with full powers, to treat of peace.

DLXIII. Abbas de Hida et prior Beremundeselæ omnibus Christi fidelibus.

A.D. 1189. August 12.

(Gervase, c. 1549.)

Johannes, Dei gratia, abbas Sancti Petri de Hida, et Henricus prior de Beremundeseia, omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præsentes litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod dominus Baldewinus, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, reddidit conventui ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, omnia maneria, redditus et possessiones suas, ad tenendum ita libere et quiete sicut tenuerunt tempore quo promotus est in archiepiscopum, salvis privilegiis eorum et cartis, et salvis querelis eorum et mandato domini papæ, in omnibus, et salvo jure archiepiscopi et conventus. Hanc restitutionem ita factam sigillorum nostrorum appositione attestamur.

The abbot of Hyde and the prior of Bermondsey attest the restoration of the conventual estates, by the archbishop.

DLXIV. Johanni Anagnino Conventus Cantuariensis.

A.D. 1189. After Oct. 12.

(Gervase, c. 1552.)

Reverendo patri et domino Johanni, Dei gratia, tituli Sancti Marci presbytero cardinali, sedis apostolicæ legato, conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, omnium conventuum miserrimus et magis afflictus, salutem et vale ultimum. Quoties et pro quibus injuriis suffragium sedis apostolicæ imploraverimus, discretionem vestram latere non credimus. Sed quanto amplius ad vos clamavimus, eo acrius afflicti sumus. Semper tamen speravimus quod saltem aliquando

The convent remind the legate of their troubles.

A.D. 1189. After Oct. 12.

exsurgentes propter miserias et gemitum pauperum, et post dissimulationes tot et tantas arriperent manus vestræ judicium.

They are compelled to admit an arbitration.

Nunc autem quia aliter accidit quam sperabamus, nec aliquod per vos vel in minimo consecuti sumus auxilium, sed majus sustinuimus detrimentum, quod tamen inviti dicimus; non existente qui nobis subveniat vel justitiam exhibeat, confundimur et deficimus, coacti manum dare hostibus, et in eorum compromittere arbitrium, qui nos eorum judicabunt ad votum. Quod et plenius poteritis advertere ex litteris domini regis quas nobis in hac forma nuper destinavit.

The king's letter proposing an arbitration.

"Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, et dux Normanniæ et "Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, conventui Sanctæ Trini- "tatis Cantuariæ, salutem. Mandamus vobis quod nullatenus "confidatis de apostolicæ sedis legato, et quod in regnum "nostrum nec propter negotium nostrum nec vestrum ullate- "nus intrabit ad terram nostram destruendam. Sed si com- "promittere volueritis in episcopos et abbates et viros "religiosos regni nostri, nos id archiepiscopo significabimus, "et nos necessaria ministrari faciemus duodecim monachis "de conventu vestro, qui propter hoc ad nos accedent, cum "litteris ratihabitionis; et significate nobis si id facere "volueritis."

They remonstrate with the legate for not fulfilling his instructions.

Quia igitur ad radicem arboris securis posita est, nec aliquo modo evadere possumus quin in arbitros compromittamus; ne nobis possit imputari, vel nos ab aliquo argui, quod minus æquo et citra posse nostrum fecerimus, hoc vobis significamus. Vos videritis si ordine quo procedendum fuit processistis; et si non, requirat Deus hujusmodi de manibus vestris. Clausi sumus et obsessi, et redditibus omnibus spoliati; quidam de fratribus nostris excommunicati denunciati, quidam capti et inhoneste tractati, servientes nostri in vincula projecti, omnes quotquot sumus ita angustiati et afflicti, quod vita nostra non solum tædiosa sed etiam odiosa est nobis. De cætero nihil vobis scribemus, quia nec scribendi copiam, nec pueros habemus per quos negotia nostra exercere possimus. Si nobis vel sero volueritis subvenire, et famam vestram cum vita nostra redimere, multa opus est acceleratione. Alioquin actum est de nobis, et de ecclesia Cantuariensi, cujus causa et conditio circumquaque notissima eorum faciet in infamiam redundare, quicquid ei de suo jure subtractum fuerit, et quorum patientia et dissimulatione deperierint.

If the legate does not make haste all is lost.

DLXV. De excambio cujusdam campi in Lamhetha. A.D. 1190.

(MS. Cotton. Dom. A. x. 9.)

The archbishop announces that he has obtained from the bishop and monks of Rochester a portion of their court at Lambeth and 24 acres of demesne for the building of a church of S. Thomas.

Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, Baldewinus, Dei gratia, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas, æternam in Domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra, quod venerabilis frater noster Roffensis episcopus, et O. prior, atque conventus ejusdem ecclesiæ, ad instantiam et petitionem domini nostri Ricardi, illustris Angliæ regis, et nostram atque suffraganeorum nostrorum, concesserunt nobis et successoribus nostris, partem curiæ suæ apud Lamhethe super Tamisiam, prout certis limitibus distincta est, ad ædificandum nobis et successoribus nostris, et præterea extra curiam viginta quatuor acras et unam perticatam terræ de dominico suo, et servitium quod habuerunt de iv. acris Hawise super Tamisiam, ad ædificandam ecclesiam in honorem beati martyris Thomæ, et ædificia canonicorum ibidem serviturorum extruenda, libere et quiete in perpetuum possidenda. Salvo monachis ipsis jure parochiali ecclesiæ suæ de Lamhethe in hominibus et terris et parochianis suis, decimis quoque et obventionibus omnibus extra præscriptos terminos curiæ nostræ et terræ canonicorum nostrorum, et salvis fossatis curiam et gardinum cingentibus ad recipiendam et refundendam aquam ad molendinum ipsorum. Et non licebit nobis aut successoribus nostris, vel alicui de familia nostra, aut successorum nostrorum, vel alicui canonico, seu alicui de familia eorum, usurpare, vel ex donatione, vel emptione, vel permutatione, vel legato, vel locato, vel invadiato, vel commodato, vel aliquo alio modo recipere vel tenere aliquid de terra prædictorum monachorum dominica, vel alicujus hominum suorum extra terminos præfixos citra voluntatem Roffensis episcopi, et ejusdem loci conventus. In excambium autem hujus concessionis, dedimus eis et concessimus ad dominicum prædicti manerii sui de Lamhethe, bercariam unam in insula de Gren, et quicquid nos vel prædecessores nostri in eadem bercaria habuimus, in marisco, in terris, et wrec, et in omnibus aliis ad eam pertinentibus, quam scilicet Johannes filius Eilgari tunc temporis tenuit, sexaginta solidos inde annuatim reddendo, et alia quædam servitia faciendo, liberam et quietam ab omni servitio et exactione, tam erga nos et successores nostros quam erga servientes nostros et successorum nostrorum, in perpetuum possidendam, sicut ipsi nobis et successoribus nostris præscriptam terram apud Lamhethe libere possidendam concesserunt. In augmentum duoque hujus excambii conces-

In exchange he has given a sheep-pasture in the isle of Grain.

A.D. 1190. simus eis, ut de tribus bercariis suis quas tunc temporis de nobis tenebant in Gren, servitia de ipsis bercariis debita nobis et successoribus nostris per manum monachorum solvantur, et homines qui ipsas tenebunt monachis intendent et respondebunt in omnibus quæ de bercariis ipsis quocunque casu procedente tempore pervenient. Hanc concessionem nostram et mutuam conventionem, ut in posterum firmiori gaudeat stabilitate, tam nostri quam coepiscoporum nostrorum sigilli appositione fecimus roborari, et coram justitiariis domini regis apud scaccarium irrotulari. Facta est autem hæc conventio anno primo coronationis Ricardi illustris regis Angliæ. *Huic cartæ apposita sunt* vii. *sigilla.*

A.D. 1191. August 25.

DLXVI. Walterio Rothomagensi archiepiscopo Willelmus episcopus Eliensis.

[Gir. Cambr. Vita Galfridi. Arch. Ebor. Anglia Sacra, ii. 395, R. de Diceto. c. 660.]

The bishop of Ely has heard that the archbishop of Rouen is going to Canterbury to treat of the election of a new archbishop, and forbids him to do so until he has seen him.

Venerabili et dilecto in Christo patri et amico Waltero, Dei gratia, Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, Willelmus, eadem gratia Eliensis episcopus, et domini regis cancellarius, salutem et debitam cum omni devotione reverentiam. Convenimus vos apud Londoniam, qua occasione Cantuariam adire velletis, et id a vobis in responsis recepisse meminimus, quod quoniam monachos Cantuarienses audieratis vobis offensos, ut scilicet de causis offensionis, si qua esset, inquireretis, et de prioris depositione certitudinem haberetis. Verum datum est nobis intelligi vos alia consideratione Cantuariam festinare, videlicet, ut cum monachis illis de archiepiscopo eligendo tractetis. Et valde, nec mirum, admirati sumus, quod quasi captata absentia nostra velitis id facere; cum sine nobis fieri nec possit nec debeat, qui et toti regno vice regia præsidemus, et jure cancellariæ nostræ archiepiscopatum illum in manu nostra cum omnibus ecclesiæ pertinentiis habemus. Cum igitur super tam magno et arduo negotio, a quo summopere totius regni pendet dispositio, sine domini regis aut nostra nunc temporis præsentia tractari non debeat; discretioni et honori vestro consulimus et mandamus, ex parte domini regis districtius inhibentes, ne propter hanc aut propter aliam quamcunque causam Cantuariensem ecclesiam adeatis, donec vobiscum loqui possimus. Non enim cum patientia et rancoris dissimulatione hoc perferremus. Teste me ipso apud Releiam, xxv. die Augusti.

DLXVII. Carta regis Ricardi de escambio de Lamhee.

A.D. 1196 June 13.

(MS. Lamb. 1212, fo. 220.)

The king confirms the manor of Lambeth and its appurtenances to archbishop Hubert and his successors.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justitiariis, vicecomitibus, senescallis, præpositis, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis, salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos concessisse et præsenti carta nostra confirmasse, venerabili patri nostro Huberto, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et successoribus suis, et ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, manerium de Lameheia cum omnibus pertinentiis, unde idem Hubertus fecit excambium de assensu nostro cum monachis Roffensis ecclesiæ; habendum et tenendum cum eisdem libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus, quas memoratus Hubertus, et antecessores sui habuerunt in maneriis de Darent' et de Cliva, quæ data sunt in excambium propter prædictum manerium de Lamheia. Ut autem hæc concessio rata et firma permaneat in perpetuum, eam præsenti scripto et sigilli nostri testimonio communimus. His testibus, H. Coventrensi episcopo, Henrico archidiacono Cantuariensi; W. de Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesia, decano Sancti Martini Lundoniensis; J. archidiacono Norwicensi; Ric. Briewer; magistro Rogero de Sancto Eadmundo; J. comite Mortonii; R. comite Cestrensi; W. comite Arundell'; W. filio Radulfi, senescallo Normanniæ; Willelmo Marescallo; Roberto filio Rogeri; Radulfus de Ardenñ. Datum per manum magistri Eustachii decani Sarisberiensis, agentis vices cancellarii, apud insulam Andeliaci, xiii. die Junii, anno regni nostri septimo.

DLXVIII. Carta regis Ricardi de Escambio de Lamheia.

A.D. 1197. April 1.

(Lambeth Charters, xi. 20.)

The king confirms the exchange made between the archbishop of Canterbury and the monks of Rochester of the manor of Lambeth for that of Darent and its appurtenances.

Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justitiariis, vicecomitibus, senescallis, præpositis, et omnibus baillivis et fidelibus suis, salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod venerabilis pater noster Hubertus, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, de assensu et voluntate nostra, fecit excambium cum monachis Rofensibus, auctoritate et assensu Gilleberti tunc Rofensis episcopi, de manerio de Lamheia cum pertinentiis, quod reges antiquitus dederunt et concesserunt et confirmaverunt ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ Rofensi, in perpetuam eleemosynam. Pro quo manerio cum pertinentiis, idem archiepiscopus dedit et concessit monachis ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ Rofensis, manerium suum

A.D. 1197. April 1.

de Darenta cum ecclesia, et capella de Helles, et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; et unam bercariam in Clive quæ appellatur Estmerse; cum terra certa in eadem villa, quæ pertinet ad eundem mariscum: et in eadem villa de Clive, Heimericum, Thomam, Hagenillam viduam, Jocelinum, Walterum Bedellum, Eilwinum, Martinum, Willelmum, Adam, Almarum piscatorem, cum terris quas tenuerunt de archiepiscopo, et redditibus et omnibus servitiis et consuetudinibus suis, sine aliquo retinemento, ipsi archiepiscopo et successoribus suis tenenda prædictis monachis in perpetuum. Unde volumus quod prædicti monachi habeant et possideant prædictum manerium de Darenta, cum ecclesia ejusdem manerii, et capella de Helles, et dominicis et homagiis et servitiis, tam in terris cultis quam incultis, in bosco, in plano, in pratis et pascuis, in aquis et molendinis, in stagnis et piscariis, et in omni integritate sua alia cum omnimoda dignitate et libertate sua, et prædictam bercariam in Clive cum pertinentiis suis, et prædictos homines in eadem villa, cum terris, redditibus et servitiis et consuetudinibus eorum; ita bene, libere et quiete, pacifice et plenarie, sicut prædictus archiepiscopus Hubertus, vel aliquis antecessorum suorum, ea omnia supradicta in Darenta et in Clive cum pertinentiis, melius, liberius, quietius, plenius et honorificentius tenuit. Ita quod prædicti monachi convertant prædicta tam in ecclesiis quam in aliis rebus in usus victualium suorum, sicut prius fecerant de prædicto manerio et ecclesia de Lamheia; salvo jure episcopo Rofensi in illis excambiis sicut prius habuit in prædicto manerio de Lamheia. Constituimus etiam et firmiter præcipimus, ad majorem securitatem ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ Rofensis, quod nullus de baillivis nostris vel servientibus aliquo unquam tempore mittat manum in prædicta excambia quæ prædicti monachi receperunt, occasione mortis alicujus archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, vel aliqua alia causa ad aliquem archiepiscopum pertinente. Quia id juris quod habuimus, vacante sede Cantuariensi, in ipsis excambiis, habebimus in Lamheia; et excambia quieta remanebunt. Et si forte aliquis aliqua temeritate contra hoc factum fecerit, omne damnum prædictæ ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ statim resartiet: et de omnibus bonis suis in nostra misericordia remanebit. Et ut hoc firmum sit, et stabile in perpetuum, nos cartam nostræ confirmationis fecimus, et ad robur majoris firmitatis concessimus, quod dominus papa, et ecclesia Romana, et prædictus archiepiscopus, et omnes episcopi et totius Angliæ clerus, excommunicaverint omnes quicunque aliquo tempore contra hoc nostrum statutum et confirmationem venire temptaverint. His testibus, M. episcopo Nannetensi; Willelmo de Oilly, decano Andega-

The monks are to hold the latter as freely as the archbishop had done.

The king's officers are not to touch the estate of the monks in a vacancy of the see of Canterbury.

vensi; magistro Malgerio, archidiacono Ebroicensi; Johanne de Betun', præposito de Duay; magistro Rogero de Sancto Edmundo; Willelmo filio Ricardi; Petro de Rupibus; R. comite Augi; Roberto de Turneham, tunc senescallo Andegaviæ; W. de Stagno; Roberto de Waanci; Petro de Stokes; Radulfo de Ardeñ; Willelmo Briwerr juniore. Datum per manum nostram apud Turoñ, primo die Aprilis, anno regni nostri octavo. A.D. 1197. April 11.

DLXIX. Innocentius papa, S. Augustini et S. Gregorii prioribus Cantuariensibus.[1]

A.D. 1198. Sept. 11.

(Epp. Innoc. III., Ed. Baluz., I. 351.)

The pope empowers the priors of S. Gregory and S. Augustine to annul the sentence of the archbishop against Jo. and Hubert.

Dilecti filii Jo. et Hubertus, nuncii dilectorum filiorum prioris et monachorum ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, nobis humiliter retulerunt, quod cum pro causa quæ inter dictos priorem et monachos et venerabilem fratrem nostrum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum super capella de Lamhee vertebatur, ab ipsis priore ac monachis mitterentur, sicut eis propositum fuit, idem archiepiscopus post iter arreptum in eos excommunicationis sententiam promulgavit. Cum autem plus sit ad sedem apostolicam facto provocare quam verbo, et ipsis propter prædictam causam ad Romanam ecclesiam venientibus intelligatur ad sedem apostolicam provocatum, discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus, si verum est quod asseritur, dictos Jo. et Hu., appellatione postposita, denuncietis excommunicationis vinculo non teneri. Datum Perusii, iii. idus Septembris.

DLXX. Innocentius papa Ricardo regi Angliæ.

A.D. 1198. September.

(Epp. Innoc. III., Lib. I. 357.)

The pope acknowledges the receipt of a letter from the king.

Litteras quas nobis regia serenitas super negotio Cantuariensis ecclesiæ destinavit, benigne recepimus, et earum tenore diligenter inspecto, intelleximus celsitudinem regiam super eo quod scripserat, fuisse per falsi suggestionem in pluribus circumventam. Cum bonæ memoriæ B., quondam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, in constructione capellæ juxta Cantuariam de [mandato] felicis recordationis Lucii et Urbani prædecessorum nostrorum scripserit processisse; cum potius idem Urbanus, prædecessor noster, opus illud per sententiam præceperit demoliri,

[1] This letter is in the Decretals of pope Gregory IX.

A.D. 1198. September. He reviews the complaint of the monks of Canterbury against the archbishop.

et locum ipsum maledictum haberi mandaverit et profanum, sicut ex litteris ejus serenitati regiæ poterit manifeste liquere. Præterea cum dictus archiepiscopus denuo voluisset quæstionem suscitare sepultam, bonæ memoriæ quondam Cantuariensi priore cum quibusdam monachorum et nunciis ipsius archiepiscopi propter hoc apud sedem apostolicam constitutis, felicis recordationis Clemens papa prædecessor noster, opus illud de fratrum consilio funditus demoliri præcepit. Venerabilis vero frater noster Hubertus, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, volens in opere damnato procedere, etsi locum mutaverit, a dicti tamen prædecessoris sui proposito non creditur recessisse; cum post multiplices inhibitiones sibi ex auctoritate apostolica factas, post appellationem sæpius interpositam ad apostolicam sedem, post contradictionem dilectorum filiorum Cantuariensium monachorum, de bonis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, in non modicum ejus præjudicium et gravamen, sicut a multis et magnis accepimus, in capella de Lamhee amplas præbendas statuerit, et largas ei possessiones et redditus assignaverit, et ad structuram ipsius ecclesiæ et domorum ejus ea paraverit, quæ in utilitatem et decorem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, sponsæ suæ, potius debuerat convertisse; quod cum ad bonæ memoriæ Cœlestini papæ, prædecessoris nostri, audientiam pervenisset, quod a dictis prædecessoribus nostris statutum fuerat, ratum habuit, et præcepit sine cujusque refragatione servari. Clericos etiam de Lamhee a juramento de observatione novæ capellæ, dicto B. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo præstito, denunciari mandavit penitus absolutos, et eis districte fecit injungi, ne ulterius novam capellam vel ecclesiam de Lamhee observarent, nec per se nec per suos ministrarent in ea divina; eos mandans ecclesiastica districtione percelli qui mandato apostolico contrairent. Sane si dictus archiepiscopus quid potius expediret attenderet, in ecclesia Cantuariensi, metropoli sua, quam beatus pontifex et martyr Thomas suo sanguine consecravit, libentius resideret, et in structura ipsius vel aliis ejus utilitatibus erogaret, quod in damnati operis constructione dispergit; a quo, etsi nihil aliud ejus compesceret voluntatem, vitatio tamen gravis scandali, quod inde provenire cognoscit, eum debuerat revocare, cum, sacra scriptura docente, debuerit didicisse quod licet opera illa, quæ sine mortali peccato omitti non possunt, non sint pro vitando scandalo dimittenda, nec ea debeant pro scandalo vitando committi, quæ sine mortali peccato committi non possunt, ab his tamen quæ committi non possunt sine mortali peccato pariter et dimitti, sit pro scandalo tollendo cessandum, et eis etiam pro vitando scandalo insistendum. Unde apostolus in epistola dicit, "Si "scandalizaretur frater, carnem non comederem in æternum,"

Pope Celestine forbade the clerks of Baldwin to minister in the chapel at Lambeth.

The archbishop ought to haveavoided scandal.

et Dominus in Evangelio contra eos qui scandali præstant materiam, "Væ," inquit, "homini illi per quem scandalum "venit. Melius est ei ut suspendatur mola asinaria ad "collum ejus, et demergatur in profundum." Rogamus igitur serenitatem regiam, monemus et exhortamur in Domino, quatenus non cito moveatur a sensu suo, nec facile credat omni spiritui, aut usque adeo detractoribus benevolum præstet auditum, ut de nobis sinistri aliquid suspicetur, quod aliquem contra justitiam gravare velimus, aut jura regni tui, quæ honestati conveniunt, vacuare. Novimus enim, sicut in litterarum tuarum exordio expressisti, quid ad officium nostrum pertineat, et quare simus super gentes et regna, non nostris meritis, sed divino munere constituti. Novimus etiam quod nobis incumbit uniuscujusque jura tueri. Et ideo a juris tramite nec in hoc, nec in alio negotio volumus [ob] favorem cujuslibet declinare. Nolumus præterea prædecessorum nostrorum rationabilia revocando statuta, revocandi quæ rationabiliter facimus vel statuimus, successoribus nostris exempla præstare, qui prædecessorum nostrorum vestigiis in præsenti negotio et adhæsimus hactenus, et in posterum intendimus adhærere; ne super crebra mutatione præstemus aliis materiam murmurandi, quanquam in litteris tuis ad falsam suggestionem expresseris, quod in hoc negotio a vestigiis prædecessorum nostrorum videmur præpropere recessisse, non solum jura regni tui non lædere, immo etiam minores quoslibet in regno Angliæ constitutos in suis justitiis confovere, ac ideo sollicite præcavere intendimus, ne minores a majoribus opprimantur. Quod enim de consuetudine regni Anglorum procedere, regia serenitas per suas litteras intimavit, ut liceat tam episcopis, quam comitibus et baronibus, ecclesias in fundo suo fundare; laicis quidem principibus id licere nullatenus denegamus, dummodo diocesani episcopi eis suffragetur assensus, et per novam structuram veterum ecclesiarum justitia non lædatur. Sed ex hoc opere videtur Cantuariensis ecclesiæ dignitas ex parte non modica deperire, cum non referat quod ad remotiorem locum transfertur, eadem contradictionis causa durante. Utinam ei divina bonitas inspirasset, ut non de alieno, sed proprio construeret ecclesiam in qua regulares canonicos instituerent, qui suum Domino jugiter impenderent famulatum. Cum autem te, sicut specialem ecclesiæ filium, et catholicum principem, sincero in Domino diligamus affectu, nec tuæ velimus postulationi, quantum cum Deo possumus, assensum apostolicum denegare, juxta petitionem regiam in negotio prædicto procedere differemus, donec dicti archiepiscopi nuncii nostro se conspectui repræsentent, nisi forsan ex malitia suam absentiam diutius procuraverint. Verum cum ad judicium ventum fuerit, nec declinabimus ad dextram nec sinistram, nec ob gratiam aut favorem cujuslibet

A.D. 1198. September.

He begs the king to confide in his good intentions.

He will not suffer the acts of his predecessors to be contemned.

The custom of England must not be suffered to injure the church of Canterbury.

He will wait to hear the archbishops' messengers before proceeding in the matter.

A.D. 1198. September. a justitiæ tramite recedemus, qui et justitiam prosequi cupimus, et prompti sumus, secundum apostolum, inobedientiam omnem ulcisci, cum acceperimus tempus justitiam judicandi.

After A.D. 1191.

DLXXI. Assignatio rationum quæ induxerunt Baldewynum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem ecclesiam constituere clericorum et de quibusdam quæ circa hæc miraculose acciderunt.

[Epp. Pet. Bles. MS. Coll. Nov. Oxon. cxxvii. Ep. 152.]

Reverendis patribus et amicis, N. S. episcopo, et abbatibus de N. et E. Petrus Blesensis, devotissimus eorum, salutem in Eo sine Quo non est salus.

Peter of Blois acquaints his friends with archbishop Baldwin's intention of building a college.

Sollicite quæritis, quæ ratio induxerit B., gloriosæ recordationis, Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, clericorum ecclesiam ad Lameheya constituere, in contumeliam Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, sicut quidam garriunt, quasi altare contra altare erigere aut potius Dagon contra arcam fœderis exaltare. Moneo[1] vos, quod archiepiscopus,[2] qui approbatissimæ religionis erat, et inter cæteras columnas Cisterciensis ordinis sanctitate, dignitate, sapientia præeminebat, ecclesiam sæcularium, quam quidam monachi prostibulum Veneris et synagogam Sathanæ vocant, satis sæculariter, quadam perturbatione animi, construebat, ut quicquid vox funesta succenseat; ecclesia tamen est sanctorum martyrum Stephani et Thomæ, martyrisque primi martyrisque primatis. Vos enim vidistis magni nominis umbram, quæ hanc ecclesiam martyrum, adhuc infantiæ cunabulis vagientem, a fundamento subvertit. Sed infra brevissimum tempus in festo beatissimi Stephani mortuus, et in festo Sancti Thomæ sepultus est, ac si unus peremisset eum, et alius tumulo infodisset.

The death of Reginald Fitz-Jocelin.

The character of Baldwin and his career.

Pensandum est qualis[3] fuerit in operibus suis, qui in omni tempore vitæ suæ vas suum in sanctificatione et honore custodivit, qui a prima lanugine pubertatis personas[4] inter cathedrales præcipuum obtinuit eminentiæ principatum. Qui etiam Exoniensis[5] archidiaconus factus est; et non acquievit carni et sanguini; sed relictis omnibus se in Christi obsequium cingulo militiæ Cisterciensis accinxit. Consequenter, invitus et tractus, promotus est in abbatem, deinceps in episcopum, demum in archiepiscopum et primatem. Totus expertus et probatus in

[1] *Moneo*] monet, MS. The original, a fifteenth century MS., is evidently corrupt. The emendations I have made are obvious and necessary to the sense, but the text is still very unsound.

[2] *archiepiscopus*] archidiaconus, MS.

[3] *qualis*] quam, MS.

[4] *personas*] pars, MS.

[5] *Exoniensis*] Oxoniensis, MS.

tantis aliquid noverat. Idem monachus et pontifex clericos in Christi obsequium congregabat; et, ut propositum apertius expediam, paulo remotius atque seminarium dissensionis inter eum et monachos succincta oratione excurram. After A.D. 1191.

Præfecit eum Dominus ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi Ejus. Ipse vero spiritualibus exercitiis assuetus, provinciam indisciplinatam inveniens, correctionis sarculum generaliter exercere disposuit. Incepit itaque a sanctuario Domini, a capite regni, ut sicut ecclesia Cantuariensis fuerat quandoque primipilaria fidei, et est metropolis provinciæ, ita cæteris ecclesiis magistra fieret disciplinæ. Suos itaque filios cohibebat a firmis ruralibus quarum occasione quidam, pauci tamen, cum corporibus suis turpe fœdus inierant, et sinistra opinione scholam claustralis innocentiæ prægravabant. Verba igitur vitæ æternæ habens, has et aliorum vitiorum propagines, quas abusione longa nutrierat mater dissoluta impunitas, radicitus exstirpabat, summum capitis genus asserens vagam excurrendi licentiam, et sub jugo Dominicæ servitutis plenam esse animæ libertatem. Cumque super creditum sibi gregem pastorales continuaret excubias, oves in lupos mutatæ sunt, et filii obedientiæ conversi sunt in arcum pravum. Porro vir Dei non in sermone sed in virtute reputans regnum Dei, non solum verbis sed factis ita se jugiter omnibus mirabilem, amabilem, immutabilem exhibebat, ut redirent prævaricatores ad cor, et quidam timore, quidam amore, quidam amore sui, patris arbitrio consentirent. Remansit tamen apud aliquos circa medullas animæ plaga interior, quam dissimulatio palliabat ad tempus, donec occasio rebellionis erumperet; quod et rerum postea indicavit eventus. Elapso enim modici temporis interjectu, quidam eorum suscitaverunt aquas contradictionis, aquas Siloe, quæ silebant, verterunt in aquas Rasyn, et emittentes aquas facti sunt capita jurgiorum. Qui ergo suspirabant ad ollas Ægypti, redeuntes ad firmas, firmaverunt sibi sermonem nequam, ut ad sedem apostolicam appellarent, ut jugum sui pontificis et abbatis a sua cervice dejicerent, obedientiam denegarent, et cum eo de propriis contenderent.

He attempted to stop the moral abuses in the convent; and so offended the monks.

The monks appealed to the apostolic see.

Profecti ergo ad summum pontificem, nihil aut modicum profecerunt, nisi eundem adversus Cantuariensem usque ad inexorabile odium turbaverunt. Protestor vobis, in Eo Qui summa Veritas est, quæ audivi et vidi. Urbano papa Veronam egresso et proficiscente Ferrariam, equitabam cum eo, et cœpi pro archiepiscopo devotius et instantius supplicare. Commendabam ei virum Dei tanquam vas a Deo electum, vas fide solidum, humilitate, prudentia, fortitudine, caritate quadratum. Ipse vero graviter excandescens, "Nunquam," inquit, "placeat Deo quod descendam de hoc equo et ascendam in

He describes the last days of pope Urban III., and his anger against Baldwin.

After A.D. 1191. His sickness and death.

" ipsum vel alium, si eum, scilicet ab archiepiscopatu, infra " modicum tempus consimiliter non depono." Vix verbum emiserat, et crux aurea quæ ante faciem ejus a subdiacono ferebatur, ante pedes nostros fracta corruit. Cumque omnes turbati horrerent, quidam frater Templi R., ejus camerarius, accepta pallii sui fibula, eadem[1] sicut potuit crucem baculo alligavit. Ipsa vero die Sutoro[2] venimus, ubi arreptus gravi dysenteria de navigio usque Ferrariam fecit, nec unquam postea ascendens in equum alium, brevi tractu temporis exspiravit. Quæ scimus loquimur, et quæ vidimus testamur, atque Ipsum Cujus testimonia credibilia et judicia terribilia facta sunt nimis, hujus assertionis testem et judicem invocamus.

His early acquaintance with the pope.

Si quæritis quæ me illuc traxit occasio, dico, Amor amborum, nam in scholis Urbani socius et discipulus fueram Baldewyni,[3] tunc vero ejusdem archiepiscopi commensalis. Volens ergo uni subvenire per alterum, non sine gravi discrimine vitæ injeci me in illius controversionis labyrinthum. Sciebam quod magister omnium gratiarum, verbi Divini præco, tuba evangelii, sal terræ, patriæ lumen, religiosorum gloria, deliciæ Dei, morum fama, schola virtutum, monachorum quietem et publicum regni commodum procurabat. Bonarum enim mentium institutor Spiritus Sanctus sic adaptaverat et aptaverat Sibi, ut Deo totus inhærens unus cum Eo spiritus esset, nec agens aut loquens quod caritas non condiret. Et ut campum hujus cursus pede inoffenso currat expeditior intellectus, ad pleniorem evidentiam propositi quædam quæ opportuna mihi offert occasio, summatim interserendo decrevi adhuc viventium memoria scriptisque probata authenticis. Quando[4] enim beatus Anselmus ab Angliæ rege Willelmo secundo proscriptus in Galliarum partibus exularet, soli clerici ejus cum eo in suis tentationibus permanserunt, nec a suffraganeis aut monachis suis ullum habuit in tam longa desolatione solatium. Morte igitur prædicti regis, eadem die, qua in Anglia peremptus est, viro Dei apud Lugdunum cœlitus revelata, sanctus ad propria rediit; et receptus in exultatione universæ terræ, in honore beati Stephani ecclesiam clericorum Cantuariensium juxta muros civitatis distinxit.[5] Cumque ibi præbendas de parochialibus ecclesiis ad suam donationem pertinentibus ordinaret, vocatus est a Domino, raptusque in cœlum, quo mundus non erat dignus, et ejus desiderii non implevit affectum. Processu vero temporis beatissimus martyr, sicut

The design of Anselm to build a church to S. Stephen;

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[1] *eadem*] eandem, MS.

[2] Sutoro, or Futoro. *Quære.*

[3] *Baldewyni*] valdywyny, MS. *Quære.* Peter and Urban may have studied either at Milan or at Melun.

[4] *Quando*] Quod, MS.

[5] *distinxit*] destruxit, MS.

publice scitur, toto exilii sui septennio suffraganeis suis et monachis suis factus est tanquam mortuus a corde; nisi quod plurimi illorum, a quibus remedia meliora sperabat, addiderunt dolorem super dolorem ejus. Soli vero clerici, cum eo et pro eo proscripti, eidem in agone suo fideliter et filialiter adstiterunt. Propterea, restituta ei simulatoria pace, regressus in Angliam, sicut verba et scripta suorum publice perhibent, ad instaurationem ecclesiæ beati Stephani, quam sanctus Anselmus inceperat, ferventiori studio vota sua circumtulit. Sed martyrio consummatus in brevi affectum non mandavit. After A.D. 1191. S. Thomas's similar design.

Vidimus successorem martyris, Ricardum bonæ memoriæ, licet de gremio Cantuariensis ecclesiæ fuisset, ejusdem propositi desiderio æstuantem; in hoc tamen diversus a suis decessoribus erat, quod apud Maideneston[1] propter varias loci commoditates transferre situm ecclesiæ disponebat; verumtamen homo simplex et mansuetus, et valde tractabilis, ad urgentissimam sui prioris atque conventus instantiam suspendit. Negotium etiam affectionis ex dilatione torpuit et cecidit ad defectum. Archbishop Richard had a similar plan

Huic succedens beatæ recordationis Baldwynus archiepiscopus, opus antecessorum, quod mors invida, bonorum operum pervertrix, quasi telam a texente succiderat, reformare studebat. Et ecce inimicus homo superseminavit zizania, vertens in materiam scandali quicquid ad commune compendium caritas ordinabat. Pene a memoriæ meæ sinu evolverat quiddam, quod sine conscientiæ scrupulo silentio claudere aut dissimulare non possem. Baldwin's plan cut short by his death.

* * * * *

DLXXII. Extracta ex Martilogio Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis.

xiii. kal. Februar. Odo abbas de Bello, quondam prior Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ. A.D. 1200.

xiv. kal. Martii. Item obiit piæ memoriæ Ricardus archiepiscopus, monachus nostræ congregationis, qui ecclesias de Estria, de Moneketone, de Mepeham et de Eynesforde nobis restituit. A.D. 1184.

viii. idus Martii. Item obiit Willelmus de Eyneford, qui dedit ecclesiæ Christi ecclesiam de Eynesford et Bokynges, quod tenuit de eadem ecclesia per viginti solidos.

viii. Idus Aprilis. Item obiit Ricardus rex, qui in regem promotus, libertates quas pater ejus Henricus rex, et antecessor illius, ecclesiæ Christi contulerat, concessit et carta sua confirmavit. Hic etiam cruce accepta cum proficisceretur Jerusalem veniens . . . . . conventui ecclesiæ Christi boscum A.D. 1199.

[1] *Maideneston*] M. non, MS.

de Blen dedit, et sigillo regio primo et secundo solemniter confirmavit; tam eo scilicet quod ante peregrinationem habuit, quam eo quod a peregrinatione reversus propter compositionem Alemannicam innovavit: in testimonium autem sui doni et memoriam futuris temporibus ampliorem, rex ipse cyrotecas suas per manum Guillelmi Eliensis episcopi, cancellarii sui, super altare ecclesiæ Christi, in saisinam nemoris prædicti, fecit offerri. Hujus anniversarium solemniter fiet in choro et in refectorio, sicut prioris Wiberti. Sumptus vero ille inveniet qui præfati nemoris reddituum ad illud pertinentium pro tempore custodiam habuerit; quisque vero sacerdos pro eo missam unam, cæteri psalmos dicent constitutos.

v. idus Aprilis. Farmannus.

A.D. 1195. iii. kal Maii. Garinus abbas de Sancto Albano.

ii. kal. Maii. Gervasius sacerdos et monachus nostræ congregationis.

A.D. 1202. ii. nonas Maii. Bonæ memoriæ Alanus abbas Theokysberi, quondam prior ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ.

A.D. 1202. Nonas Maii. Amelius comes Warenniæ.

A.D. 1189. ii. nonas Julii. Item obiit rex Anglorum Henricus secundus, pater trium regum Angliæ, Henrici, Ricardi et Johannis. Hic ob reverentiam et honorem beati Thomæ martyris, qui in ecclesia sua eo regnante passus est, conventui ejusdem ecclesiæ dedit, et carta sua confirmavit Leysdonne, Ore, Asse, et Rissindoune, cum pertinentiis suis; et Berkyssore reddidit quæ longo tempore ablata fuit. Libertates etiam multas, et munimenta, quæ usque ad martyrium beati Thomæ ecclesia Christi non obtinuerat, ipse contulit, et carta sua confirmavit. Hujus anniversarium fiet in crastino octavarum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, adeo solemniter in ecclesia, in refectorio sicut Wiberti prioris. Pascentur eo die etiam quingenti pauperes pro anima ejus, sicut conventus per cartam suam regi Ricardo filio ejus destinatam pro eo in perpetuam faciendum promisit. Sumptus autem in hoc anniversario, tam ad refectionem fratrum quam pauperum prædictorum, ipse exhibebit qui prædictarum terrarum pro tempore custodiam habuerit. Unusquisque vero sacerdos missam unam, cæteri psalmos dicent constitutos.

A.D. 1188. Nonas Julii. Haymo de Taneto apud Romam.

A.D. 1188. v. idus Julii. Edmundus apud Romam.

A.D. 1205. iii. idus Julii. Hubertus archiepiscopus.

A.D. 1188. Humfridus apud Romam.

A.D. 1188. Idus Julii. Symon apud Romam.

A.D. 1198. xvii. kal. Augusti. Moyses quondam prior Coventrensis apud Romam.

A.D. 1216. Item obiit celebris memoriæ Innocentius episcopus tertius.

" Sanctissimo patri et domino, domino Innocentio, Dei gratia summo pontifici, humilis ecclesiæ Christi conventus, salutem, et tam devotam quam debitam in omnibus obedientiam. Quia gratia et misericordia quam fecistis cum servis vestris corruptilibus auro et argento non possunt redimi, quod habemus facimus, et sub sigillo communi nostræ ecclesiæ atramento mandamus vobis, si placet, inspiciendum. Noverit itaque majestas vestra quia, quantum ad nos pertinet hæc concessio, et sanctitatis vestræ meretur laudabilis devotio, vos omnium bonorum quæ in Cantuariensi fient ecclesia in perpetuum participem constituimus, in missis, in psalmis et hymnis, in vigiliis, in jejuniis, in disciplinis et eleemosynis et aliis bonis. Specialiter singulis diebus omni tempore vitæ vestræ in missa de Spiritu Sancto specialis dicetur pro vobis oratio; et in missa quæ pro fidelibus defunctis celebratur, pro animabus patris et matris vestræ collecta similiter dicenda est specialis. Cum autem tempus venerit vocationis vestræ, et nobis innotuerit, unusquisque sacerdos triginta missas pro vobis celebrabit. Illo etiam die, et omni anno die transitus vestri anniversarii, fiet pro vobis servitium ut decet solemne in conventu. Et singuli eorum qui missas canunt missam dicent specialem. Alii quoque psalmos quinquaginta, et reficientur centum pauperes pro redemptione animæ vestræ et parentum vestrorum: et omni deinceps die usque in sempiternum in missa quæ celebratur pro fidelibus, pro vobis, et pro illis oratio fiet specialis; a die autem obitus vestri, singulis diebus per totum annum missa fiet specialis pro vobis, et quotidie per ipsum annum cibus et potus unius monachi pro anima vestra pauperi erogabitur." A.D. 1216. Privileges granted by the church of Canterbury to Innocent III.

xv. kal Augusti. Radulphus eleemosynarius apud Romam. A.D. 1183.

vi. kal. Augusti. Petrus apud Romam. A.D. 1188.

xiii. kal. Sept. Idem obiit magister Radulphus Remensis, frater et benefactor noster, qui dedit ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ bibliothecam suam veteris et novi testamenti glosatam, pro quo fiet servitium in conventu, sicut pro uno archiepiscopo. A.D. 1194 or 1195.

x. kal. Sept. Gwerricus abbas de Fevyrysham. A.D. 1188.

vii. idus Sept. Ob. venerandæ memoriæ Willelmus archiepiscopus Remensis. A.D. 1202.

xiiii. kal. Oct. Item obiit piæ memoriæ dominus Lodowycus rex Francorum piissimus, frater et benefactor noster, qui devotionis obtentu [beatum Thomam] visitans Cantuariam venit, et super tumbam ipsius martyris, ad opus conventus Cantuariæ, centum modios vini per quandam cuppam auream obtulit in perpetuam eleemosynam annuatim in Castellaria Pissiaci recipiendos. Quam devotionem sua etiam carta confirmavit, cujus rescriptum inferius denotatur. Unde reverendus pater Ricar- A.D. 1180.

A.D. 1180. Privileges granted by the church of Canterbury to Louis VII.

dus archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, et Alanus prior conventusque Cantuariæ ecclesiæ, ipsum regem cum suis in suam receperunt fraternitatem, beneficiorum ejusdem ecclesiæ participem esse concesserunt, et quædam alia pro ipso rege et suis specialiter facienda statuerunt. Ne vero res ipsa debeat vel possit oblivione deleri, litteras suas super hoc eidem regi in hunc modum tradiderunt.

"Excellentissimo domino in Christo carissimo Lodowyco, Dei gratia, regi Francorum illustrissimo, Ricardus Dei gratia archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, totius Angliæ primas, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, Alanus prior conventusque ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, æternam in Domino salutem. Placuit Omnipotentis Dei misericordiæ temporibus nostris per magnitudinis vestræ præsentiam ecclesiam Cantuariensem exaltari, in quo et nos, sicut tenemur, ita et desideramus paratiores inveniri uberiores proinde Deo gratiarum actiones referre. Licet autem juxta merita celsitudinis vestræ, prout cupimus, vobis non possimus respondere, id tamen modicum quod valemus ad præsens prosequi decrevimus. Sane de communi voluntate et assensu omnium nostrum vos et dominam reginam, hæredem vestrum et vestros, beneficiorum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ participes plenius esse concessimus. Obtentu etiam beati Thomæ martyris, quem tanto in terris prævenistis honore, insuper adjecimus quod singulis diebus debeat unus de fratribus nostris specialiter pro vobis et domina regina, hærede vestro et vestris, in vita vestra missam de Spiritu Sancto celebrare. Sacerdotes etiam cum cæteris fratribus inferioris ordinis in celebratione missarum, et maxime in perceptione Corporis et Sanguinis Domini tenentur, quantum ad hoc Deus inspiraverit, memoriam vestri vestrorumque facere. Ad hæc tres monachos ad præsens specialiter pro vobis faciemus, qui debeant tempore vitæ suæ pro vestra et dominæ reginæ vestrique filii et vestrorum salute Deum jugiter implorare. Cum vero dies obitus vestri nobis innotuerit, fiet servitium pro vobis sicut pro uno archiepiscopo Cantuariensis ecclesiæ: hoc est quod singuli sacerdotes triginta missas, alii vero inferioris ordinis decem psalteria dicent, prout ipsum officium quod in conventu generaliter fiet. Procuratio etiam unius monachi per totum illum annum dabitur uni pauperi. Facta autem anni uniuscujusque revolutione cum dies anniversarii vestri advenerit, fiet in conventu pro vobis officium speciale; singuli etiam sacerdotes, singulas missas celebrabunt, cum cæteris quæ ibi fient beneficiis et orationibus. Ut autem nulla oblivione deleri debeant in posterum, hæc omnia in martilogio nostro scribi fecimus, et singulis annis die recordationis vestræ relegenda statuimus."

iv. kal. Octobres. Farmannus.

iii. kal. Octobres. Ob. Benedictus abbas de Burgo, quondam monachus nostræ congregationis, pro quo fiet servitium sicut pro uno archiepiscopo. A.D. 1193.

xii. kal. Novembres. Item obiit venerandæ memoriæ venerabilis prior Honorius, honos et exemplum tam præcedentium quam futurorum priorum. Hic spretis parentibus, prioratu et patria, pro tuenda libertate ecclesiæ suæ adiit sedem apostolicam. Ibi in prosecutione appellationis, quam in ecclesia ista fecerat, pene per biennium commoratus est. Quem cum nec laboris immensitas nec tribulationis acerbitas aliquando possent evincere, vel animum ejus ab amore et fide conventus sui revocare, tandem in urbe Romana corrupti aeris correptus pestilentia, una cum quinque fratribus qui se similiter pro ecclesia sua periculo proposuerunt, debitum solvens mortalium, in ecclesia Latranensi diem clausit extremum. Ibidem honorifice sepultus est in ostio capituli. Et fiet servitium pro eo per omnia sicut pro Wyberto priore. A.D. 1188.

ii. nonas Novembres. Ob. dominus Theobaldus episcopus Ostiensis. A.D. 1188.

xii. kal. Decembres. Balwynus archiepiscopus. A.D. 1190.

vii. kal. Januarii. Piæ recordationis Reginaldus episcopus Batoniensis, quondam electus Cantuariensis, pro quo fiet servitium in conventu sicut pro uno archiepiscopo. A.D. 1191.

iii. kal. Januarii. Piæ memoriæ Sampson abbas Sancti Edmundi regis. A.D. 1211.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

A., monk of Canterbury, 297.
A., subsacrist, 204.
Aaron, monk, 67, 292, 315, 317.
Abingdon, abbot of, 511.
Acre, 328, 347.
Alan, the third prior, 298, 299, 307.
Albano, Henry, cardinal bishop of, 108, 136, 137, 180, 195, 204.
Albinus, cardinal bishop of, 301.
John, cardinal bishop of, 502.
Albert, chancellor of the Holy See, 108. *See* Gregory VIII.
Albinus and Rufinus, relics of, 215.
Alençon, 8, 89, 90, 96, 97.
Alexander, Walensis, archdeacon of Bangor, 32.
III., pope, 2, 5, 38.
Anagni, John dei Conti di Segni, of, cardinal priest of S. Mark, 280, 286, 290, 293, 296, 297, 300, 301, 303, 307, &c.
letters of, 287, 294, 303, 304.
letters to, 310, 320, 321, 545.
nephew of, 310.
acts of, 323, 326, &c.
Angelo, notary at Rome, 289.
Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, 225, &c.
his intention of building a church to S. Stephen, 8, 19, 21, 138, 248, 556.
Antioch, patriarch of, 395.
Apledre, marsh, 493.
Apulia. *See* Sicily.
Simon of, 276.
Aquileia, patriarch of, 395.
Arluinus, brother, 246.
Arras, 226, 231, 302.
Peter, bishop of, 14, 226, 227, 228, 229, 232, 256, 257, 302.
—— letters to, 11, 15, 74.
—— letter of, 26.
Auberville, William of, 77, 134, 143, 221.
Azai, 297.
Azelinus, William, 311, 312, 313, 322.

B.

B., two monks, 458.
Badewin, monk, 311.
Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury.
letters of, 8, 17, 28, 71, 89, 112, 173, 324, 328.
letters to, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 15, 20, 22, 34, 35, 42, 43, 71, 73, 92, 100, 107, 174, 202, 273, 293, 304.
his death, 329, 330, 331.
Bar, count of, 329.
Bardulf, Hugh, 135, 221, 263, 409, 410.
Bardunensis, Mons, 276.
Basingwerk, abbot of, 423.
Ba, Bath, Walter of, 169, 312.
Bath, 355.
Reginald Fitz Jocelin, bishop of, 57, 63, 102, 105, 150, 167, 168, 172, 193, 248, 308, 316, 317, 318, 319, 324, 337, 338 &c., 343, 346, 350 &c., 355.

Bath, Reginald Fitz-Jocelin—*cont.*
elected archbishop of Canterbury, 352, 353, 354, 355.
dies, 360.
See Savaric.
Battle, Odo, abbot of, 6, 24, 25, 36, 46, 56, 57, 76, 102, 151, 357, 511.
convent of, 268.
W., clerk of, 281.
Bayeux, Henry, bishop of, 324.
archdeacon of, 107. *See* Blois.
Bechetun, Robert of, canon of Hakington, 112.
Benedict, clerk to earl John, 331.
Benjamin, a monk, 312.
Bermondsey, abbot of, 313.
Bertona, Jun de, 202.
Blen, hospital of, 45, 169.
Blois, Peter of, archdeacon of Bath, 52, 75, 81, 107, 283, 335, 554.
Blundell, dies, 275.
Bobo, bishop of Portus, 301.
Bochinge, John of, 28, 64, 70, 75, 315.
Bocland, G. de, 440.
Boulogne, countess of, 314.
Boxley, abbot of, 6, 317, 423, 459, 511.
Bredon, 67.
Bridport, John of, archdeacon of Totnes, 365, 366.
Briwere, William, 363.
Bromd', 345.
Brunhelle, 308.
Burg, Burc, St. Peter's, Benedict, abbot of, 65, 153, 324, 357.
Burñ, Master, 289.
Burun, 106.

C.

Cambray, G., archdeacon of, 511.
Camera, Osbern de, 166, 167, 168.
Canterbury, archbishop of. *See* Lanfranc, Anselm, William, Theobald, Thomas, Richard, Baldwin, Bath, Hubert.
archdeacon of, Herbert le Poor, 339.
Canterbury, archdeacon of, Henry of Castillon, 439, 440, 446, 511.
vice-archdeacon of, E., 467.
—— R., 298.
convent of Christchurch, letters to, 14, 16, 21, 26, 27, 30, 33, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 47, 65, 71, 75, 76, 81, 83, 87, 88, 99, 105, 106, 122, 124, 128, 130, 136, 138, 139, 175, 188, 189, 191, 193, 196, 198, 199, 210, 212, 215, 216, 219, 221, 226, 227, 229, 231, 234, 236, 238, 243, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 255, 256, 257, 259, 260, 269, 274, 277, 278, 279, 281, 286, 287, 289, 290, 294, 295, 297, 300, 302, 303, 314, 319, 320, 325, 328, 330, 335, 342, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 355, 361, 364, 365, 366, 377, 397, 405, 429, 436, 439, 440, 443, 446, 457, 458, 466, 470, 477, 478, 481, 496, 497.
letters of, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 52, 53, 54, 59, 60, 62, 64, 66, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 76, 78, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 105, 109, 110, 112, 113, 116, 118, 120, 121, 123, 125, 126, 127, 131, 132, 135, 140, 143, 163, 164, 166, 170, 172, 174, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 193, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 211, 218, 220, 224, 227, 228, 244, 252, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 283, 284, 285, 286, 298, 308, 312, 315, 321, 326, 327, 331, 332, 333, 338, 344, 352, 353, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 366, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 378, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 387, 388, 389, 407, 411, 412, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 425, 430, 431, 433, 434, 437, 438, 440, 441, 443, 444, 447, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 457, 471, 473, 474, 475, 476, 479, 480, 481, 482, 486, 487, 488, 489, 497, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 510, 515.
S. Augustine's, Roger, abbot of, 24, 36, 46, 57, 76, 299, 370; prior of, 442.

Canterbury, S. Gregory's, prior of, 298, 299, 442, 467.
Capis, W. de, 313.
Capua, Peter of, cardinal, 446, 468, 481.
Castile, king of, 396.
Cellarer, of Canterbury, 77. *See* Hervey, Felix, Norreys.
Champagne, countess of, 286.
Châtillon, 258.
Chaumont, 282.
Cherringes, Adam de, 309.
Chertsey, abbot of, 407, 408, 411, 511.
Chichester, Seffrid, bishop of, 57, 102, 151, 167, 168, 324, 345, 349, 361, 372, 410.
Cinq Ports, 308.
Cîteaux, abbot of, 14, 15, 26, 74, 256, 257.
chapter of, 72, 73, 231, 256, 302.
convent of, 11, 227, 229, 302.
rule of, 96.
English abbots of the order, 423.
archbishop Baldwin a monk of the order, 12.
Clairvaux, abbot and convent of, 12, 15.
Peter, abbot of, 15.
Garnier, abbot of, 15.
Clare, Richard, earl of, 324.
—— his brother, 329.
Clarendon, 221.
Clement III., pope, 2, 3, 136, 137, 138, 139.
letters to, 140, 146, 160, 162, 163, 170, 171, 172, 173, 181, 204, 206, 208, 331.
letters of, 174, 198, 199, 273, 293, 321.
Clive, 309.
Cluny, abbot and convent of, 64, 186, 258, 275.
order of, 219.
Cœlestine III., pope. *See* Jacinctus, 2, 3, &c. &c.
letters to, 332, 352, 366, 367, 374, 378.
letters of, 335, 336, 337, 360, 361, 366, 367, 368, 369, 371.
Coutances, W. bishop of, 324.
Cove, William, clerk of, 8.
Coventry, Hugh of Nunant, elect of, 8, 83, 90.
Coventry, Hugh of Nunant, bishop of, 162, 259, 301, 317, 318, 323, 324, 346.
Geoffrey Muschamp, bishop of, 395, 410.
town of, 430.
priory of, 535.
Croc, Thomas, 202.
Cyprus, 347.

D.

Damian, master, 65.
Dover, 144, 252, 308, 344, 345.
Alexander of, 81, 94, 95, 292, 308, 311.
John of, 430.
constable of, 440.
Symon of, 67.
Dogmersfield, 355.
Dublin, church of, 535.
Durham, Hugh de Puiset, bishop of, 148, 308, 316, 317, 323, 324.

E.

Eadmund, monk, 43, 178, 191.
his death, 254.
Eastry, church of, 5, 343, 472, 511, 512, 513.
R. de, a monk, 313, 315.
Eleanor, queen of England, 332, 358, 362, 364, 437.
Ely, Geoffrey Ridell, bishop of, 18, 148, 259.
William Longchamp, elect of, 323, 324.
—— bishop of, 317, 326, 327, 342, 343, 344, 346, 353, 357, 548.
Eustace, elect of, 382, 395.
—— bishop of, 407, 438, 468, 472, 483, 490, 493, 494, 496, 497, 509, 510, 511, 512, 514, 515, 517, 518.
Evesham, Adam, abbot of, 6, 93.
Exeter, John the Chantor, bishop of, 20, 151.
Henry Marshall, bishop of, 410.

Eynesford, church of, 343, 472, 511, 512, 513.
William of, 166.
Eynsham, abbot of, 511.

F.

Faversham, Gwerric, abbot of, 6, 36, 46, 56, 57, 76, 93, 102.
Algar, abbot of, 439, 440, 467.
prior of, 198, 200, 201, 202, 206, 207, 208, 341, 399, 442.
Felix, made cellarer of Ch. Ch., 299, 307, 312 ; deposed, 333, 334.
Feramin, Farreman, Master, 57, 93, 198, 201, 202, 208, 341, 467.
Ferrara, 102, 103, 104, 105, 111, 112, 556.
Ferre, Hernold, 311.
Ferreres, earl of, 329.
Flanders, Philip, count of, 156, 314.
Ford, abbot of, 423.
Frederick I., emperor, 10, 11.
Freningham, chapel of, 343.

G.

Gaitington, 167, 259, 309.
Genoese, 270.
Geoffrey, the king's chancellor, 88; elect of York, 327, 328 ; archbishop of York, 344, 345, 369.
subprior of Canterbury, 21, 47, &c.; prior, 332, &c.
—— letters to, 21, 26, 28, 42, 47, 60, 65, 86, 100, 137, 138, 177, 178, 181, 195, 197, 211, 213, 215, 232, 234, 269, 271, 277, 278, 281, 285, 297, 306, 308, 311, 312, 315, 354, 377, 390, 454, 457.
—— letters of, 31, 49, 154, 286, 302, 307, 314, 320, 321, 332, 333, 338, 355, 374, 449, 451, 458, 477, 478, 481.
Gerard, cardinal, 240, 376.
Gervase, the historian, 315.
Gilbert, a clerk, 202.
Gisorz, 282.
Glanvill, Ranulf, 55, 84, 94, 221, 259, 284.
letters to, 47, 134.
letters of, 46, 47, 105, 135.
dies, 329.
Glanvill, William, 47, 221.
Glastonbury, abbot of, 313.
Gloucester, earl of. *See* John.
W., archdeacon of, 511.
Godfrey, a man of Belial, 202.
Godmersham, 77.
Grain, Isle of, 324, 547.
Grammont, church of, 300.
Gratian, cardinal, 68, 277, 280, 301.
letters to, 45, 182, 375, 419, 503.
Gregory I., pope, 124, 140, &c.
VIII., pope. *See* Albert, 2, 3, 106, 107, 179, 189.
—— letters to, 109, 113, 123, 127, 131.
—— letters of, 111, 112.
—— death of, 136, 137, 138, 139.
Guildford, 28.
Guy, de Paparon, cardinal, 397, 419.
Gwarner, master, 211.

H.

Hakington, church of S. Stephen and S. Thomas, 3, 8, &c., 63, 77, &c.
church destroyed, 339, 340, 341.
canons of, 112, 126, 339.
Hamelin, earl Warren, 85, 264, 268.
Hamo, a clerk, 311.
Harundel, R. de, 311.
Haymo, monk, 43, 66, 67 ; death of, 254.
Heliun, Nicolas of, 287.
Helyas, monk, 271, 272, 276, 279, 287, 289, 290, 293.
Magnus, 315.
Hemericus, 322.
Henry II., king of England, 2, &c., *passim*, 295.
—— letters to, 27, 43, 47, 83, 91, 93, 98, 104, 132, 145, 174, 223, 224, 267, 283.
VI., emperor, 350, 362.
master, a monk, 230, 271, 282.
Hereford, William, bishop of, 148, 167, 168.
Ralph, archdeacon of, 342, 343.

Hervey, cellarer of Ch. Ch., 308, 333.
chantor of Ch. Ch., 312, 315.
Hoiland, Roger de, 318.
Holingeburn, 309.
Honorius, prior of Ch. Ch., *passim*.
letters to, 31, 49, 54, 62, 64, 66, 69, 74, 76, 90, 94, 110, 116, 135, 143, 166, 184, 193, 201, 203, 207, 239, 251.
letters of, 16, 21, 30, 33, 37, 41, 42, 65, 81, 86, 91, 99, 100, 106, 122, 124, 128, 136, 137, 175, 188, 195, 196, 197, 199, 210, 211, 212, 215, 216, 254.
Horsley, 355.
Hospital, G., prior of, 8, 359.
Hubert (Walter), dean of York, 28, 259, 282, 283, 284.
bishop of Salisbury, 317, 323, 363, 365, 366.
archbishop of Canterbury, 366, &c., *passim*.
—— letters to, 366, 367, 368, 371, 391, 396, 397, 439, 440, 459, 473, 479, 482, 494, 508, 520.
—— letters of, 367, 370, 394, 429, 439, 445, 446, 466, 514.
Hugo, a servant of the convent, 275, 276.
dei Conti di Segni, advocate of the convent, 471, 476, 506.
Humfrey, monk, 43, 177, 189, 192, 238.
death of, 254.
Hyde, abbot of, 313, 511, 545.

I.

Innocent III., pope, 2, 3, &c.
letters to, 387, 388, 389, 403, 411, 412, 417, 420, 423, 425, 431, 441, 442, 443, 447, 452, 455, 456, 474, 480, 486, 487, 488, 494, 497, 510, 514, 515, 559.
letters of, 385, 391, 393, 399, 443, 444, 459, 465, 468, 469, 470, 483, 484, 490, 492, 493, 494, 508, 509, 518, 520, 551.
Ipswich, G., archdeacon of, 395, 396.
Isaac, of Canterbury, 311, 317.

J.

Jacinctus, cardinal, 68. *See* Cœlestine III.
letters to, 46, 183.
James, a monk, 315.
Jerusalem, 134, 143, 343.
Jo., monk, 71.
John, the cook, 202, 307.
a servant, 275.
monk in the Roman chancery, 195, 288.
monk of Dol, 322.
missus ad curiam, 333.
de Bremble, monk of Ch. Ch., 308.
—— letters of, 181, 193, 213, 226, 229, 231, 232, 257, 271, 274, 277, 278, 285, 287, 289, 290, 300.
—— letter to, 227.
count of Mortain and Gloucester, 221, 323, 324, 329, 330, 346, 348, 349, 438.
cardinal, bishop of Tuscanella, 397, 398, 401, 404, 414. *See* Albano.
Jonas, a monk, 271, 276, 278, 282, 289, 306, 308.
Joseph, master (of Exeter ?), 230.

K.

Kalna, W. de, 467.
Kent, sheriff of (Adam of Valoins), 98, 105.
—— Henry de Cornhell, 318.
—— Reginald de Cornhell, 440.

L.

Lambeth, 307, &c., *passim*.
1st exchange, 324, 547.
2nd exchange, 549.
canons of, 360, 361, 371, 372,
college demolished, 467, &c.
Lanfranc, archbishop, 225, 533.
Laurence, a clerk, 203.

Leeds, prior of, 439, 467.
Lenn, W. de, 395, 396.
Lewes, convent of S. Pancras, 265.
W. prior of, 243, 399.
Lewis, a monk, 312.
VII., of France, 86, 146, 155, 156, 351, 559.
Lincoln, Hugh, bishop of, 6, 32, 57, 63, 151, 283, 365, 372, 468, 472, 490, 493, 494, 496, 497, 509.
Richard Fitz-Neale, dean of, 259, 283.
Roger Rolveston, dean of, 511, 512, 514, 515, 517, 518.
London, citizens of, 266.
treasurer of, 440.
archdeacon of, 440.
Richard Fitz-Neale, bishop of, 317, 325, 327, 345, 349, 365, 382.
Lothair, 68. (*See* Innocent III.)
Lucca, 458.
Hugh of, 79, 236, 240, 246.
Lucius III., pope, letter of, 4.
Lyons, John, abp. of, 244, 245, 275, 353, 472, 513, 541, 542.

M.

Malling, prioress of, 318.
Mandeville, W. de, 85, 211, 308, 311, 323.
Mans, Le, 282, 285, 290.
Marshall, William, 323, 324, 363.
Melior, cardinal, 53, 79, 120.
Mellent, Richard, count of, 324.
Mepeham, church of, 472, 511, 512, 513.
Merleberge, 346.
Merton, prior of, 317, 440.
Messina, 329, 330, 347.
Monkton, church of, 5, 343, 472, 511, 512, 513.
Mons Jovis (Gt. St. Bernard), 181, 188.
Montreal, William, archbishop of, 329, 330, 334, 537.
Mortara, 276, 278.
Moyses, vice-chancellor to the pope, 108.

N.

Nicolas, clerk of pope Clement III., 171.
monk of Christ Church, 377, 390, 398, 399, 405, 407, 408, 443.
Nigel, monk of Christ Church, 315, 317.
Ralph, cardinal of S. Praxedes, 53, 271, 272, 274, 275, 276, 278, 279, 282, 288, 387.
William Fitz, 134, 143, 268.
Richard Fitz. *See* Lincoln *and* London.
Norreys, Roger, 81, 87, 98, 126, 193, 221, 252, 253, 288, 291.
treasurer of Christ Church, 81, 94.
made cellarer, 89, 92, 95.
ab Aquilone, 97.
Cloacarius, 309.
made prior, 311, 312, 315, 322.
Northampton, 166, 167.
Henry of, 8, 342, 343.
R., archdeacon of, 511.
Norwich, John, bishop of, 83, 167, 317, 394.
Richard, clerk of, 277.

O.

Octavian, cardinal, 271, 276. *See* Ostia.
Odo, a monk, 292.
O., de Tumba, 311.
Orpington, Ralph of, monk, 28, 64, 70, 75, 313, 315.
Osbert, de Bristo, 285, 286, 288, 299, 312.
prior of Christ Church, 325, 326, 327, 331, 332, 334, 356.
Ostia, cardinal bishop of, Theobald, 120, 137, 186, 211, 213, 213, 215, 216, 218, 219, 258, 274, 275.
letters of, 76, 138, 200, 222, 223.
letters to, 29, 52, 119, 164, 200, 206.
dies, 269.
cardinal bishop of, Octavian, 301, 400, 418, 500.
Otford, 162, 311.

P.

Palermo, 162, 537.
Palerne, J. de, 313.
Paris, 288, 321 ; S. Victor's at, 321.
Parma, 123, 129, 276.
Pavia, 276.
Peter, of Piacenza, cardinal, 279, 280, 380, 402, 415, 501.
Geoffrey Fitz, 363, 409, 410, 439, 440, 445, 446, 479.
Philip, clerk of Richard I., 364, 366.
William Fitz, 134, 143.
Philip II., of France, 161, 216, 227, 328, 347,
letters of, 86, 146, 305, 351.
letters to, 10, 86, 155, 222.
queen of, 305.
Pigun, Henry, 25, 77, 80.
Pillius, master, 68.
Pipard, G., 211.
Pisa, 458 ; Pisans, 270.
Porto. *See* Bobo.
Prænestе, Paul Scolari, cardinal bishop of, 108, 136, 137.
John of Anagni, bishop of, 462.
Provins, fair of, 258.

R.

R., monk of Christ Church, 71, 203, 281, 333, 408.
sent to Rome, 457, 458.
chaplain to S. Thomas, 81, 87, 94.
de Cripta, 298.
almoner, 508,
vice-archdeacon, 298.
Ralph, the archbishop's official, 95.
the almoner of Christ Church, 254, 258.
Reading, 258; convent of, 220.
abbot of, 220, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 361, 372, 407, 411.
Rheims, William of Blois, archbishop of, 221, 353, 395.
letters to, 13, 84, 219.
Rheims, Ralph de Serris, dean of, 282, 559.
letters to, 13, 113, 188, 220, 416.
letter of, 88.
Rheims, A., canon of, 274, 276.
convent of S. Remi, 430.
Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, 2, 5, 9, 85, 316, &c.
count of Poictou, 27, 44, 85, 285.
duke of Normandy, 300, 301, 305, 306.
king of England, 2, &c., 306, &c., *passim*; death of, 486, 487.
—— letters to, 305, 330, 331, 358, 399, 400, 401, 402, 437, 445, 469, 479, 484.
—— letters of, 310, 319, 322, 324, 329, 330, 347, 348, 349, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 403, 404, 405, 436, 439, 446, 479.
Rievaulx, prior of, 317 ; abbot of, 423.
Robert, medicus, 311, 312, 313.
sacrist of Ch. Ch., 81, 89, 92, 94, 95, 97, 98, 126, 166, 309, 315.
Robertsbridge, abbot of, 423, 459.
Roche Andeli, 403, 404, 410, 436, 446.
Rochester, Gilbert Glanvill, bishop of, 89, 94, 95, 125, 143, 155, 202, 203, 259, 318, 323, 324, 325, 326, 365, 407, 410, 511.
castle of, 536.
W., archdeacon of, 511.
Roger, de Bonneville, chaplain to archbishop Reginald, 354.
the king's almoner, 8, 211, 221, 282.
Rouen, 296, 324.
Walter of Coutances, archbishop of, 62, 301, 317, 322, 323, 346, 347, 348, 349, 354, 356, 360.
—— letters to, 84, 483, 548.
—— letters of, 247, 347, 348.
Robert of, 277, 288.

S.

Saint Alban's, abbot and convent of, 153, 264, 317, 407.
Saint Bertin's, abbot and convent of, 187, 260, 272, 415.

Saint David's, bishop of, 148, 317.
Saint Denys, convent of, 146.
Saint Edmund's, convent of, 154, 263, 317, 324.
Samson, abbot of, 468, 472, 490, 493, 494, 496, 497, 509, 511, 512, 517, 518.
Saint Faith, William of, 107, 290, 309, 312, 315, 316.
Saint John, W. de, 323.
Saint Martin, Ralph of, 283, 312, 322, 342, 343, 472, 513.
Saint Mere l'Eglise, William of, 221, 295, 297, 343, 364, 365.
Saint Omer, 140.
Saint Paul, John de, cardinal, 376.
Saint Quintin, R., precentor of, 451.
Saint Valeri, Bernard of, 329.
S., monk of Ch. Ch., 377, 390, 398, 399, 405, 407, 408, 443.
Sai, Geoffrey de, 166.
Salerno, John of, cardinal, 375.
Salisbury, Herbert, bishop of, 410.
H., bishop of, 534.
Salomon, monk of Christ Church, 457, 458.
Samson, master, 311.
canon of Hakington, 112, 298.
Savaric, archdeacon of Northampton, 350, 351.
bishop of Bath, 364, 365, 381.
—— R., uncle of, 381.
Saxony, Henry, duke of, 158.
Matilda, duchess of, 159.
Seez, Lisiard, bishop of, 324.
Sefred, cardinal, 280, 301.
Sherborn, church of, 534.
Shoreham, 325.
Sicily, William, king of, 162, 196, 321, 537.
Joanna, queen of, 162.
Sienna, 175, 275.
Sildon, G. de, 322.
Silvester, master, 8, 25.
Soissons, 13, 65.
Spain, two kings in, 396.
Spires, 362, 363, 364.
Spoleto, 442, 443.
Stanley, abbot of, 423.
Stephen, count of Sancerre, 329.
Stratford, abbot of, 423.
Sture, Walter of, 311, 317, 318.
Symon, of Dover, 67.
the chamberlain of Christ Church, 77, 89, 92, 95, 126, 309.
a monk, dies at Rome, 254.
another, 276, 289.
the treasurer, 298, 306, 308, 315, 317.
Sutwelle, 407.
archdeacon of Wells, 409, 412, 413.

T.

T., monk, 458, 478.
Taddeo, clerk to John of Anagni, 301, 303, 309, 310.
Tanton, Roger de, 77, 80.
Temple, G., master of, 284, 316.
Tenham, 311, 318, 532.
Tewkesbury, 67, 153, 331.
Alan, abbot of, 356, 374.
Theobald, count of Blois, 85.
archbishop of Canterbury, 38, 94, 96, &c.
Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury; *passim*.
born at London, 266.
intended to build a church to S. Stephen, 8, 19, 21, 135.
his ring, 195.
his nephew Ralph, 201, 209, 211
his saying about Henry II., 260.
Torneham, Stephen de, 166.
Tours, 64, 227.
archbishop of, 395.
Tumba, R. de, 315.
O. de, 311.
Tyre, 328.

U.

Urban III., pope, letters of, 4, 5, 6, 7, 22, 24, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 100, 102, 104, 105.
letters to, 16, 18, 20, 25, 28, 44, 48, 50, 60, 70, 78, 86, 90, 93.
dies, 106, 107, 556.

V.

Verona, 4, 5, 6, 7, 24, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 64, 74, 75, 100, 555.
bishop of, 507.
Virgil, parson of Mepeham, 472, 513.

W.

Waltham, abbey, 533.
Walter of Gaunt, abbot of, 167, 168, 193, 317, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 361, 372, 384, 407, 408, 411, 511.
Warenn, William de, 346.
See Hamelin.
Westminster, 315, 348, 349, 514.
abbot of, 154, 264, 317, 324.
S. Katherine's, 496, 497.
Whitsand, 218, 230, 232, 289, 301, 345.
William, the furrier, 306.
the watchman, 202.
archbishop, built Rochester castle, 536.
monk of Ch. Ch., 254, 258, 269, 275, 276, 286, 311, 315, 317.
precentor of Ch. Ch., 458.
Winchester, 221, 325, 326, 327.
Winchester, Richard, bishop of, 60, 149.
Godfrey de Lucy, bishop of, 317, 324, 345, 365.
Windsor, 339, 342.
Wingham, 93, 144, 150, 166, 298.
Worms, 364, 365, 366.
Worcester, W., chaplain of, 299.
William Northall, bishop of, 83, 146, 167, 168.
Robert Fitz Ralph, bishop of, 325, 326, 333, 511.
John of Coutances, bishop of, 373, 410.

Y.

York, church of, 533, 535.
archbishop of. *See* Geoffrey.
dean of. *See* Hubert.

Z.

Zacharias, 312, 334.

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